

RIDPATH'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER
OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF
CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

COMPRISING

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
AND
THE STORY OF ALL NATIONS

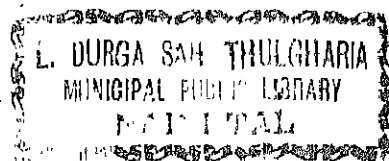
FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

COMPLETE IN NINE VOLUMES

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

AUTHOR OF A "CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME VI



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RIDPATH'S
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VOLUME VI

BOOK XVIII.—THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

BOOK XIX. —AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT

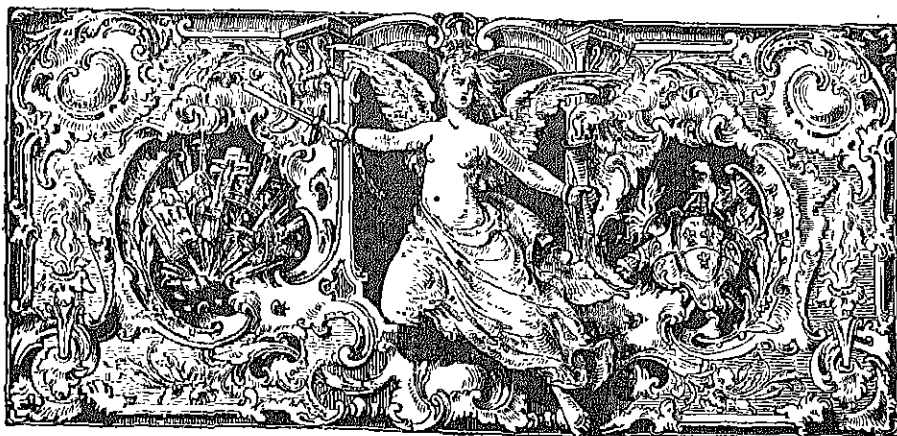
BOOK XX. —THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

Showing places of greatest Historical Interest.
by

A. Von Steinwehr.

From Thalheimer's Mediæval and
Modern History, by permission.
Scale.





Book Eighteenth.

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER CVI.—FIRST TWO STUARTS.



THE caption of the present Book was selected because the English Revolution was a part of a general movement. The religious Reformation in the sixteenth century was followed by the political Reformation in the seventeenth. The destruction of the absolute domination of the papal hierarchy was succeeded after an interval by the destruction of the equally absolute domination of the secular rulers.

The true center of the Reformation of religious society was, as we have seen, in Germany; and from that center the movement spread like a wave on the sea until every nation of christendom rose and fell with the pulsations of the tide. The center of the Reformation of political society was in England, and from that center likewise the revolutionary influence was spread abroad until sooner or later the old theory of government was destroyed or modified in every civilized state of the world. It is therefore appropriate, under the general caption of THE ENGLISH

REVOLUTION, to take a survey of the whole movement, first in the country of its origin and afterwards in the other kingdoms affected by its influence. This plan will bring us at the beginning to consider the reigns of the first two Stuart kings of England.

Before entering, however, upon the narrative of events consequent upon the accession of the House of Stuart it will be appropriate to notice briefly some of the general reasons why the revolution and reconstruction of political society began in *England* sooner than on the continent. In many respects England was undoubtedly less progressive, even less liberal, than the states beyond the Channel. France was greatly her superior in general culture. Italy, by her art, and Germany, by her schools, had far surpassed the achievements of our ancestral Island. London, with her coarse, strong society, rudely clad, boisterous, dripping with perpetual fogs, could ill compare with the delights of Paris, the elegance of Vienna, or the busy marts of Amsterdam. Why, then, should this insular kingdom become first of all the arena in which was fought the prime great battle for political liberty?

Perhaps the first element in the answer to this question is found in the fact that in England absolute monarchy became systematic at an earlier date than elsewhere. The destruction of the feudal nobility in the Wars of the Roses left the institution of royal—we might say personal—government without a counterpoise. From this circumstance absolutism grew and flourished. The Tudors became the most arbitrary of monarchs. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth swayed a real scepter, and the people cowered under their authority. By the times of James I. and Charles I. the growing desire for political freedom—a feeling manifested at that epoch both in England and on the continent—was more repressed, or at any rate the repression was more seriously felt in England than in those countries in which monarchy had not been so systematically developed.

Again: the fact that in England the Reformation had been accomplished by the kings and nobles rather than by popular leaders, and the additional fact that the new system of religion was more nearly like that of Rome than in any other kingdom, left the real reformatory impulse but half appeased; inasmuch that when the desire for political freedom was once manifested, a strong party of popular religionists was already prepared to join hands and fortunes with the political agitators against the government which stood as the champion of absolute authority in the state and of conservatism in the Church.

But the great fact which tended to bring about the political reform in England at an earlier date than on the continent was the growth and development of the House of Commons. "In the course of the sixteenth century," says Guizot, "the commercial prosperity of England had increased with amazing rapidity, while during the same time much territorial wealth, much baronial property had changed hands. The numerous divisions of landed property, which took place during the sixteenth century, in consequence of the ruin of the feudal nobility, and from various other causes which I can not now stop to enumerate, form a fact which has not been sufficiently noticed. A variety of documents prove how greatly the number of landed properties increased; the estates going gener-

ally into the hands of the gentry, composed of the lesser nobility, and persons who had acquired property by trade. The high nobility, the House of Lords, did not, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, nearly equal in riches the House of Commons. There had taken place, then, at the same time in England a great increase in wealth among the industrious classes, and a great change in landed property. While these two facts were being accomplished there happened a third—a new march of mind.

"The reign of Queen Elizabeth must be regarded as a period of great literary and philosophical activity in England, a period remarkable for bold and pregnant thought; the Puritans followed, without hesitation, all the consequences of a narrow but powerful creed; other intellects, with less morality but more freedom and boldness, alike regardless of principle or system, seized with avidity upon every idea which seemed to promise some gratification to their curiosity, some food for their mental ardor. And it may be regarded as a maxim, that wherever the progress of intelligence is a true pleasure, a desire for liberty is soon felt; nor is it long in passing from the public mind to the state."

When from her dying couch the great Elizabeth indicated JAMES STUART, son of Mary Queen of Scots, as her choice for the succession, there was little doubt that that choice would be ratified. The family of Henry VIII. was extinct. While Elizabeth trifled with her lovers, she also trifled away her day of grace so far as motherhood was concerned, and at last she awoke to the fact that her father's House was doomed to perish with herself. In the last hour she made some amends to the shade of Mary Stuart by naming her son for the throne of England. Albeit, the act was one of necessity; for there was none other who could well compete with James for the dignity of the English crown.

Thus, in the year 1603, was accomplished the plan long entertained and often thwarted of uniting the two crowns of England and Scotland. That measure had been a favorite scheme of Edward III. The Lancastrian kings had cherished it. Henry VIII. had labored to effect it. Now, by a process almost

independent of the will of man, the work was done, and the whole island was united under a single sovereignty.

The qualities of the father and the mother were never more strangely blended than in James Stuart. His character was a mixture of contradictory traits and impulses. The vanity, pride, and shrewdness of Mary, thoroughly French in her dispositions, were transmitted to her son, and the dull folly and commonplace mediocrity of Lord Darnley were in like manner a part of James's inheritance. He was more learned than most of the kings of his age, and possessed a certain sagacity uncommon among monarchs of the time; but his learning he made ridiculous by pedantic displays, and his sagacity was generally shown in taking advantage of his subjects.

Most of these qualities were exceedingly distasteful to the rough-and-ready English. To them the king's awkward person, uncouth demeanor, and broad Scotch accent were especially disagreeable. Nor did the coarse manners and unprepossessing appearance of Queen Anne, daughter of the king of Denmark, in any wise improve the reputation of the new court. Alas, the difference between *this* and the majestic splendor of the stately Elizabeth! *She* was a queen indeed, and her court shone like a new morn risen on noonday.

On his accession, James was thirty-seven years old. By his queen he was the father of three children: Prince Henry, now nine years of age; Elizabeth, seven; and Charles, four. The king brought with him into England his

Scottish favorites—nobles and lords anxious to seize what honors and emoluments soever might be gained from the displaced pensioners of Elizabeth's bounty. In this respect, however, the conduct of James was fairly prudent; for he took care to retain many, per



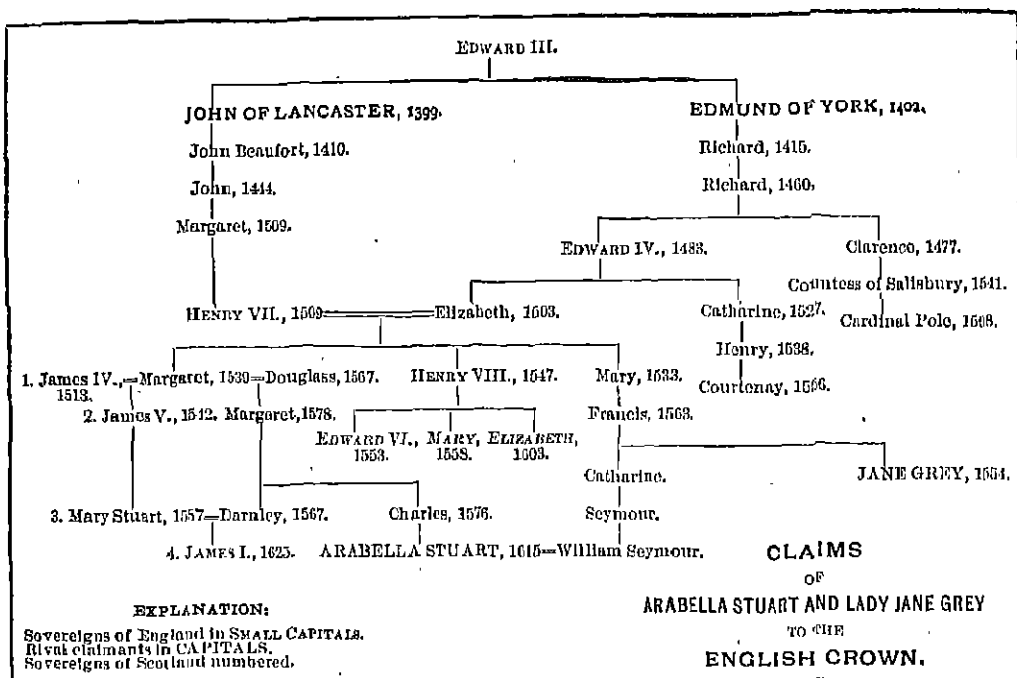
JAMES I.

haps a majority, of the ministers of the Maiden Queen. Among those so kept in authority was Robert Cecil, who was promoted to the barony of Essendine, then to the viscountcy of Cranborne, and finally, in 1605, to the earldom of Salisbury. Such was the shrewdness of this minister, especially in the matter of discovering plots and intrigues, that the king was wont to call him "my little beagle." On the other hand, James at once

recalled and reinstated the deposed family of Lord Howard, whose distresses had resulted from the adherence of that nobleman to the cause of Mary Stuart.

It was not long after the accession of King James until a plot was discovered to dethrone him and confer the crown on Lady Arabella Stuart. This distinguished personage was the daughter of a brother of Lord Darnley, and therefore first cousin to the king. She thus stood in precisely the same relation of descent from Henry VII. as did James himself. Her mother was an English lady of the family of Cavendish, and might therefore be well

confidently believed that, remembering the sorrows and death of his mother, he would espouse the cause for which she died, and do his best to plant again the ancient faith in the Island. But in this expectation they were greatly disappointed. James proved to be thoroughly Protestant. He stoutly maintained the existing religious status and refused to countenance any movement towards a restoration of the ancient régime. At this the Catholics were profoundly exasperated. In 1604 the feeling among them became so intense that the celebrated, though infamous, scheme known as the GUNPOWDER PLOT was



compared by the anti-Scot party with Mary Stuart. Lady Arabella, however, was not *particeps* in the movement by which she was to be raised to the throne. Indeed, she was kept in ignorance of the conspiracy. As soon as the same was divulged the authorities, under the lead of Cecil, hunted down the plotters, and three of them were executed. Sir Walter Raleigh, a long-time rival of Cecil, was condemned to die, but the sentence was commuted by the king into imprisonment for life.

The Catholic party in England and Scotland had looked forward with eager anticipation to the accession of King James; for they

concocted with a view to wreaking a signal vengeance on the king and his Protestant supporters.

It appears that the great plot was first conceived by Lords Catesby and Percy, two Catholic nobles of high rank, who gave way to vindictive passion and mutually drew from each other in a heated conversation an expression of a willingness to resort to assassination in order to secure what they could not gain by honorable means. It was agreed to destroy both the king and parliament! Never was there a scheme more cold-blooded in its conception. The plot contemplated the laying of a train of gunpowder under the Parliament

House, and then, when circumstances should favor, of blowing the whole establishment, king, lords, and Commons, into indiscriminate destruction. Catesby and Percy, having once formed this purpose, looked around for confederates. As the proper person to execute the prodigious tragedy they selected a certain Guy Fawkes, at that time serving in the Spanish army in Flanders. Nor can it be doubted that their selection was made with care; for Fawkes was a man capable both by nature and daring experience for any enterprise. A few other trusted spirits, to the number of about twenty, were taken into the conspiracy, and the plot was carefully laid in all of its particulars.

In the course of the summer the managers succeeded in hiring a house adjacent to that of Parliament. From the cellar of this building it was proposed to dig through into the basement of the Parliament House, and thus gain an easy access to the place where the powder was to be deposited. Much labor was required to cut through the nine-foot wall on which the great building was reared; and before this work could be effected it was found that the very basement into which the conspirators desired to gain an entrance was for rent. Lord Percy accordingly hired that apartment, and thirty-six barrels of powder were stored therein. Upon this was thrown a heap of rubbish and billets of wood.

It was the plan of the conspirators to carry their work into execution in May of 1605. Fawkes was to fire the train. It was reckoned that Henry, prince of Wales, would in all probability be present at the opening of Parliament and would perish in the common ruin. Prince Charles was to be seized and carried into the country, and the Princess Elizabeth, then at Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire, was also to be made a prisoner. A general rising of the Catholics was to follow, and it was hoped that English Protestantism might be thus stamped out in blood.

It happened, however, that Parliament was several times prorogued, and the meeting of that body was finally set for the 5th of November. In the mean time the conspirators were troubled with a question which, it seems, had not occurred to them at the beginning. Many of the members of Parliament

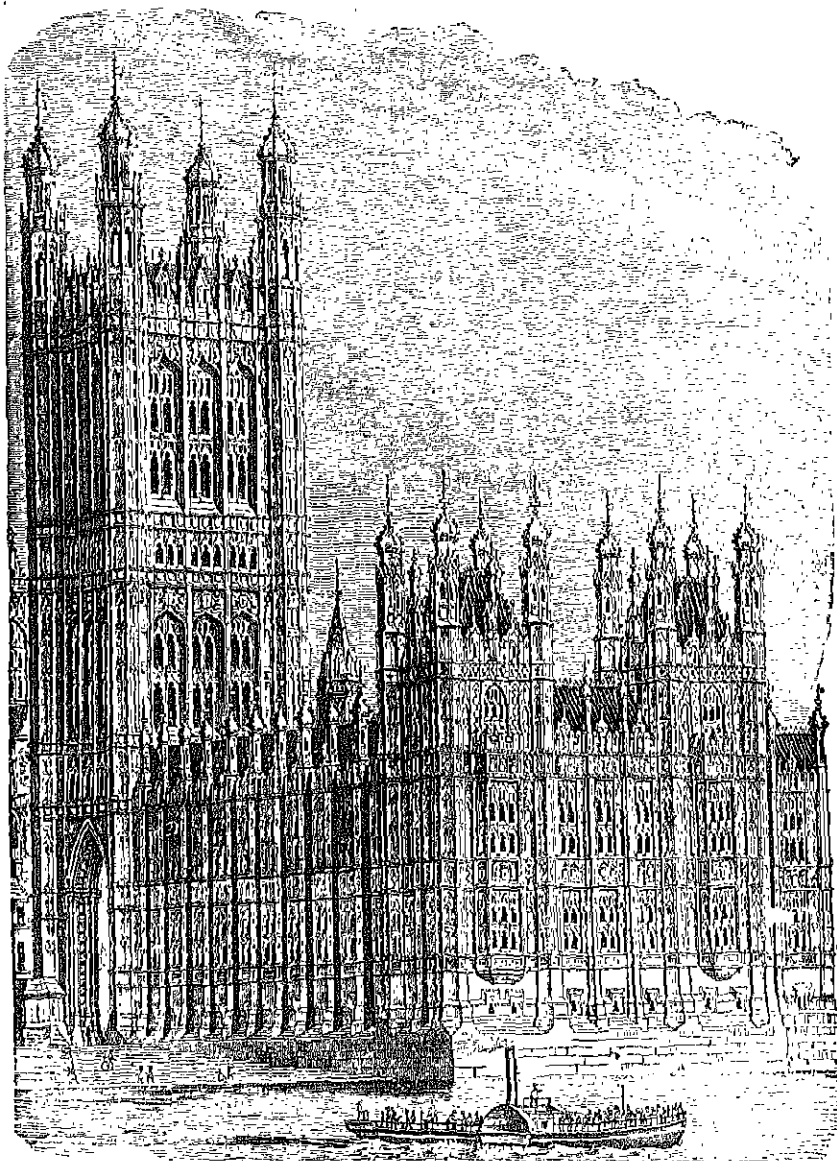
were Catholics, and these, if the programme should be carried out, must be destroyed with the rest. A disagreement thus arose among the plotters, some of whom were anxious to save the Catholic lords from the common ruin. It was agreed that the latter *ought* to be warned of the impending catastrophe; but how to do so without endangering the whole scheme was a source of much embarrassment. Nor could any satisfactory conclusion be reached by the conspirators. Things were, in a measure, left to take their own course.

A few days before the opening of Parliament, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic and friend of several of the leaders in the plot, received an anonymous letter, warning him in ambiguous terms not to be present at the opening of the session; "for," said the missive, "they shall receive a terrible blowe this parleament." The writer of this letter was not known; but Francis Tresham, one of the confederates of Catesby, was suspected of the authorship. Be that as it may, the tone and character of the letter were such as to arouse Lord Monteagle's suspicions, and he carried the communication to Lord Salisbury, who in his turn laid it before the king. After a conference of the three the conviction grew that the letter was more than a mere menace. It was resolved to take every precaution against the threatened but still unseen disaster. In these days Robert Winter, one of the conspirators, received a warning to save himself, as the plot was discovered. Tresham informed Catesby and the others that all was known, and advised them to leave the country. But the conspirators stood their ground, refusing to believe that any of their number had proved traitor. Fawkes especially displayed no sign of trepidation. With a coolness and courage worthy of the greatest cause, he remained at his post in the vault, and awaited the hour when he should light the train.

Thus matters stood on the 4th of November, the day before the opening of Parliament. On that day the Lord Chamberlain, as was his duty, went through the Parliament House to see that every thing was in readiness. Going into the basement, he came upon Fawkes, whom he describes as a "very tall and desperate fellow," whose actions, though fearless, excited the officer's suspicions. His attention

was also caught by the great pile of wood, under which was hidden the barrels of powder. Going to the king, the Chamberlain told him of what he had seen, and Sir Thomas Knevet, magistrate of Westminster, was sent

der-box and touch-wood. Entering the cellar and throwing aside the wood, the magistrate discovered the powder, and the whole plot was out. Fawkes, without any show of concealment or sign of terror, at once avowed his

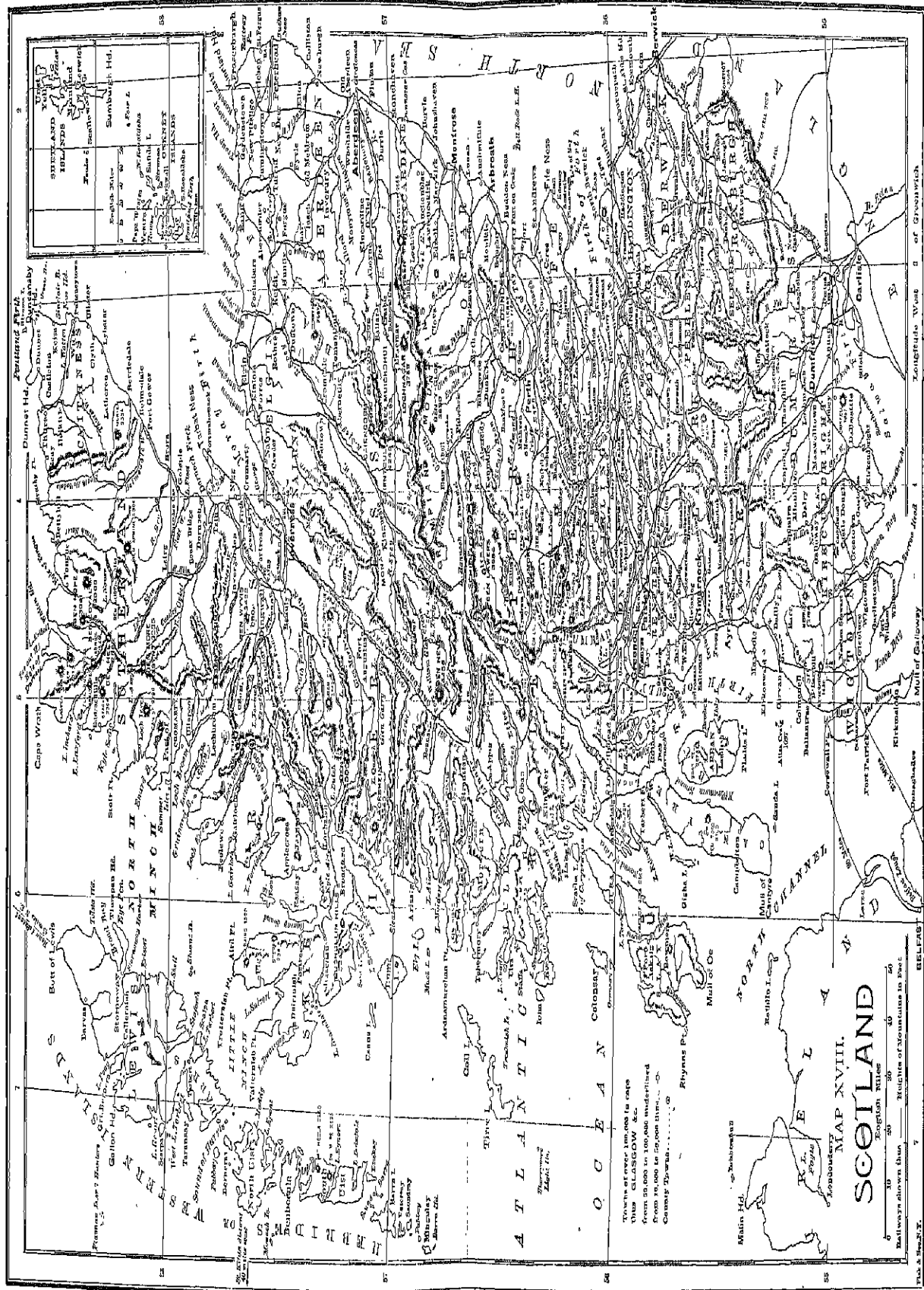


PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

to search the premises. The latter went to his duty just before midnight, and when about to enter the basement, met Fawkes stepping out of the door. The powerful conspirator was seized and bound with his own garters. In his possession were found a tin-

purpose, and told his captors that had he been within when about to be taken, he would have buried them and himself in a common ruin.

As soon as the danger was over Fawkes was taken into the king's presence at White-



hall. He answered all questions with a careless and sarcastic indifference that astonished the hearers. Not a word would he say, however, to implicate any one but himself. But the nerves of the others were not equal to the shock of discovery. They fled into the country, where a meeting of the Catholic gentry had been called under pretense of a hunting party. Thither they were hotly pursued, and all were either killed or taken. Those captured were subjected to several examinations, but nothing of importance could be elicited. Fawkes was tortured, but his iron will could not be broken. All the plotters were condemned at a formal trial on the 27th of January, 1606. The sentence was that they be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Three days afterwards Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Lord Grant, and a certain Bates, servant of Catesby, were executed in the church-yard of St. Paul's. On the following day Thomas Winter, the noblemen Rookwood and Keyes, and Guy Fawkes himself were put to death at Westminster. Fawkes was the last to ascend the scaffold. Though tottering from the effects of torture and sickness, he met his doom without a shudder, and left behind what is, perhaps, the most noted example on record of a courageous conspirator facing the final ordeal.

Great was the excitement throughout the kingdom. The rage of the people rose to the highest pitch, and many would fain have fallen upon and destroyed every papist in England. It was, however, greatly to James's credit that he refused to countenance the persecution of any who were not manifestly engaged in the plot. The only apology which Catholic writers have been able to invent is couched in the theory that the whole Gunpowder Plot was a fiction and ruse invented by Cecil to create sentiment against the papal party and sympathy for the House of Stuart.

With the accession of James I. the union of the crowns of England and Scotland was effected; but the union of the two kingdoms was a work of more difficult accomplishment. For the latter movement implied the bringing into one assembly of the English and Scottish Parliaments; and this measure was of course resisted by the long-standing and inveterate prejudices and hatreds of the two peo-

ples. At the first, the whole power of the crown was exerted unsuccessfully to bring about the desired result. The policy of the king was most seriously resisted by his own subjects of the North; for a great deal of the existing legislation of England had been of a sort to excite the animosity of the Scots, and the removal of the court from Edinburgh to London added to their jealousy and discontent.

Defeated in his project of consolidating his kingdoms, James next turned his attention to such measures as were calculated to fill his treasury. His scale of expenditure was altogether greater than good economy or proper political sagacity would indicate. Deficient in the ways and the means of legitimate money-making, he resorted to the sale of fictitious dignities. Titles were distributed to those who could purchase them. The title of *Baronet* was invented with the especial design of adding to the king's revenues; and he could obtain it who could produce the requisite thousand pounds.

In the early years of James's reign the court and country were constantly distracted by the jealousies, quarrels, and intrigues of the royal favorites. It was in the king's nature and practice to choose from among the courtiers some one upon whom he might center his affections and bestow his extravagant favors. It was thus that Robert Carr, a Scottish youth of some distinction, became conspicuous as the object of the king's idolatry. One honor followed another until at last Carr was created Earl of Somerset. He then sought to marry the Countess of Essex, but was strongly advised against that step by the wise Sir Thomas Overbury. At this the favorite was so much incensed that he procured the imprisonment of Sir Thomas and soon afterwards became privy to the taking-off of that nobleman by poison. Carr and the countess were then married; but she soon proved to be Jezebel *reviviva*, and he fell into a miserable melancholy. It afterwards transpired that the twain had been guilty of the murder of Overbury, and they were accordingly tried and driven into banishment.

The year 1613 was marked by the deaths of Henry, prince of Wales, and Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, the great minister whom James had inherited from the court of Eliza-

beth. Neither could well be spared; for the English people, by no means attached to the cold and unambitious James, were enthusiastically devoted to his promising and aspiring son. As for Cecil, he was undoubtedly one of the ablest ministers of his times, and his methods were just sufficiently unscrupulous to make him a power among a people whose estimate of success and brilliancy has always made them blind to the faults of a favorite, except when they were laboring under some temporary inflammation of conscience.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

The death of Salisbury was the signal for a liberation from a thirteen years' imprisonment of his old-time rival, Sir Walter Raleigh. It was in keeping with the meanness of the age that the mandate for his freedom was issued by the king in the hope of profit; for Raleigh was said to have knowledge of a gold mine in Guiana, and thither the long-imprisoned nobleman was sent, with the still unexecuted sentence of death behind him. Sir Walter was given command of a small fleet, manned by a company of reckless adventurers who were for gold or nothing.

Sailing into the Orinoco, a landing was made; but the expedition in search of a gold mine proved abortive. An attack was made upon a Spanish settlement, and Raleigh's son was killed in the onset. The band then became mutinous, and Sir Walter was obliged to return to England. An inquiry into his conduct found him guilty, as a matter of course, for he had been unsuccessful; and the king gave his consent that the long-suspended sentence should be carried into execution. This shocking decision was accordingly fulfilled, and Raleigh was beheaded on the 20th of October, 1618. Of all the great lights that had shone in the sky of the Elizabethan Age only Sir Francis Bacon now remained.

This man of remarkable genius, made by nature for the solution of the highest problems of philosophy, had long been kept in the background by the Cecils, his kinsmen; for they knew that his extraordinary powers would shine in affairs of state to the partial or total eclipse of their own luster. After the death of the younger Burleigh, however, Bacon was promoted to the highest dignity. In June of 1616 he was made a privy counselor, and on the 5th of March in the following year was appointed to the chancellorship, with the title of Lord Keeper of the Seal. Two months later he took his seat in the Court of Chancery, and such was the vigor and energy with which he entered upon his duties that in less than a month he was enabled to report to Lord Buckingham that he had cleared off all the outstanding causes in his court.

In the year 1618 Bacon was made Baron Verulam, and in January of 1621 the title of Viscount St. Alban was added. In the mean time he published his celebrated work, the *Novum Organum*, by which his reputation as one of the most profound thinkers of the world was established, not only for his own age, but for all posterity. Doubtless, the fame which Bacon thus acquired, and the influence which he wielded in the state, conduced more to his downfall than did the

accusations which were trumped up against him. Charges were brought forward to the effect that, while occupying the bench in the Court of Chancery, he had acted corruptly, had received bribes, and in other ways left an indelible stain on the judicial ermine. The facts were, that up to the beginning of the seventeenth century the court practices of England had been any thing else than pure; that most of the offices of the crown were venal; that suits in Chancery had, as a rule, been as much influenced by corrupt inducements as by legal principles, and that, of all the chancellors which had held that court since the times of Henry VIII., Bacon himself was the justest judge. Nevertheless, the temper of the age was changed. England had one of her periodic inflammations of the conscience. Dissatisfied with peace and unable to persuade the plodding king to go to war, the Parliament appeared to gloat over the prospect of excitement furnished by the overthrow of Bacon.

On the 14th day of March, 1621, a certain Aubrey appeared before the bar of the House and charged Lord Bacon with having received from him a sum of money, while his cause was pending in the chancellor's court, and with afterwards having decided the cause against him. Then came another by the name of Egerton, and preferred a similar accusation. A committee was appointed to investigate these charges, and the result was the presentation of articles of impeachment. In his reply Bacon presented an analysis of the various circumstances under which a judge might receive benefits from those who had had matters in his court; and as this, his answer, is the real basis of a decision of the accusations against Bacon and his memory, the same is here inserted: "The first," says he, "[is] of bargain and contract for reward to pervert justice while a cause is pending. The second [instance is] where the judge conceives the cause to be at an end, by the information of the party or otherwise, and useth not such diligence as he ought to inquire of it. And the third, where the cause is really ended and it is without fraud, without relation to any preceding promise. For the first of these, I take myself to be as innocent as any born upon St. Innocent's Day, in my heart. For

the second, I doubt on some particulars I may be faulty. And for the last, I conceive it to be no fault, but therein I desire to be better informed, that I may be twice penitent—once for the fact and again for the error."

All the subsequent facts which have been developed in the controversy relative to the guilt or innocence of Bacon may be readily harmonized with this, his own theory of the case. Nevertheless, Parliament, in its passing gust of virtue, well pleased to have found so illustrious a victim of its rage, proceeded to pass sentence upon him. He was condemned to a fine of forty thousand pounds and to imprisonment in the Tower during the pleasure of the king. He was declared forever incapable of holding any office, place, or employment in the state, and was forbidden to sit in Parliament or come within the verge of the court. This severe sentence, however, was not rigorously enforced. The fine was virtually remitted by the king. The fallen chancellor's imprisonment lasted for four days, and a general pardon—not, of course, removing the censure of Parliament—was presently granted. But Bacon never recovered his standing in the state; and after a retirement of five years, passed in the industrious pursuits of literature, but not unhaunted by the over-recurring hope of regaining his place among the great, he died at Lord Arundel's house, in London, on the 9th of April, 1626.

One of the principal causes of difference between King James and his Parliament related to the question of war. He was essentially a man of peace, nor could he be easily provoked from his habitual disposition. In 1619, just after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, he was strongly urged to interfere in that conflict. His daughter Elizabeth had been married to the elector of the Palatinate, and the king was solicited to take the part of his son-in-law in his break with Ferdinand II. It will be remembered that this elector was for a short time king of Bohemia, and that he lost that dubious distinction in the battle of Prague, in which he was overthrown by the Austrians. He then took refuge in Holland, and it was this condition of affairs that led Parliament to press upon the king the importance of restoring his son-in-law to the lost Palatinate.

But the unwarlike James was so averse to acts of hostility that he could not be induced to undertake the elector's cause. The English recruits that went into Holland did so of their own accord, and the king limited his endeavors to futile negotiations. In this work he even undertook to enlist the king of Spain;

the most powerful ministers of the government. He proposed to James that Prince Charles should go into Spain and see and woo the princess for himself. And this half-romantic scheme was carried out. The event, however, did not answer to the expectation of the managers. For the prince, while passing



HENRIETTA MARIA.

and in order to induce that monarch to second his plans, he proposed that Prince Charles should take in marriage the Spanish Infanta.

To this proceeding the English people were especially averse. They had had enough of Spanish marriages in the times of Mary Tudor. But the king was set in his purpose, and the project was seconded by George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, then one of

incognito through Paris, attended a court ball, at which he saw the beautiful Henrietta Maria, daughter of the French king; and she, rather than the princess at the end of his journey, became the divinity of his dreams.

The Infanta was seen and that was all. The prince returned to England, and the proposed treaty with Spain was broken off. James yielded to the inevitable, and entered into ne-

gotiations with France. The history of his own life, and the more unhappy history of his mother's, had not been of a sort to encourage French alliances. But Charles, the heir apparent to the crown, had fallen deeply in love with the Princess Henrietta, and the father was obliged to assent to the marriage.

The king was at length driven against his wishes to send out an English army in aid of the elector palatine. The forces thus ordered into Germany were put under command of Count Mansfeld; but the latter was little successful in his struggle with the Imperial generals, and the expedition soon came to naught. A short time previously a body of six thousand English soldiers had been sent into the Netherlands to serve under Prince Maurice of Saxony. But that movement was also without any important results; nor could it have been expected that the military reputation of England would be enhanced under the auspices of a prince to whom war was utterly repugnant.

The reign of King James ended with the first quarter of the century. Before the arrangements were completed for the marriage of his son with the French princess, he fell under a malarial attack and was brought to his death. His last days were marked with more dignity than had characterized the principal acts of his life. He took a composed leave of his family, gave good counsel to Prince Charles, and on the 27th of March, 1625, died quietly in the palace of Theobalds, being in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

In a religious point of view, the most important event in the reign of James I. was the translation of the Bible into current English. The version thus produced in the year 1611 has, notwithstanding many blemishes and defects, held its own to the present day. The king appointed a commission of about fifty persons, to whom the work was intrusted. The men chosen were as learned as the age in which they lived, and the translation which they produced was as good as could have been made in their times. Following the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew original, they fell into many errors which a riper scholarship would have avoided; and the sterling language employed in the rendition, rather than accuracy of translation, has prevailed for more

than two and a-half centuries to give to the "Bible of King James" a permanent hold on the affections of the English-speaking race.

Politically the kingdom made some progress. This was specially noticeable in the affairs of Ireland. Since the time of the Crusades that island had been miserably governed by the English. The Celts, still in the incipient stages of civilization, long subjugated by a stronger and more warlike people, had been horribly oppressed by their masters. The House of Tudor seemed to regard the Irish as a race to be robbed and plundered at will. Nor did any English king until the accession of James attempt to alleviate the condition of the suffering half-barbarians of the west. His efforts to ameliorate the condition of Ireland, and to hasten the emergence of the island into fairer light and better condition, were in the highest measure commendable.

CHARLES I. was in the first flush of full manhood when called by his father's death to the throne of England. He was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, handsome in person, dignified in manners. He had in his constitution and character a certain mixture of Scotch austerity, with the suavity and gentleness peculiar to his grandmother, the Queen of Scots. His mind had been carefully cultivated, and his morals were better than the standard of the century. He is represented as having a melancholy expression of countenance, a kind of sadness of face and manner but little agreeable to the robust and hilarious English people. It was his misfortune to have a hasty temper, and his will was too easily swayed by the interested and scheming courtiers who flourished in the palace and at his council board.

It was easy to discover at the beginning of the new reign at least two conditions unfavorable to the peace of the kingdom. The first was the ascendancy of the unprincipled Duke of Buckingham in the affairs of the state. To him the king seemed to surrender the entire management of the government. Nor could he perceive how great a drawback to his reign were the caprices, fickleness, and implacable hatreds of his favorite minister. In the second place, the queen greatly displeased the nation. Henrietta Maria brought with her to London not only the sunshine and gayety of

Paris, but the religion of the ancient Church. That she persisted in practicing openly, against the deep-seated prejudices of her subjects. It

the papacy. It was not difficult for the sunless Puritan of 1626 to discover more loveliness in the gloomy and vulgar Queen Anne, who had lately occupied the throne with James, than in the beautiful and accomplished Henrietta.

It was the peculiarity of the first two Stuart kings of England to speculate, speak, and write about those abstract questions of religion and politics which were just then beginning to stir to its depths the mind of England. Such a disposition is highly unfavorable to the success of kingly administration.

Government is preëminently a practical affair, and the theorist who is unwilling to learn the lesson of wisdom from passing events, as they rise and vanish in the commonplace drama ever enacting under his eyes, is least of all men fitted to manage successfully the public business of the state. Such a ruler is likely to undertake the impracticable, if not impossible, task of bending facts into conformity with preconceptions and theories true only in his own imagination. Of this kind was Charles Stuart, and in the end the disposition cost him most dearly. Particularly was this so in view of the fact that the English House of Commons had in the interval of peace become a powerful body, little disposed to be putient when crossed in its practical—perhaps its vulgar—adherence to business principles, or to listen with proper respect to the king's platitudes on matters concerning which the members knew little and cared nothing.

It appears that from the beginning of his reign Charles I. conceived it to be his business to



CHARLES I.
After the painting by Vandyke.

were hard to say whether the religious sentiment of England, now strongly inclining to Puritanism, was more offended at the gay and joyous court which the queen created around her, or at her adherence to the hated faith of

reduce the House of Commons to its old-time subserviency; nor could he understand the changed condition of affairs which rendered it impossible for him to succeed in the undertaking. A great transformation had

taken place. The England of 1560, which could not think, or if it thought could find no organ by which to express its wishes and demands, had now found a tongue, and the king instead of welcoming this voice of the people and calling it to his aid adopted the theory of suppression as the best and only means of maintaining the ancient prerogatives of the English crown. The first year of his reign was for the most part spent in the foolish endeavor to reassert his sway over the Commons. Finding himself unable to accomplish this result he dissolved the Parliament, failing to perceive the inevitable assembling of another still more hostile to his purpose.

The unpopularity of the king and his government was still further heightened by the ill success which attended the military operations of the kingdom. Hoping to distract the attention of the people from their political griefs, and perhaps to ingratiate himself into public favor, Buckingham induced his master to go to war with France. In 1627 a large force of English troops was sent to the relief of the French Huguenots, then besieged at Rochelle. Buckingham took command in person, but his military abilities were in inverse ratio to his arrogance, and from the first the expedition was doomed to failure. Attempting to land on the Isle of Rhé he was repulsed with great loss. In the following year another campaign was planned, and the Duke of Buckingham went to Portsmouth to superintend the preparations. While engaged in this work he was hunted by a certain sour Puritan by the name of Felton, who imagined himself inspired to take Buckingham's life. After following the duke for some days he finally managed to get within striking distance and inflicted a fatal stab with a knife. "The villain has killed me," said the great Buckingham as he tottered and fell down dead. The assassin was soon seized, tried, and executed.

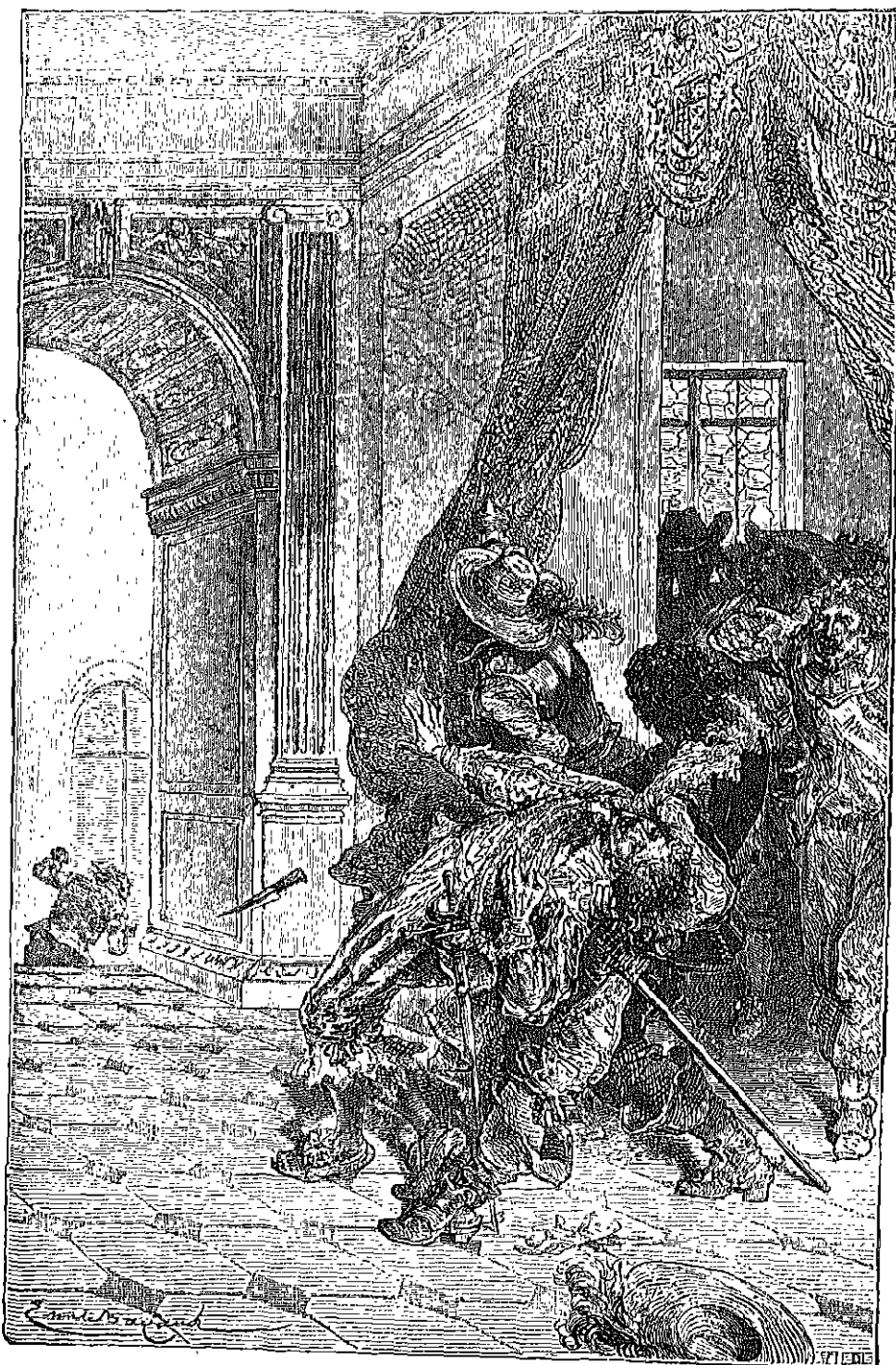
The death of his favorite minister made it necessary for the king to find some other pillar of support. In casting about for one on whom to bestow his confidence he at length selected Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Lord Strafford, a man of great talents, iron will, and despotic opinions. At the same time Charles took into his favor William Laud,

archbishop of Canterbury, who was in religion a fitting counterpart of Strafford in politics. It was one of the greatest banes of Charles Stuart's career that he chose these two arbitrary and arrogant lords as the main props of his throne at a time when the premonitory shocks of a political earthquake were already felt in England.

The conduct of Laud was from the first of a sort to excite suspicion, distrust, hostility. It could but be perceived by any wise statesman that the edges of the established Church were everywhere crumbling away; and yet in the face of this fact, in the very front of the rising power of Puritanism, the archbishop adopted a series of measures well calculated to offend the religionists and drive them into open insurrection. He introduced into the services of the Church a number of ceremonies peculiar to Romanism, and took no pains to conceal his preference for those forms of worship which lay nearest to the ancient establishment.

Another and more serious cause of disagreement between the king and his people was discovered in the refusal of Parliament to grant to the monarch such supplies as he claimed for the support of the government. James I. had been notorious for his want of skill in managing the revenues of the kingdom. Charles had inherited a bankrupt treasury along with the crown of England, and though frugal himself, and in no wise disposed to excess in the expenditure of the public funds, he found himself constantly embarrassed for the want of money. Nor could he without frequent appeals to Parliament procure the necessary means for defraying the ordinary expenses of the government. This circumstance gave great advantage to the House of Commons in its contention with the king relative to his prerogatives. The sturdy and already half-republican members of that body refused to vote the needed supplies, or else granted them in so scanty a measure and so grudgingly as to taunt, menace, and provoke the king on each successive appeal. In this condition of affairs he chose to step beyond the well-established bounds of precedent, and attempted to do as if by his own right what was clearly within the province of Parliament.

It is appropriate in this connection to notice briefly an institution which for several centuries played a not unimportant part in the political history of England—that half-secret royal tribunal known as the Court of the Star Chamber. This body, from which so



MURDER OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Drawn by Emile Bayard.

many abuses proceeded and to which history and popular tradition alike have given so bad a fame, dated back as far as the times of Edward III. It was at the first a kind of king's council, not identical, however, with the privy council or ordinary deliberative court upon which the English kings were wont to depend for advice. The Star Chamber—so-called from the gilded stars on the ceiling of the room in the palace of Westminster where the court was wont to sit—was a more private or personal court, to which the reigning sovereign was wont to look for a decision which was needed in an emergency to bolster up some royal act which had no other sanction.

In course of time this court, whose sittings were secret, became odious, and many statutes were passed abridging and restraining its actions. In the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., when Parliament was at the lowest ebb of its influence, the Star Chamber was revived, and became, under the arbitrary management of the Tudors, an instrument most hateful for overthrowing the rising political liberties of England. Its scope seems to have been to inquire into every alleged misdemeanor for which the statute law had provided no adequate punishment. Such questions as corruption, breach of trust, malfeasance in office, attempts to commit felony, violations of royal edicts, and the like were heard and decided in the chamber, and its prerogative was soon extended to acts of disrespect to the state and persons in authority. Such an instrument was well suited to the dispositions of the Stuarts, and Charles I. made haste to avail himself of his secret court, and more than ever before to stretch its jurisdiction to new matters which he desired to control independently of Parliament. And such decisions as were rendered and exactions as were made were enforced with a rigor never before known in England.

In order to make up for deficiencies in the revenue the king also resorted to certain duties called *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. The means derived from these sources had been hitherto granted, when granted at all, by special act of Parliament. Such an act, however, was now precisely what Charles could not obtain, and he undertook to collect the duties on his own authority. In the next place, he im-

posed a new tax known as *Ship-money*, by means of which he proposed to maintain the navy. Nor could it be denied that in the expenditure of the revenues thus illegally derived the king made some atonement—if such were possible—for the infraction of the laws. The English navy became more efficient than at any time since the high noon of Elizabeth. Nevertheless, the fact of the illegality remained, and it was certain that the Commons would not long endure the arbitrary government to which they were subjected.

History presents few examples of a change more complete from a mother to her son than that of James I. in his abandonment of the religious system for which Mary Stuart gave her life. He was, as we have already seen, a thorough devotee of the Church of England. Like him Charles I. remained steadfastly attached to the established form. In his own paternal kingdom of Scotland, however, Presbyterianism had now swept every thing before it. To the sturdy zealots of the North the conservative doctrines and stately forms of Episcopalianism became almost as hateful as the Romish rite and ritual themselves. Notwithstanding this condition of affairs in the North, Charles resolved to undertake the extension of the English Church over Scotland and to enforce conformity with her doctrines and usages. Nothing could have surpassed in depth and strength the profound and universal revolt of the Scotch against this proceeding. The Presbyterians of the Northern kingdom bound themselves in a solemn LEAGUE AND COVENANT to resist the proposed encroachment on their religious faith; and to this declaration and compact they required all the people of Scotland to affix their names. The movement in a short time assumed the most formidable proportions.

Those who entered into this religio-political league took the name of COVENANTERS. All classes joined the compact to defeat the purpose of the king. An army was formed and the command given to the Duke of Argyle. Several of the king's castles were seized, and the town of Leith was taken and fortified. Perceiving the storm which he had raised, Charles marched a large force to Berwick; but he durst not immediately undertake a war upon his subjects, and negotiations were

opened with the Covenanters. But the spirit of the Scots had now become so hot that the concessions offered by the king had little effect to allay the excitement. On the contrary, when the men of the North perceived that the king was unable to enforce compliance with his edict of conformity, they took advantage of his weakness, yielded nothing, and presently obliged him to disband his troops, for he had no means of supporting an army in the field. At length he succeeded in inducing the stubborn Scots to accept his overtures and return to their homes in peace.

It soon appeared, however, that the malcontents, having once been aroused, could not be so easily placated. In a short time they again rushed to arms, and it became evident that the king must subdue them by force or make a complete surrender to their demands. The latter he could not well do without a virtual abdication of his authority, and to succeed in the former he must have the support of Parliament.

That body had not been convened for nearly eleven years. During all this interval the king, by his tonnage and poundage and ship-money, had sought to replenish his revenues and keep the kingdom from bankruptcy. But to undertake a war involved expenses so great that he could not hope to meet them by such arbitrary measures as he might incidentally adopt. He accordingly determined to reconvene the Commons and ask for the needed supplies and revenues.

Charles accordingly issued his call, and in 1640 Parliament assembled. Perhaps no deliberative body ever convened in worse humor. The members, intent on righting the wrongs which they themselves had suffered through more than a decade of contemptuous neglect, gave no heed to the difficulties into which the king had been plunged, but began at once to devise such measures as looked to the restoration of the authority of the House of Commons. Charles, perceiving that his Parliament was against him rather than for him, and that the body was eagerly planning to deprive him of his prerogatives as well as his revenues, became irritated, and in a moment of ill-temper dissolved the assembly. The Commons had been in session only for a short

time, and neither had the king procured any aid, nor had the Parliament succeeded in contriving further means of crippling the monarch.

Meanwhile the hostile Scots, after hovering for a brief season on the northern border, began an invasion. They advanced with an army almost to Newcastle, and the king was obliged to do something to resist their further progress. In his sore distress he resorted to personal loans. He borrowed from his ministers and courtiers until they had no more to lend, and with the money thus obtained raised and equipped a small army to oppose the Scots. The royalists advanced to Newburn, where a battle was fought, resulting in the rout of Charles's forces. So desperate were the straits to which he was thus reduced that he was compelled, however against his will, again to summon Parliament.

That body was now more irreconcilable than ever. It assembled in a spirit bordering on downright disloyalty. The House of Commons was pervaded in every part with Puritanism. It was clear that the king had more to fear than to hope from the assembly upon which his predecessors had been wont to lean for support. Nor were the lords and bishops, though very willing, able to render him any effective assistance in the face of so great popular hostility.

As might have been anticipated, under such conditions, the Commons again gave themselves to the redress of their own grievances. The king was left to take care of himself. The Puritan members of the House soon found a suitable object of their vengeance in him who was, as they were pleased to believe, the *bête noire* of the times, the Earl of Strafford. He had himself once been a Puritan, and his abandonment of that party had been greatly resented by the zealots whose leader, John Pym, had, on the occasion of Strafford's defection, said to him: "You have left us, but we will not leave you while your head is on your shoulders." The Puritans were now in a condition to enforce their threat.

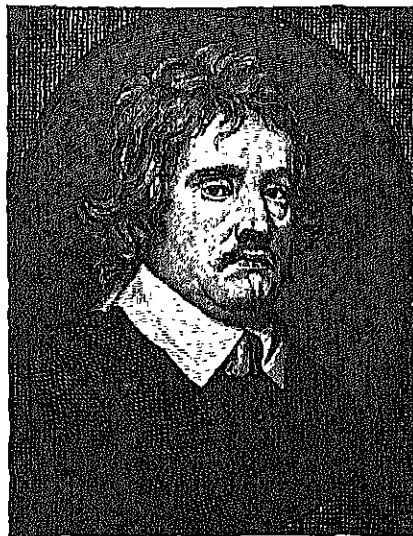
Soon after the assembling of Parliament, namely, on the 11th of November, 1640, Pym, on behalf of the Commons, appeared at the bar of the House of Lords and presented

articles of impeachment against Strafford. He was charged with an attempt to subvert the liberties of the English people; nor can it be doubted, in the light of subsequent revelations, that he was guilty of the thing charged. But at the time of his trial the evidence was insufficient to convict. Besides, the earl conducted his own defense with such ability and eloquence that the Commons, foreseeing an acquittal, withdrew the articles of impeachment.

But the attack was immediately renewed under the form of a *Bill of Attainder*. This was passed by a great majority in the House of Commons, and the Lords, under pressure of public opinion, yielded their assent. It only remained for the king to affix his signature to the condemnation of his favorite minister and most powerful supporter. Never was monarch placed in a more embarrassing dilemma. How could he assent to the execution of his greatest counselor and most devoted friend? On the other hand, how could he resist the clamors of a Parliament in which even the conservative power of the House of Lords had been swept away? In the midst of his master's distress Strafford wrote him a letter advising him to sign the bill, and expressing his willingness to die in order to appease the anger of the people. Whether the earl was sincere, or whether he thought, by this magnanimous proposition, to strengthen the king's purpose *not* to let him be put to death, is not known. At any rate, when the wavering king did yield and affix his signature to the bill, Strafford was greatly surprised, and appeared for the moment completely overcome with the thought that Charles had abandoned him to his fate. The earl was condemned, taken from prison to Tower Hill, and there, on the 12th of May, 1641, was beheaded. He went to the block with great composure, and when surrendering himself to the mercies of the headsman, said calmly: "I lay down my head as cheerfully as ever I did when going to repose."—Such was the first sacrifice on the altar of a public vengeance, not easy to be appeased.

The next to feel the blow of popular fury was Archbishop Laud. Before the execution of Strafford it was resolved in the Commons to proceed with the impeachment of the pow-

erful prelate. At the first Laud was seized and imprisoned on a charge of high treason. Three years elapsed before he was brought to trial; but Parliament in the mean time passed an act confiscating his property. The treatment, moreover, to which the aged archbishop was subjected was in other respects well suited to the age of barbarism. He was treated in



JOHN PYM.

prison as a common malefactor, and even the papers which he prepared for his defense were taken from him. So vindictively and cruelly



does injured Freedom demean herself when after insult and con-

tumely, she at length regains the power to trample on her enemies!

COAT OF ARMS AND SIGNATURE OF JOHN PYM.

It was in the interval between the condemnation and execution of Strafford, while the king's mind was driven and his spirit tossed by adverse winds, that the Commons availed themselves of their advantage to lay before the distracted monarch a bill wherein it was provided that henceforth the Parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or ad-

journeyed without its own consent. To this he was induced to affix his signature; and thus that very prerogative which he had been wont to stretch beyond the constitutional limits was more curtailed than at any previous time in the history of England.

If all the measures adopted by the victorious Parliament had been as wise as the first the English people would have had cause of thankfulness to Charles Stuart for furnishing the occasion of so salutary a reform. The first act adopted after the king had given up his power of adjourning the Commons at his will was for the abolition of the Court of the Star Chamber. With the fall of that unsavory tribunal one powerful support of the arbitrary system of government was knocked away.

In the latter part of the year 1641 there was a lull in the popular excitement, and it appeared not impossible that the serious dissension between king and Parliament might be permanently healed. Charles found time and opportunity again to turn his attention to the condition of affairs in the North. He resolved to go into Scotland and endeavor by personal conferences and a conciliatory tone to win back the alienated affections of his subjects. While engaged in this work, however, he received the disheartening intelligence that the Irish had revolted against his government. A certain Irish gentleman, named Roger More, actuated by a patriotic desire to free his country from English domination, began to agitate the question of independence and the possible expulsion of foreign rulers from the Island. But the movement which he thus originated soon defied control, and like a spreading conflagration wrapped the greater part of Ireland in the flames of revolt. A terrible massacre of the English followed; nor did the infuriated insurgents spare any age, sex, or condition. A few of the foreign residents sought refuge in Dublin, but the rest were almost exterminated. It was greatly to the credit of More that, when he found himself unable to stop the carnage or in any wise direct the revolt of which he had been the chief promoter, he left the scene of horror to exhaust itself by its own bloody excesses, and went into Flanders.

The duty was thus devolved upon Charles

of restoring the supremacy of England in the rebellious island or else of accepting the alternative of Irish independence. He at once called upon Parliament for the means of putting down the rebellion. That body showed little patriotism or duty in its response to the king's appeal. A vote was passed for raising money and collecting munitions of war, but at the same time the Commons took care that the supplies thus obtained for the Irish service should be kept in reserve with the manifest intent of using the same, should occasion offer, in a conflict with the king.

For by this time a large political party had arisen in England so antagonistic to the House of Stuart as to be ready for an attack on the monarchy itself. The intensity of this opposition to the existing order ranged all the way from moderation to madness. Some were in favor of mild reform; others of radical innovation; others still, of iconoclastic revolution. A great majority of the people of the kingdom were opposed to the arbitrary methods adopted by the reigning House, and were willing to see the dynasty humbled in some exemplary fashion. But as to method there was little agreement. In general the Puritans led the attack; for they, in addition to the common political grievances of the times, were still worse afflicted on the side of their religion. Since the days of Henry VIII. the religious hierarchy of England had been closely intertwined with the monarchy. The government of religion and that of the state were so bound together as virtually to constitute but one system. The prelate and the lord walked hand in hand. The state wore episcopacy as a garment. The crown of the king was double: he was the head of both the Kingdom and the Church. The revolt of Puritanism against the religious hierarchy brought on an inevitable conflict with the state; for the state had its arms around the hierarchy. The double currents of religious insurrection and political revolt became confluent and their united volume rolled on towards the near abyss of revolution.

From day to day, from week to week, the breach between the king and Parliament widened. The thoughtful could already discover on the horizon the clouds of civil war. On the one hand, republican principles were

openly advocated. On the other, the king and the large minority that still supported him stood firm in defense of the ancient monarchy and of the time-honored prerogatives of the monarch. Parliament became a scene. The king struggled to extricate himself from

his embarrassments, but the specters of revolution rose from the earth and drew the complications around him until he was completely, hopelessly entangled in the net. Such was the condition of affairs in the early months of 1642.

CHAPTER CVII.—CIVIL WAR AND COMMONWEALTH.



THE Long Parliament was now in the third year of its sitting. The body fell more and more under the influence of the Puritans. Though the royalists, or king's party, were not without strength, their enemies gained upon them, and it was evident that all the resources at Charles's command would be necessary to uphold the beleaguered throne. Popular leaders appeared and gained a great ascendancy, not only in Parliament, but among the people.

Never before had so great and profound an agitation seized the public mind. Foremost among the revolutionists may be mentioned John Pym, to whom reference has already been made, and JOHN HAMPDEN, not less noted for his courage and radicalism. The latter was the son of an old parliamentarian of the age of Elizabeth, and entering early into public life became noted among those who set themselves in opposition to Strafford and Laud. Against him the anger of the king's council became so inflamed that he was in danger of losing not only his property but also his life. At one time, being discouraged at the condition of affairs in his own country, he determined to seek refuge in the wilds of America. It is said that he and his cousin Oliver Cromwell had already engaged their passage to the New World when a royal edict was issued forbidding shipmasters to carry English subjects out of the kingdom without a special permit. Hampden was thus prevented from sailing; and soon became more deeply involved than ever in the controversy

with the king. On the assembling of the Long Parliament, in November of 1640, the Puritan opposition gathered around his standard, and he was recognized as the most powerful man in the kingdom. He was one of the committee of twelve who conducted the impeachment of Lord Strafford. Afterwards he was one of the five republican leaders who were accused of treason, and whose lives were demanded by the king. His hostility against the monarchy then became more pronounced than ever, and at the outbreak of actual hostilities the people of all England looked to him as a leader.

Now it was that the still more famous OLIVER CROMWELL made his appearance on that stage upon which he was to act so conspicuous a part. For him, rather than for Hampden or Pym, destiny had reserved the actual direction of the great conflict which was about to ensue. At the first his appearance in Parliament attracted but little attention, but he had within him an aggregation of those elements which are especially demanded in the stormy times of revolution. Nor was it long until the public mind perceived that he, more than any other man of the epoch, possessed the essential qualities of leadership. Cromwell was born at Huntingdon on the 25th of April, 1599. Of himself he says: "I was by birth a gentleman." But the respectable rank which fortune gave him in society was of far less importance than the remarkable bodily and mental vigor by which he was characterized even from boyhood. In his youth he applied himself to the study of law, but that vocation soon proved to be unsuited to his active disposition. In a later year he became

a farmer at St. Ives. There he adopted the doctrines of Puritanism, and became a preacher after the manner of the people with whom he had joined himself.

in dress. Of him Sir Philip Warwick thus speaks in his memoirs: "The first time that ever I took notice of him [Cromwell] was in November, 1640. When I came one morning to the House, I perceived a gentleman speaking, very ordinarily appareled; for it was a plain suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain and not very clean, and I remember a speck of blood upon his hand; his stature was of a good size; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice harsh and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervor." Such was the personal appearance of him who was soon to become the most powerful leader of the century.

Next in influence in the republican ranks was SIR HENRY VANE, son of that Sir Henry Vane who figured in political affairs in the times of the first two Stuarts. Born in 1612, carefully reared by his father, educated at Westminster and Magdalen College, he early gave his attention to those religious questions with which all England was at that time agitated. In intellectual brilliancy he was the equal, if not the su-

perior, of any of the revolutionist leaders; but his nature was somewhat too refined for the fierce and bloody work which was now to be begun. He traveled in Holland, France, and Switzerland, true to the cause which he had espoused at home, but leaving the immediate support of that cause to others. Afterwards he joined the Puritans in Massachusetts, and in 1636 was elected governor of that colony. After one year he returned to England, and in 1640 became a member of the Long Parliament, where he distinguished himself as a conspicuous opponent of the royalist party. Many other prominent leaders came forth to take their part in the drama. Among these may be mentioned Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, a man of sterling parts and better judgment than most of his associates, and also Sir Hugh Peters, who, from being a dissenting clergy-



JOHN HAMPDEN.

In 1626 he entered Parliament, and soon afterwards was associated with Sir Arthur Hazelrig and John Hampden in their project



of establishing a colony in America. Prevented by the king's edict from carrying out that purpose, he became

one of the most resolute opponents of the royal policy, and when the Long Parlia-

ment assembled he was already marked as a leader. He is described at this time as being a red-faced, coarse, and slovenly man, ungraceful in his bearing and ungente

John Hampden

COAT OF ARMS AND SIGNATURE
OF JOHN HAMPDEN.

man in exile first at Rotterdam and afterwards in New England, returned to his own country in 1640 to become an influential leader of the parliamentary party.—Such was in brief the *personnel* of that popular and fanatical leadership which was now destined to shake the very foundations of the English monarchy.

The immediate occasion of the outbreak of hostilities between the king and the Parliament—that small fact which, like the match to the magazine, lighted the disastrous train of war—was the attempt of the king, in violation of a fundamental maxim of English law, to arrest five members of the House of Commons. Since the days of Magna Charta an act more flagrant had not been undertaken by any king of England. The Great Charter had directly declared that “we, the king, would not seize, imprison, or distress any freeman, except in accordance with the law of the land.” None the less Charles, in a fit of madness, ventured upon the hazard, and soon found that he had flung himself against an immovable bulwark, only to be broken. London became an uproar. Perceiving that he must now maintain himself by the sword, he withdrew from the city, and on the 25th of August, 1642, set up the royal standard at Nottingham. Thither he was followed by the court and most of the peers of England. Only Lord Essex and a few others of the nobility remained behind to share the fortunes of the people.

Now it was that those fierce hatreds peculiar to party strife, and not yet raised to a higher level by the more noble struggles of war, sought to express themselves in opprobrious names and epithets. The royalist party gave to their opponents the nickname of *Roundheads*; for the Puritans, after their austere formalism, cropped closely their hair, thus exhibiting in full outline the burly heads peculiar to the middle and shop-keeping classes of Englishmen. On the other hand, the Puritans, despising the refined, half-French and stilted manners of the royalists, nicknamed them the *Cavaliers*, or sometimes the *Malignants*.

Another fact proper to be considered at the beginning of the story of the war was the character of the make-up and alignment of

the two parties to the contest. Each of these consisted of a political and a religious element marching in close alliance. As for the Royalists, they were, of course, the nobility of England, of ancient, monarchical England, the conservative upholders of the ancient and the existing order, the lords by birth, the Tories by education. In close union with these were the Episcopalians, or High Churchmen, believing, like their political confederates, in the past and in so much of the present as the past had bequeathed to the current time. It was clear that the destinies of the Episcopal Church and of the English monarchy were inseparably interwoven. At the head of this party stood the king.

Opposed to the Royalists were several elements, partly political and partly religious in their character. First of all, there was a class of politicians who advocated a legal reform of the monarchy. They believed that the old constitution and ancient statutes of England were sufficient for the emergency—that the only thing necessary to do was to use existing agencies in the correction of existing abuses. This party would gladly have put away the illegal imposts to which the king had resorted, and the arbitrary imprisonments of which he had been guilty, together with all other acts contrary to the ancient laws and usages of the kingdom. As for the rest, the leaders of this faction would fain have left the existing order undisturbed. The principal statesmen who acted with this *Legal-Reform Party*, and were responsible for its conduct, were Lords Clarendon, Colepepper, Capel, and Falkland.

Next in order came what may be called the *Political Revolutionary Party*, differing from the preceding in this—that the members of the same did not regard the existing constitution and statutes as sufficient, even when observed, for the present reform and future development of England. To use the language of Guizot, this party did not think the ancient legal barriers an adequate safeguard for the rights and liberties of Englishmen. The leaders of this faction perceived “that a great change, a genuine revolution was wanting, not only in the forms, but in the spirit and essence of the government; that it was necessary to deprive the king and his council of the unlimited power which they possessed,

and to place the preponderance in the House of Commons; so that the government should, in fact, be in the hands of this assembly and its leaders. This party made no such open and systematic profession of its principles and intentions as I have done: but this was the real character of its opinions and of its political tendencies. Instead of acknowledging the absolute sovereignty of the king, it contended for the sovereignty of the House of Commons as the representatives of the people. Under this principle was hid that of the sovereignty of the people; a notion which the party was as far from considering in its full extent as it was from desiring the consequences to which it might ultimately lead, but which they nevertheless admitted when it presented itself to them in the form of the sovereignty of the House of Commons.

"The religious party most closely allied to this political-revolutionary one was that of the Presbyterians. This sect wished to operate much the same revolution in the Church as their allies were endeavoring to effect in the state. They desired to erect a system of Church government emanating from the people, and composed of a series of assemblies dovetailed, as it were, into each other; and thus to give to their national assembly the same authority in ecclesiastical matters that their allies wished to give in political to the House of Commons: only that the revolution contemplated by the Presbyterians was more complete and daring than the other, forasmuch as it aimed at changing the form as well as the principles of the government of the Church; while the views of the political party went no further than to place the influence, the preponderance, in the body of the people, without meditating any great alteration in the form of their institutions.

"Hence the leaders of this political party were not all favorable to the Presbyterian organization of the Church. Hampden and Hollis, as well as some others, it appears, would have given the preference to a moderate episcopacy, confined strictly to ecclesiastical functions, with a greater extent of liberty of conscience. They were obliged, however, to give way, as they could do nothing without the assistance of their fanatical allies.

"The third party, going much beyond these

two, declared that a change was required, not only in the form, but also in the foundation, of the government; that its constitution was radically vicious and bad. This party paid no respect to the past life of England; it renounced her institutions; it swept away all national remembrances; it threw down the whole fabric of English government, that it might build up another founded on pure theory, or at least, one that existed only in its own fancy. . . .

"Like the two preceding, this party was composed of a religious sect and a political sect. Its political portion were the genuine republicans, the theorists, Ludlow, Harrington, Milton, and the rest. To these may be added the republicans of circumstance, of interest, such as the principal officers of the army, Ireton, Cromwell, Lambert, and the rest, who were more or less sincere at the beginning of their career, but were soon controlled or guided by personal motives or force of circumstances. Under the banners of this party marched the religious republicans, all those religious sects which would acknowledge no power as legitimate but that of Jesus Christ, and who, awaiting his second coming, desired only the government of his elect. Finally, in the train of this party followed a mixed assemblage of subordinate freethinkers, fanatics, and levelers, some hoping for license, some for an equal distribution of property, and others for universal suffrage." No analysis of the elements which contributed their heterogeneous currents to the great Civil War in England more able and comprehensive than this by M. Guizot has been presented.

No sooner had actual hostilities begun than the splendid qualities of the Puritan soldiers began to appear. From the first, they exhibited undaunted courage and inflexible purpose. Nor were the officers who were chosen to command less able and valiant than the rank and file. On the other side, the king's generals, also, were men of approved valor and experience in war. First under the king himself was Prince Rupert, the monarch's nephew, son of that elector Palatine whom James I. was so often solicited to support in the early years of the Thirty Years' War. Next to the prince in command was the Marquis of Newcastle, whose high character and public and private

virtues did much to sustain the *morale* of the Royalist army. After him came Lord Hertford, whose influence induced many other noblemen to take a more active part in upholding the royal banner.

It was under inauspicious omens that the camp of Charles was established at Nottingham. On the first night after the king's standard was set up on Castle Hill, a storm prevailed and blew down the ensign of the monarchy. Superstition perceived in this circumstance the forecast shadow of a fallen throne. Nevertheless, the king's soldiers prepared to give the Parliamentarians a hot reception in the field. Charles himself was aroused to the exhibition of an energy of which his own most ardent admirers had not supposed him capable. In plan, purpose, and demeanor he revealed the elements of a new character, which, had it declared itself in the first years of his reign, might have steered the government safely through its perils and saved himself from ruin.

One of the great disadvantages under which the royal cause was now placed was the lack of money. It was a strange spectacle to see the second in succession from the great Elizabeth encamped on Nottingham Hill, and seeking by *voluntary contributions* to secure the means wherewith to defend the throne of England. But for the fact that a large percentage of the Royalists were themselves of ample fortune, it is certain that Charles's army must have been quickly disbanded for want of support.

Meanwhile, the queen, in order to escape from the impending perils of the situation, and at the same time to aid her husband's cause with such means as might be procured abroad, made her way to Holland, carrying with her the crown jewels of England. These she sold, and with the money thus obtained procured a supply of arms and ammunition, which were sent with all haste to the king.

By this time the parliamentary army had taken the field. The forces in the South were commanded by Lord Essex, and in the North by Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas. The tramp of armed men was heard in the streets of the towns. Garrisons were planted here and there, and before the close of 1642 England resembled a camp. The first battle

was fought on the 3d of October, on Edgehill, in Warwickshire. In the beginning of the engagement the forces of Prince Rupert were victorious, but he failed to take advantage of what he had gained, and before night-fall the parliamentary army had fully recovered its ground. The action, however, was indecisive, and with the following morning neither of the combatants seemed willing to hazard a renewal of the battle. Both had suffered severe losses. On the royalist side Lord Lindsey, at that time commander-in-chief of the king's forces, was among the slain. Both armies drew off from the scene of conflict, and each awaited reinforcements and the better development of its strength.

The first months of 1643 were occupied with the siege of Reading. This place had been garrisoned by royalists in the preceding year, and was now invested by Lord Essex with a large division of the republican army. The city was not taken, however, until April, for the royalists defended it with a persistency greater than the importance of the place would seem to have demanded. Later in the season a hard-fought battle took place at Landsdown, near Bath. Here the royalists won a decisive victory. In another conflict, which occurred at Devizes, the king's forces were again triumphant; but their victory was without important results. About the same time a minor engagement was had at a place called Chalgrave Field, near Oxford, and here the republicans had the great misfortune to lose their leader, John Hampden, who was mortally wounded in the fight. The loss to the nation was irreparable; for Hampden's virtues and equipoise of temper, as well as his powerful talents and influence, made him almost as much a necessity of his times as was Mirabeau at the outbreak of the French Revolution.

On the whole, the campaigns of the first year were favorable to the royal cause. The king's forces, though not a braver soldiery, were better disciplined than those of Parliament, and this fact told in the first battles of the war. But within a year from the outbreak of hostilities the republican soldiers had become the equals of their adversaries in discipline and more than their equals in valor and enthusiasm.

The general course of the war was further affected by the character of the recruits wherewith the two armies were replenished. The parliamentarians flocked to the standards of their generals from principle. Every man knew the motive of his action. Politically, he enlisted and drew his sword against the abuses of arbitrary power, and perhaps the



SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

After the miniature by J. Hoskins.

fundamental maxims on which monarchy was established. Religiously, he fought the Episcopal organization, almost as hateful in his

*Yr. most obedient
& affectional son
Fairfax*

LORD FAIRFAX'S SIGNATURE.

eyes as that Romanism which it had supplanted. His cause was the cause of the people, and the Puritan soldier and the common Englishman were and remained the best of friends. On the other side, the royalists were far removed from popular sympathy. The king's army was recruited from the two extremes of society. By a strange conjuncture

the nobleman and the vagabond, the prelate and the pad, the lord and the thief, were brought side by side under the banner of the king.

Nor was there any element present in this mottled host that was or could be regardful of the rights and interests of the English people. The result was that wherever the royal army prevailed, there the country was trodden under foot; there the peasantry of England was crushed and mutilated without mercy. On the contrary, in those towns and districts where the forces of Parliament were victorious the rights of all were as well regarded as might be in a time of war. Consequent upon this difference, so marked in different parts of the country, the Puritan cause gained everywhere new accretions of strength, while the royalists lost every condition of sympathy and encouragement. Nor did the fact that Charles admitted into his service what Papists soever could be induced to join his standard tend to improve his prospects with the English people, cordial haters, as they were, of the Romish establishment.

The former difficulties of the king with his Scottish subjects, his vacillating policy respecting them and their new religious departure, now became the antecedents of an alliance between the Puritan party of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland. Though they had little actual sympathy with each other, in one thing they were agreed—

hatred of Episcopacy and opposition to the king as its defender. A solemn League and Covenant was accordingly formed between Parliament and the Scots, the former hoping by this means to bring the royal cause to an inglorious end, and the latter to establish Presbyterianism on the ruins of the demolished Church of England.

In the year 1643 several important battles were fought, and victory rested now on this banner and now on that. The result was favorable to the Royalists to this extent, that Parliament, which had believed itself capable of crushing the king in a single campaign, was disappointed, chagrined, angered. But the resolution of the popular party to triumph in the end was in no wise weakened.

The king, moreover, was greatly embarrassed by the fact that he had been, at the outset, obliged to fly from the capital and to leave the government and its resources in the hands of Parliament. It thus happened that the Commons, having under their control the well-regulated machinery of the kingdom, were able to levy taxes and keep a full treasury, make enlistments for the army, and direct the energies of the state against the king. The latter, on his part, had little beside voluntary contributions wherewith to support his troops; and when the fortune of war brought him defeat, he was ill able to repair the damage by the prompt reinforcement of his army.

With the opening of the campaign of 1644, the forces of Parliament began to gain upon their adversaries. In the beginning of summer, Sir Thomas Fairfax cooped up and besieged the Marquis of Newcastle in York. The investment was pressed with great energy, and the defense conducted with equal courage. At length Prince Rupert, disengaging himself from other operations, marched to York with the purpose of raising the siege. He was advised by the Marquis of Newcastle not to hazard a battle with the forces of Fairfax; but confident of his own abilities and of the valor of his soldiers, the prince rejected the advice, and on the 2d of July offered fight to the republicans at a place called Marston Moor, about nine miles from the city. The forces engaged were about equal on either side. Each commander led about twenty-five thousand men into battle. Prince Rupert, in command of the right wing, was opposed by Oliver Cromwell on the republican left. The most dashing and determined cavalryman in all England soon found that he had rushed upon an antagonist who could not be moved.

The charge on the regiments of Cromwell was like a charge upon the stone bulwarks of a fortification. Rupert's horsemen were hurled back in confusion, and the royal infantry which stood in support was likewise borne down and put to flight. The regiment of the

Marquis of Newcastle fought with great valor, and for a while the victory hung in equipoise. At one time the Royalist general, Lucas, by a sudden and audacious charge, threw the Parliamentary cavalry into disorder, and the rout of the whole right wing was imminent until what time Cromwell, returning from pursuit, fell with redoubled fury upon the enemy and presently swept the field. Prince Rupert's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army put to flight.

The progress of the war in other quarters



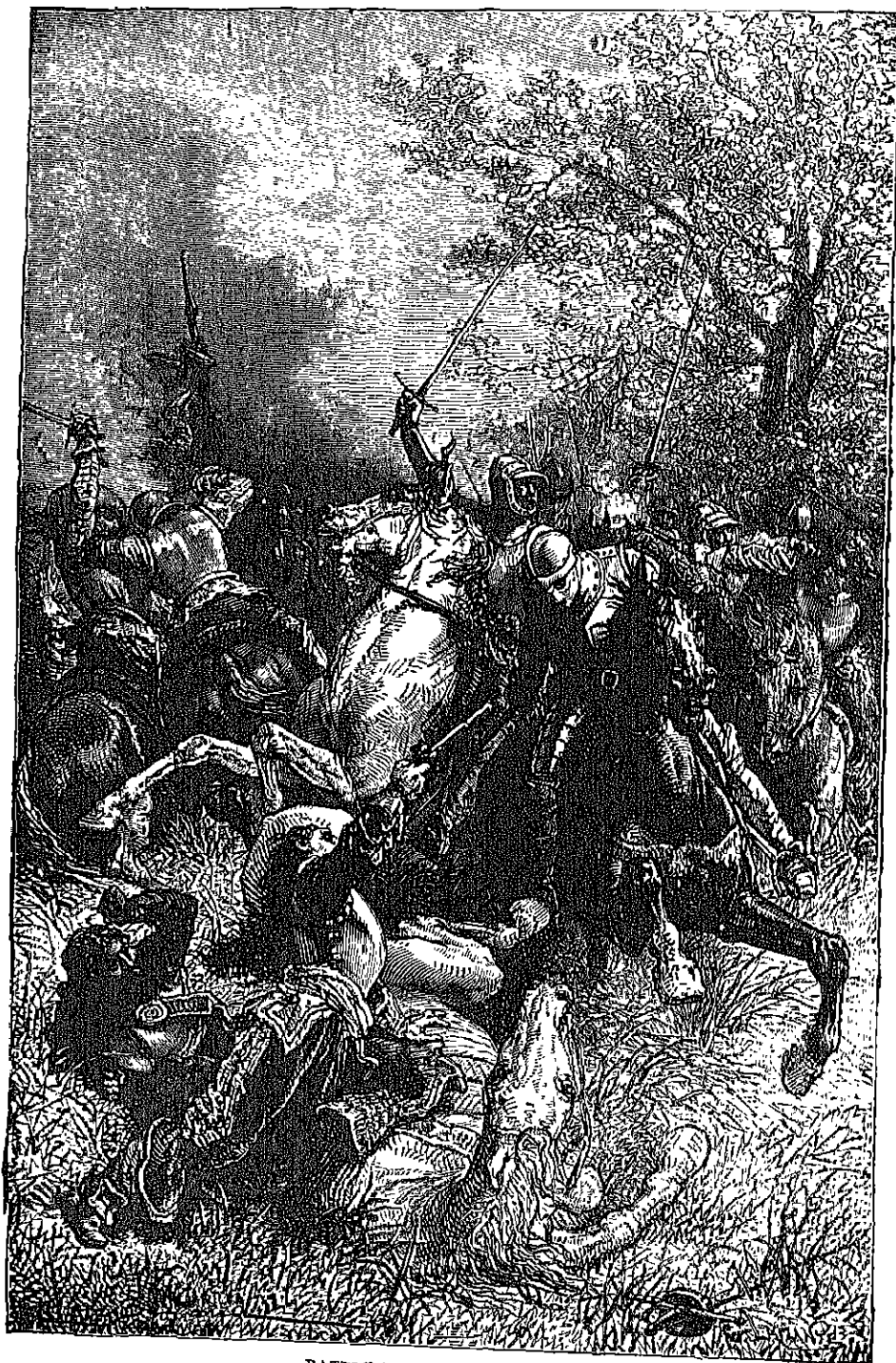
PRINCE RUPERT.

of England, particularly in the West, where the king commanded in person, was somewhat more encouraging to him and his supporters. The qualities which he himself developed as a commander were the surprise of his times. He conducted a successful campaign against Lord Essex, and drove that able general into Cornwall. This success, however, could not compensate for the overwhelming disaster at Marston Moor. From that staggering blow the royal cause never recovered. Finally, on the 14th of June, 1645, the royal cause was buried under an overwhelming disaster, and

the king's army dispersed in the decisive battle of Naseby.

After her successful journey into Holland,

the queen at length returned to England and joined her husband at Oxford. When the news came of the overthrow of Prince Ru-



BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR.

Drawn by Emile Bayard

port's army, it was perceived that the royal family was in danger, for their unpopularity was constantly increased, and their gathering misfortunes seemed to elicit no sympathy. Finding herself unsafe at Oxford the queen retired to Exeter, and thence, as soon as she was able to travel after the birth of the Princess Henrietta, she continued her flight into France.

The winter of 1644-45 was passed by the king at Oxford. At this epoch there was a lull in hostilities. For the moment a better spirit seemed to prevail, and negotiations were opened between the king and Parliament. The terms of a treaty—at least the outline of a treaty—were agreed upon at Uxbridge. It appeared, however, that Parliament would exact every thing and concede nothing. Nor is there any room to doubt that Charles was insincere in his concessions and pledges.

Like all other movements of the kind, the English Revolution had now advanced to a new position, had changed its ground, had increased its demands, had become arrogant, unreasonable, insatiable, even to the extent that it could not have been appeased with any thing however humiliating to English royalty, now fallen on its knees. The result was that the king arose from his proposals for peace determined to reclaim his forfeited prerogatives or die in the attempt; while Parliament—unconscious hypocrite—seemed to find in the king's insincerity and tergiversation new cause and ground for the destruction of both himself and his kingdom.

It is in the nature of such revolutions as that now progressing in England that they are agitated within by clashing opinions and interests almost as violent as the external foe. Parliament became a scene of storms and tempests. The winds of doctrine were loosed and blown together from every quarter, and the heart of England was shaken by the confluence of angry tides. Radicalism became dominant in the House of Commons, and the outcry of religious fanaticism was heard above the uproar of political revolution. A new faction of religionists known as the INDEPENDENTS appeared in the arena, and under the leadership and inspiration of Oliver Cromwell placed its iron foot on the breast of moderation, rejected with contempt all measures

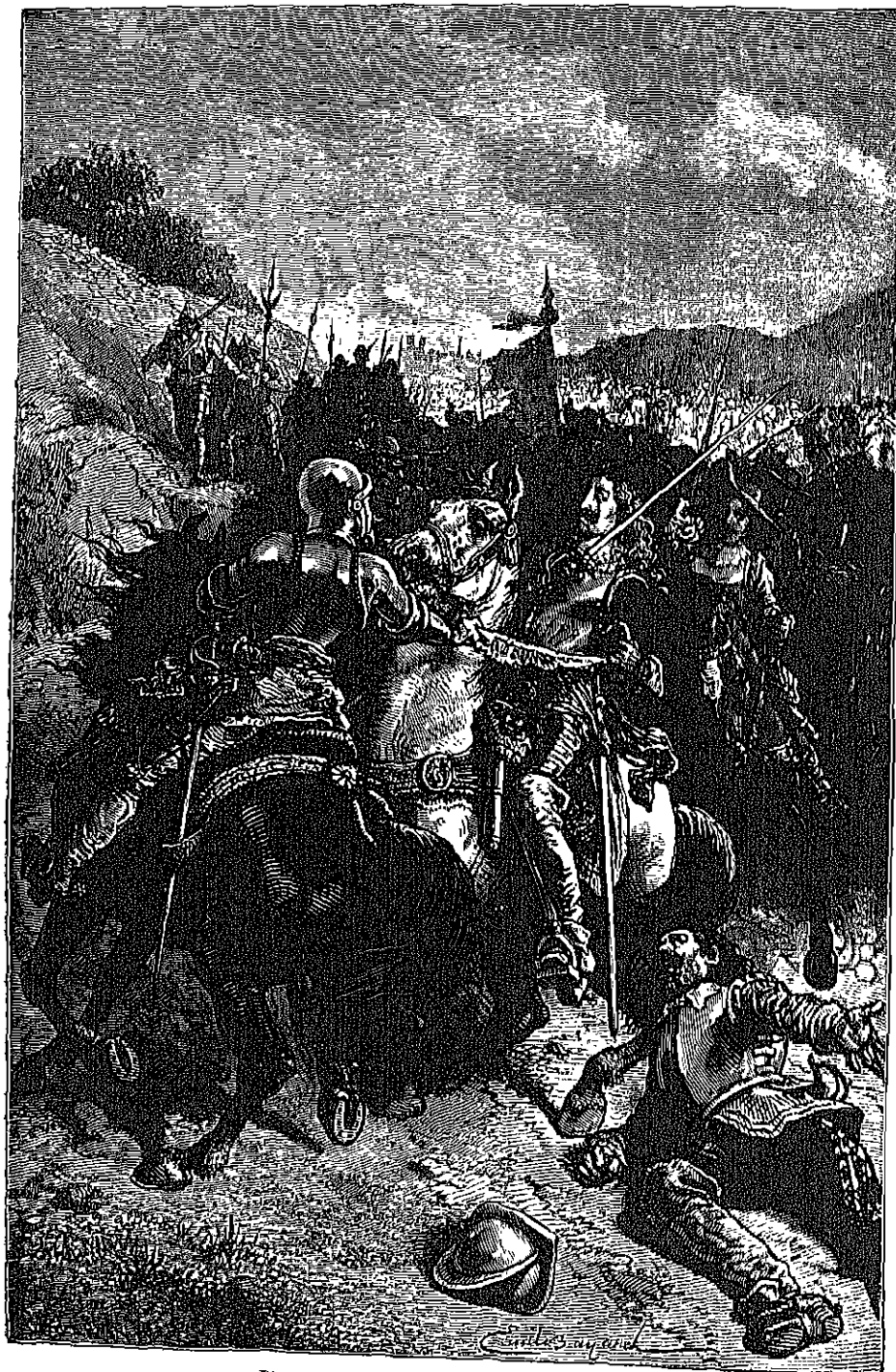
looking to the reëstablishment of the monarchy in any form, and openly declared that a religious republic on the foundation of the Gospel should be reared on the ruins of the demolished edifice.

From this day forth Cromwell was in the ascendant. Having first distinguished himself as a soldier he now distinguished himself still more as a political leader. His iron will became the prevailing force in England. Displeased with those who were still anxious to preserve even the semblance of the monarchy he urged on such measures as looked to the elimination of all such from the councils of the state. He procured the passage through Parliament of an act known as the Self-denying Ordinance, by which it was brought about that Lord Essex and several others of the more moderate parliamentary generals were forced to resign their commissions. He also induced the Commons to appoint Sir Thomas Fairfax to the command-in-chief of the army, while the post of lieutenant-general was reserved for himself.

At the opening of the campaign of 1645 an army of loyal Scots, led by the young Earl of Montrose, appeared on the scene and joined the forces of the king. For a while it seemed that the youthful general of the North was about to become an important factor in the current history, but it was not long until the now well disciplined forces of Parliament overthrew him in battle and forced him to retreat into the mountains of his own country. Meanwhile the towns which had been garrisoned and held by the royalists were taken one by one until the king could hardly any longer find a refuge within the borders of England. As his fortunes failed he fled into Wales, but was afterwards enabled to return and make his winter quarters at Oxford.

With the beginning of 1646 the cause had become so desperate that, dreading capture by the victorious parliamentarians, he adopted the resolution of retreating to his paternal kingdom and throwing himself upon the generosity of his Scottish subjects. He accordingly retired to the North, and on the 5th of May made his appearance before the camp of the Scots at Newark. Great was the surprise of the generals at the apparition of their fugitive sovereign. Some sparks of their old

loyalty were rekindled for the moment, but were presently quenched in the wet blanket of a most mercenary expediency. True, they treated the king with outward marks of respect, but at the same time they failed not to place about his person such a guard as would



DEFEAT OF KING CHARLES AT NASEBY.

Drawn by Emile Bayard.

remind him of the fact that he was now their prisoner. The first exaction which they made of the captive monarch was an order directed to the royalist generals at Newark, Oxford, and other places where his banner was still upheld, requiring them to surrender to the armies of Parliament. This done, the war was at an end; but the victorious republicans, knowing that to stop with this achievement would be to invite a certain reaction in favor of the king and his possible restoration to the throne, undertook the work of gaining possession of the monarch's person, as the first step in the programme whereby the revolution was to be made permanent.

Well knowing the weak spot in the Scottish character, the Puritan authorities sent to the North a proposal to purchase possession of the king; and to this proposition the Scots assented. It was agreed that for the sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling the fallen Stuart should be given up to his mortal enemies. On the 30th of January, 1647, he was delivered over to the commissioners and taken to Holmby, in Northamptonshire, where for the time he was permitted to reside. The public opinion of England was not yet worked up to the pitch of downright regicide, and the radical leaders deemed it prudent to temporize with existing conditions. Negotiations were opened with the captive king, and the independent faction now in control of Parliament made such overtures as Charles might well have accepted. It appears, however, that the king, stimulated with the sudden hope of recovering his forfeited throne, lost all discretion, refused to concede any thing, broke off the negotiations, and again began a correspondence with the Presbyterians. About this time, moreover, a fatal letter which he had written to his wife was discovered, wherein he declared his purpose to reward the rogues Ireton and Cromwell, not with a silken garter, but with a hempen rope. It can scarcely be doubted that, under the cloak of an equanimity that could hardly be disturbed, Charles actually concealed such bloody purposes as that expressed in his letter.¹

¹ As indicative of the perfect self-possession which Charles had acquired by the discipline of misfortune, it may be narrated that, in the preceding summer, when the intelligence was com-

But the king was destined never more to present to any of his subjects either the garter or the rope. After a brief residence at Holmby, he was startled from his imagined security by the appearance of five hundred soldiers under command of an officer named Joyce. The latter came into the king's presence armed with pistols, and demanded that Charles should accompany him from the quarters. The king hesitated and demanded to know by what warrant the officer was acting. Joyce answered by pointing to his soldiers drawn up in the court-yard below. At this the monarch, again exhibiting his fearless equipoise and moiety of wit, replied: "Your warrant is indeed written in fair characters and legible." Hereupon he yielded himself to the conduct of his captors, and by them was taken to Triplow Heath, where the republican army was at that time stationed, under command of Lieutenant-general Cromwell.

In the mean time most serious difficulties had arisen between Parliament and the army. The latter was thoroughly republican and fanatic. Under the leadership of Cromwell and Fairfax, a discipline had been established by which the soldiers had become a unit. A spirit of religious enthusiasm had taken possession of the whole, and it was clear that either this powerful military organization must yield to civil authority and be disbanded or else the throne of England and the residue of moderation in the House of Commons must be together beaten into dust in the mortar of war. At the very time when the king was seized by Joyce, who had been commanded to that step by Cromwell himself, the army had renounced the authority of Parliament, and acknowledged only the command of the master spirit.

It could not be said, however, that for the time the captive king fared worse in the hands of the army than in the hands of Parliament. Indeed, his confinement was less rigorous than at any time since his surrender

communicated to him that the Scots upon whose generosity he had thrown himself had sold him to Parliament, he betrayed no emotion, showed no change of countenance, but continued the game of chess in which he was engaged without the slightest sign of displeasure or alarm.

to the Scots. Even in the matter of religious service his scruples were respected, and he and his friends were permitted to worship according to the forms of the Established Church. Later in the season, after he had been transferred to Hampton Court, he was allowed to move about at will, to have his children with him, and to converse with his friends without surveillance or insult. The Prince of Wales, however, remained abroad in Holland, and there, in the latter part of 1647, he was joined by his younger brother James, duke of York. Both were welcomed at the court of their sister Mary, who had been married to the Prince of Orange before the beginning of the war.

About the close of this year, 1647, hostilities having ceased, and many of the officers of the Puritan army having gone to preaching and expounding the Scripture, Charles became alarmed at rumors which were blown to him of designs upon his life. At least it is alleged by the royalist historians that the king was led to believe himself in danger. Whatever may have been his motive, he formed the design of escaping from Hampton Court and flying from the country. With this purpose he made good his exit from the place of his nominal confinement, and found his way to the coast of Hampshire. But the expected ship did not arrive to carry him abroad, and he was constrained to hide himself at Titchfield, where he found a protector in the person of Lady Southampton. Presently, however, he was induced by the three companions who accompanied his flight to give himself up to the governor of the Isle of Wight. The latter, though a humane man, was a thorough republican, and the king was placed in confinement at Carisbrook Castle. Only Herbert and Harrington were permitted to remain in attendance upon the fallen Stuart. Charles was now indeed a prisoner, and was obliged, after the manner of that unfortunate race, to devise such poor means as still remained to secure physical comfort and peace of mind. A part of the day he spent in religious devotions, another part in melancholy conversation with his two friends, and still another in writing alone in his bed-chamber.

For ten months the king remained thus in confinement. But in September of 1648 a

new correspondence was begun between him and Parliament. It was agreed that commissioners should be appointed by that body to confer with the royal prisoner at Newport, and to that place Charles was accordingly transferred. It is narrated that when he came into the presence of the commissioners the latter were moved almost to the remorse of love by his changed and haggard countenance. His face was pale, his form emaciated, and his hair turned white. It is further to be recorded that when availing himself of the freedom which was granted to ride abroad in the island, and to make his escape by flight, he steadily refused to act on the suggestion, and returned in good faith to the conference.

Nor did it seem that the meeting of the humbled king and the commissioners would be barren of results. In most matters a satisfactory conclusion was reached. On two important points the existing differences seemed irreconcilable. Parliament demanded the abolition of Episcopacy, and to this the king would not accede. At length, however, he gave his consent that a modified form of worship should be instituted, somewhat more conformable to the notions of the Puritans. In the second point, requiring that all who had taken up arms in his cause should be declared traitors, he would yield nothing at all. His steadfast resistance to this infamous proposition was one of the best traits exhibited by the king during his captivity.

Before the negotiations at Newport were completed, an act had been performed on another part of the English stage whereby the whole course and character of the drama had been changed. The breach between Parliament and the army had become irreconcilable, and one party or the other of the opposition had to be put down by force. Nor was it doubtful whether it would be the civil or the military order which would succumb, when the latter was under the direction of Cromwell. That resolute and powerful leader now showed himself in a new rôle. Finding himself unable to control the opposing party in the House of Commons, he sent Colonel Pride with a troop of soldiers to surround the Parliament House, and expel all who would not accede to his terms. The officer accordingly stationed his forces before the hour of the sit-

ting of the House, and when the members arrived only the Independents were permitted to enter. Of these there were but fifty or sixty; and yet with unequaled arrogance they declared themselves the governors of the kingdom, and set about their work with as much assurance as though all England were a summer day. As for Cromwell, he justified his course on the ground that a purging of Parliament was necessary, and having made this declaration he immediately procured the passage of an act by which the negotiations with the king were broken off, and the treaty declared a nullity. From this it was evident that Cromwell and his adherents had determined to abolish the monarchy and destroy the king. This became still more manifest when it was known that two days before the "purging of Parliament," the lieutenant-general had issued orders that Charles should again be seized and imprisoned.

The unfortunate monarch was now carried from the Isle of Wight and deposited by his masters in Hurst Castle, on the coast of Hampshire. In a short time, however, he was aroused in the night by the lowering of the drawbridge and the clatter of horses' hoofs in the court-yard. On sending his attendant to inquire the cause, he was informed that Major Harrison had come with a troop to convey him hence. At this the king was much alarmed, for he had recently heard that Harrison was one of those who were planning his assassination. But at length he became composed, and accompanied the guard to Windsor, where he arrived after a journey of four days.

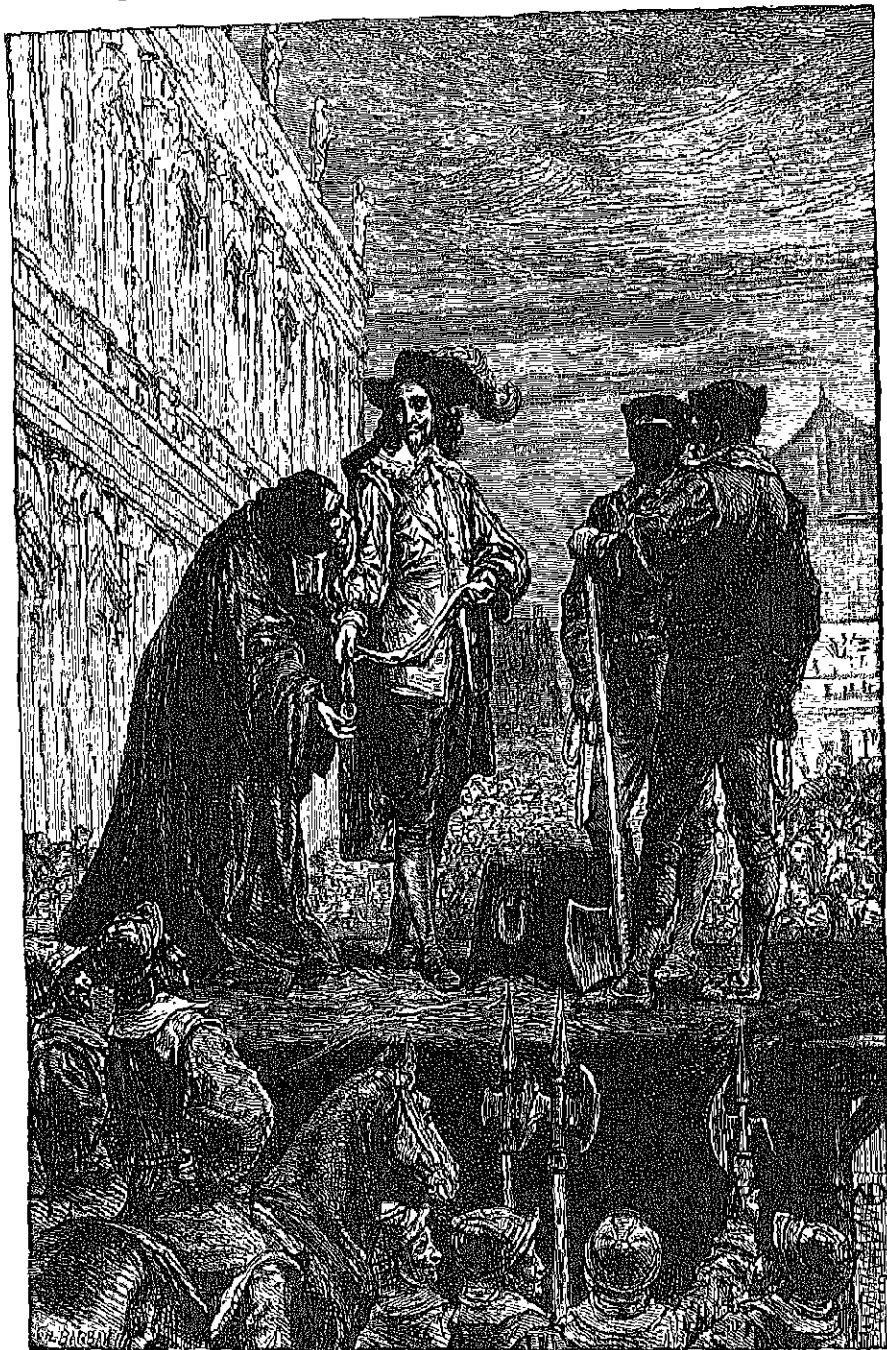
So closed the year 1648. Parliament—if Parliament that body of radicals might be called—had already, after its "purging," instituted a sort of high court with the purpose of passing, in a certain judicial way, upon the alleged crimes of the king. On the 6th of January, 1649, the monarch was formally impeached of high treason in this, that he had made war upon Parliament and the English people. After twelve days the prisoner was taken from Windsor to St. James's palace, and all those marks of respect with which he had thus far been treated were ordered to be omitted. He was attended even at the table by common soldiers, and was designated sim-

ply as *Charles Stuart*. The preparations for the trial were pressed forward, and on the 20th of the month the judges assembled in Westminster Hall to hear and decide the cause. Cromwell, in an opening speech, declared that if any one had before this time presumed to urge the trial and punishment of the king, he should have deemed such a one a traitor, but that now both Providence and necessity had devolved that duty upon Parliament and the court. Three times the king was brought before the tribunal, but each time refused to acknowledge its jurisdiction. On the 27th of the month he was declared guilty of the charges, and was condemned to be beheaded. Sentence having been passed, he was returned to his place in St. James's to await execution, which was set for the 30th, only three days after.

A scaffold was built in front of the palace of Whitehall, and on the coming of the fatal day the prisoner was led forth to his death. His last hours were marked with dignity and composure. He conversed briefly with Dr. Juxon and Mr. Herbert, and calmed his mind with religious devotions. On mounting the scaffold he spoke a few words to those who were present, and then gave himself to the executioner, whose face was hidden under a mask. The work was ended with a blow, and as the headsman held aloft the bloody trophy of his axe he exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." Such was the bloody fate of King Charles I., one of the best of men and one of the worst of rulers.

The body calling itself Parliament now began to lay about in a way that has been regarded as heroic by its friends and Quixotic by its enemies. The time-honored title of the kingdom was changed to THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND. The House of Lords was abolished as an institution dangerous to public liberty—and so it was. A new Great Seal was made with this inscription: THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1651. Royal names and titles were forbidden, and it was declared high treason to call the Prince of Wales by any other name than Charles Stuart. All the forms of official business were changed and made to conform to the new republican order of things established in the state.

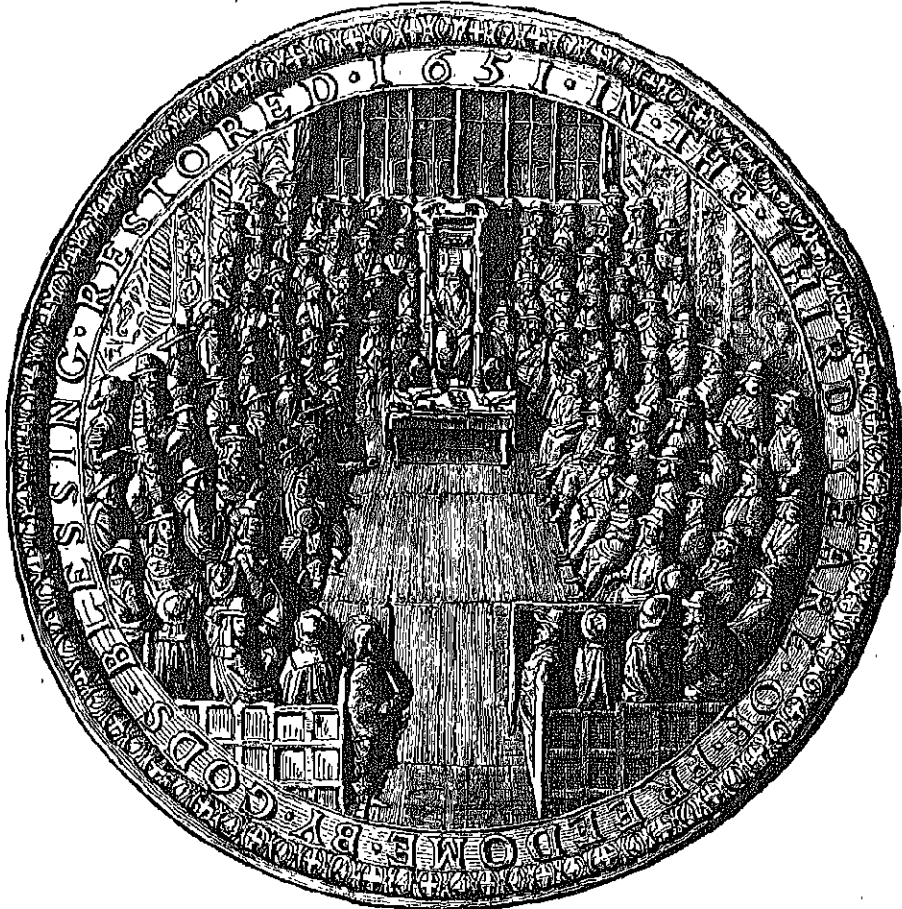
The execution of Charles I. created a profound sensation in all civilized countries. The act was regarded in different countries according to their varying prejudices. In the Catholic kingdoms it was held to be the crowning atrocity of history. Nor were such



EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.
Drawn by D. Matlard.

powers, conscious of their own usurpations, slow to take the alarm on account of the example which had been set in England. In such countries it appeared wise to rush to the rescue lest the falling throne of the insular kingdom should carry down with it the not more firmly founded thrones of the continent. Ireland and Scotland, acting under such motives, made haste to proclaim the Prince of

multifarious hatreds and dislikes of the people of Ireland rose suddenly to the surface, bringing up from the sea-bottom of Irish life the oozy and dripping prejudices of a thousand years. The malcontents took arms. All the races and creeds known in the island rushed together under the banner of the Marquis of Ormond to fight the armies of Parliament and reverse the Revolution.



GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND, 1651.

Cut by Thom. Simon.

Wales as Charles II. In this movement the Irish Catholics and the Scottish Covenanters, smitten as the latter were with a keen remorse for the base part which they had contributed to the king's destruction, joined hands across the chasm of religious prejudice for the support of political absolutism in favor of which they were strangely agreed. A foreign fleet gathered around the banner of Prince Ruwert in the Irish Sea. All the

But the Irish then, as ever, were unable to face their English antagonists in the field. Their rash enthusiasm of rebellion could not stand against the stoical, fatalistic valor of Cromwell and his Puritans. The lieutenant-general was now in his glory. Such stormy scenes were well calculated to bring out the strongest, and for that reason the best, elements of his character. In an Irish campaign of a few months' duration he completely over-

awed the insurgents and brought the conflict to an end. His power was now such that he was able to settle the conditions of peace as he would. He adopted the policy of permitting the disaffected portion of the Irish population to leave the country; and acting under this license, about forty-five thousand of the malecontents, and they the most dangerous to English ascendancy and the peace of the country, withdrew from the island and took service in the armies of France and Spain.

As soon as he had restored order in Ireland, the lieutenant-general left his son-in-law, General Ireton, as his deputy, and then turned his attention to the affairs of Scotland. By this time the Presbyterian party in that country had become heartily sick of the course which it had pursued in the revolution progressing in the South. They had conceived an intense dislike for the English Commonwealth with its radical republicanism, and especially for Cromwell and the Independents, as its chief promoters. After proclaiming Prince Charles as the rightful successor of the late king, the Scots sent to the young Stuart an invitation to come and possess himself of his father's throne. Albeit, the invitation, conceived as it was in all the narrowness of the Scotch character, was coupled with such conditions favorable to their own creed in religion and politics that the counselors of the prince earnestly advised him not to accept under such dictation the crown which he was entitled to wear by right. But the easy-going moral nature of the king saw no difficulty in accepting conditions which he had no intention of fulfilling. The Jesuitical education to which Mary Stuart had been subjected by the Guises in Paris a hundred years before now blossomed in the native duplicity of her great-grandson. He agreed to the terms proposed by the Scots, came over from the Hague to Scotland, and signed the covenant. The figure of this Second Charles, thoroughly double in his nature, hardly restraining a sneer at the zealous officiousness of the Scottish Covenanters crowding around him at Edinburgh, all busy explaining to his simple mind the beauties of Presbyterianism, to which they hoped to make him an easy convert, is one of the most amusing silhouettes of history.

So was he at the Scottish capital proclaimed king. But his position had little of kingly state, less of real power, and nothing at all of those circumstances in which the beneficiary took delight. He found himself in the hands of his Calvinistic masters, who were bent on one thing—the propagation of their opinions. What to them was the turbulence of kingdoms, the rise and fall of states, the overthrow or maintenance of the time-honored institutions of the English-speaking race, in comparison with the spread and establishment of the doctrines of John Knox? Charles had obtained the *name* of a king in the paternal dominions of the Stuarts, that and nothing more. His position became so uncomfortable that he would fain have risen and fled from the throne on which he had been placed and was now held by the Presbyterian managers with whom he had made a covenant.

Meanwhile the victorious Cromwell, after suppressing the Irish rebellion, came on to do as much for the Scotch. It can scarcely be doubted that the alleged King Charles was secretly pleased to hear of the approach of the great Independent, under whose foot the island trembled as he strode. For Charles could brook any thing as well as the ridiculous and unkingly restraint to which he was subjected by his Scottish keepers. The latter sent forth an army under General Leslie to oppose Cromwell's progress, and the two forces met at Dunbar. The defeat of the Covenanters was overwhelming, and but for a sudden illness which compelled his return to England, it is likely that Cromwell would have at once put down all resistance and ended the war. By the beginning of the following year, 1651, he was able to renew the invasion, nor could any force which the Scots were able to muster stay or seriously impede his course. He penetrated the country, put himself in the rear of the Scotch army, and made ready to deliver the final blow, when Charles suddenly changed the whole aspect of affairs by a reckless counter-invasion of England. He perceived that the fearless Cromwell had left the northern border unprotected; and hoping—doubtless, expecting—that the residue of English loyalty was but awaiting an opportunity to rise in favor of the over-

turned monarchy, he put himself at the head of fourteen thousand royalists and crossed the boundary into England. It was the sally of a fox into the territories of a lion temporarily absent from home.

The fox soon found that the expectation of an uprising in his favor was a spectral chimera. Not every one who was opposed to the scandalous conduct of Parliament and the arbitrary measures of Cromwell was ready to take up arms for the House of Stuart. The two preceding sovereigns of that name had so little distinguished themselves as the friends of English liberty that the matter-of-fact people of the South had no confidence in the third. Accordingly, when Charles had penetrated as far as Worcester, he found himself with no more than the fourteen thousand men whom he had brought out of Scotland.

Cromwell, on learning the movement and purpose of the prince, left the larger part of his army under command of General Monk, and with the rest pursued Charles on his course to the South. The royalist army was overtaken at Worcester. The town was immediately surrounded, and on the 4th of September, 1651, was taken by storm. Nearly all of Charles's forces were cut down in the streets. He himself escaped with great difficulty, accompanied by about sixty grenadiers, and even these were presently dismissed as being more dangerous than serviceable to the fugitive.

On the bleak borders of Staffordshire Charles sought refuge with some wood-choppers of the forest of Boscobel. Although a reward was offered for his capture, and the penalty of treason denounced against those who should give him protection, the men of the wood proved true to their prince and careless to themselves by concealing him from his enemies. For a while, however, he was in imminent danger of capture. At one time the soldiers who were searching for him came so near that he hid himself in a hollow tree and heard them conversing as they passed. Six weeks elapsed after the battle of Worcester before he could extricate himself from the nets which were set for his capture. At last, however, he made his way to Shoreham, in Sussex, and thence embarked for France.

The royalist party was now completely

prostrated. There appeared no longer any hope of its recuperation. In Scotland General Monk had overawed all opposition. The Irish insurgents were held down with a master's hand by Ireton, and in England the powerful mind of Cromwell, expressing itself through the body which persisted in being called Parliament, directed all things according to his will. The lieutenant-general found time to turn his attention to foreign affairs, and his strong hand began to be felt in almost every part of Europe.

First in importance were the relations of the Commonwealth with the state of Holland. Judged by the standard of more recent times, there was little cause of complaint on the part of the English against the Dutch or of the Dutch against them. But the arrogance of the Cromwellian party was sufficient to give offense to the authorities of Holland, and the supremacy of the Dutch on the sea aroused all the jealousy of republican England. From small beginnings the difficulties between the two states increased until 1652, when war against the Dutch was formally declared by Parliament. Both peoples were by national preference sailors and merchants. A great rivalry in shipbuilding had sprung up, and the relative skill of the Dutch and English seamen was hotly discussed in the seaport towns of both countries. As a matter of fact, the fleets of Holland had gained upon those of England from the times of the destruction of the Spanish armada; but in recent years a disposition had been shown on the part of the English to reclaim the dominion of the sea. While Admiral Blake and others of like daring upheld the banner of St. George, the Dutch commanders, Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt maintained the maritime fame of Holland.

By this time the event had proved that concord between the army and the turbulent remnant still known as Parliament was as difficult to maintain as in the times before that body was "purged" by Colonel Pride and his soldiers. About the time of the outbreak of the war with the Dutch the conviction took root in Cromwell's mind that a second and more effective parliamentary purification would be necessary before the affairs of the Commonwealth could be prosperously con-

ducted. It was in April of 1653 that this conviction of the lieutenant-general ripened into a purpose. With him to resolve was to do. On the 20th of the month just named he went to the House of Parliament, where the body was in session, and placing a file of soldiers at each of the entrance ways, strode into the hall. As he entered he said that he had come with a purpose of doing what it grieved him to the very soul to do, and what he had earnestly besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity for it. He then sat down, and for a while listened to the debates, or wrangles rather, in which the members were engaged. It was noticed that his florid face became more livid as he sat and listened.

At last the irate Cromwell sprang to his feet, and exclaimed: "This is the time; now I must do it!" Thereupon he turned fiercely on the members, poured upon them a torrent of reproaches, branded them as tyrants and robbers, and ended by stamping furiously with his foot on the floor. This was the signal for the entrance of the soldiers. They rushed into the hall, and Cromwell ordered them to drive the members out. Resistance was useless. The Roundheads arose to go. Cromwell thundering after them his bitter anathemas. "You are," cried he, "no longer a Parliament! The Lord is done with you! He has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work!" As the last of the members escaped from the hall, he ordered the door to be locked, and then putting the keys into his pocket went away quietly to the palace of Whitehall, where he had now taken his residence.

In all England there was no longer any to dispute his will. But since he could not himself without the aid of other agencies govern the Commonwealth, he concluded to summon another Parliament. The character of the body may be deduced from the nature of the measures which were debated by it. In the first place, it was proposed that since the clerical offices in the religious administration were but an abridged remnant of popery, the clergy should be abolished. In the next place, the same reasoning was applied to the Common Law of England; for that law was declared to be nothing but a relic of the political and social

slavery established by the Normans. In the third place, the body made a declaration that learning—education—was the agent whereby the anti-Christian powers were giving back the world to heathenism, and that the universities of England, as the chief seats of this heathen culture, should be destroyed. Bigotry could go no further. But it should not be forgotten that the abuses of the Episcopal system, the legal outrages perpetrated in the name of the Common Law, and the owlish conservatism of Oxford, sitting with big-eyed self-conceit on a dead limb of the Past, furnished at least a good occasion for the absurd radicalism of the so-called Parliament.

The character of Cromwell's assembly, which consisted of a hundred and fifty-four members, may be further inferred from that of its principal leader, whose somewhat exclamatory name was Praise-God Barebone. This remarkable statesman had prepared himself for the management of the state by selling leather in a shop in London. But this pent-up Utica seemed to contract his powers, and he would fain go forth as an orator, reformer, and statesman. Strange must have been the sentiments with which Cromwell looked on the performances of this ignorant, radical bigot in the House of Commons!¹ History has preserved the record of the mountebank's temporary ascendancy by giving to the Parliament of which he was the chief ornament the name of Barebone's Parliament.

The master soon wearied of the ridiculous farce. He clearly perceived the impracticability of the measures which were proposed in the House; and of all of the acts of that body he gave his approval to but a single one. This related to the theory and ceremony of marriage. It was declared that marriage, instead of being a sacrament of the Church, was simply a civil compact, and that its ratification should henceforth be acknowledged before a magistrate in a private room, and not before a priest in a church.

But the most important thing done at this

¹ The absurdity of the Puritanical régime now dominant in England is well illustrated in the names which the elder Barebone had given to his sons. One of Praise-God's brothers was called *Christ-Came-Into-the-World-to-Save*, and another, *If-Christ-Had-Not-Died-I-thou-Hadst-Been-Damned Barebone!*

time was the conferring on Cromwell of the title and office of LORD PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND. The substitution of the will of one for the clashing wills of many was a joyous relief, and the Protectorate was hailed by the people as a happy deliverance from the distractions of parliamentary government. Nor could it be denied that a great and salutary change was now visible in the affairs of the Commonwealth. Such were the vigor and wisdom with which the Protector entered upon his administration that few in his own country or abroad durst make a mock at his republican scepter. The date of his accession to unlimited authority was December 16, 1653; and from that time to his death, nearly five years afterwards, he ruled England with a power and success rarely equaled in her history.

The constitution of the Protectorate provided for a Parliament of four hundred members and a Council of State. Cromwell was to be Protector for life, and at his death the Council was to name his successor. The latter provision, however, was subsequently changed, and the choice of a successor given to Oliver himself. The latter entered upon his duties by attempting to conciliate the royalists, but the effort was in vain. Their inveterate and well-grounded hatred could not be appeased. As necessary to the stability of the Commonwealth many of the old monarchical forms were revived, and this gave offense to the republicans. But all parties were obliged to recognize the Protector as a necessity, and all were constrained to yield to his arbitrary rule. Nor could any fail to see that the dignity and glory of England were safe in his hands. Woe to the foreign power that attempted to take advantage of the supposed weakness of the Commonwealth! The English army became the best soldiery in Europe, and the English fleets soon brought down the pennon of the Dutch. To the lat-

ter a peace was dictated on conditions highly favorable to the Protector's government and people. The Spaniards, also, were made to



OLIVER CROMWELL.

fly before the navy of England, and to surrender Jamaica as the price of their folly in provoking a war.

In the midst of this triumph and renown the enemies of Oliver were ever busy. In

1654 they formed a plan to end him and his reign by assassination. But the conspiracy was detected, and the two ringleaders caught and hanged. In the following year a more general plan was adopted by the royalists for an insurrection against the government. Nothing, however, could escape the vigilance of the Protector. His secretary, Lord John Thurloe, was equally watchful of the movements of the reactionists. Full information of the plot was obtained, and before the day appointed for the uprising the soldiers of the Protector swooped down on the conspirators, and they were annihilated. Some were executed and others sold as slaves into the Barbadoes.



ADMIRAL ROBERT BLAKE.
After an engraving by R. Young

The government now established over England surpassed in merciless rigor any thing ever before witnessed in the Island. The whole country, including Wales, was divided into twelve military districts, and over each was set a major-general of the army. These were under the immediate command of Cromwell himself, and his strong will was thus enabled to let down its grappling-irons to the very bottom of the social and political sea. Still, it is the verdict of history that the tremendous tyranny established by Oliver Cromwell on the ruins of both monarchy and freedom was a necessity of the situation, and that that necessity was precipitated by the actions, schemes, and purposes of the adherents of the overthrown House of Stuart. Such were the

swift evolutions of the flaming sword which the Protector set over the gate of the palace of Whitehall that Treachery fled in terror and Rebellion hid in his cave.

Meanwhile the affairs of Ireland, had demanded constant attention. General Ireton, the Protector's son-in-law, to whom the government of the western island had been committed, had held the reins with a master's hand until his death in the camp before Limerick, in November of 1651. After that event the widow was presently married to Charles Fleetwood, and to him the government of Ireland was transferred. For a while he followed the policy of his predecessor and was then superseded by Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector. This young man is represented as one of the most amiable and virtuous of his times. Nor could his amiability, as is so often the case, be attributed to weakness; for his talents were as conspicuous as his policy was humane. Certain it is that he did all in his power to alleviate the distresses of the Irish and to institute good government in their distracted island.

Foreign powers now competed for the honor of an alliance with England. The English name took on its pristine brightness. Admiral Robert Blake, most distinguished seaman of his times, with his English fleet in the Mediterranean, humbled the Barbary States and dictated a peace to Tuscany. The massacre of the Waldenses ended under the Protector's frown. The rich spoils of Spanish treasure-ships were poured into the coffers of the Commonwealth; and the poet John Milton, sitting at Oliver's council-board as Latin Secretary of State, indited the most elegant and able foreign correspondence of the seventeenth century.

It was now in the nature of things that Cromwell should feel the opposition of the republican leaders. They saw him refusing any longer—grown wise by political experience—to promote those chimerical reforms to which they were so deeply devoted. They suspected him of monarchical intentions. What must have been their chagrin, their mortification, their rage, to see him, even Oliver, their old hero and warrior, the victor of Dunbar and Worcester, sitting like an Egyptian sphinx on a throne of his own, quite as high

and many times more heavy than that of the Stuarts, heeding not their appeals and putting aside their favorite measures as so much chaff! To this, however, they were compelled to submit. But at each succeeding election of members of Parliament there was a scene of almost revolutionary turbulence in which the voice of the old half-quenched republicanism of 1647 was heard above the din.

In the course of time, when Cromwell perceived that the majority elected were nearly always against him—that on the one hand the remnant of the ancient royalty asserted itself more and more, and that on the other the disappointed radicalism of the realm persisted in sending up to the House the most irreconcilable of the republican leaders, he deemed it prudent to relax somewhat in order that his administration might catch the breezes of popularity. To this end he assented to a proposition by which civil authority was substituted for that of his major-generals in the military districts. Other concessions were made, and Parliament on its part began to agitate the question of making the Protector king.

It can hardly be doubted that Cromwell himself was consenting to the scheme. No doubt he had persuaded himself that the monarchy was a necessity—which may be questioned—and that he was a necessity to the monarchy—which was true. So far as the civil powers of England were concerned, they could have been managed without much difficulty. The radical republicans and the old adherents of the Stuart dynasty could have been suppressed, and all the moderate middle elements would have aggregated themselves around the new House of Cromwell. But the shadow of the army fell ominously across the table where the schemers were perfecting their plans. The soldiers were as thoroughly Puritan as ever, and the generals set themselves like iron against the project of conferring the crown on Oliver. Though he himself longed to take that symbol of power, he stood like Caesar, fearing to touch it; for he clearly foresaw that another Cromwell like unto himself might arise—probably would arise—in the army, and that he in his turn might be led to the block where Charles I. had perished. The motive sufficed. He re-

fused the offer of the crown which was presently made by Parliament, and continued in his office as Protector of the Commonwealth. The business, however, proceeded so far that he was reinaugurated with great pomp and solemnity.

The rest of his life was gall and wormwood. Nothing but the most humiliating precautions saved him from assassination. Time and again plots were formed against his life, but his vigilance thwarted every conspiracy. Nevertheless, the specter stood ever at his door, and he who held in his right hand the destinies of England trembled and quaked with ever-increasing dread. His family gave him little hope or sympathy. His daughters, except her who had been the wife of Ireton and Fleetwood, were royalists. His oldest son Robert had died in 1639. Oliver was killed in battle. James died in infancy. Only Richard and Henry survived their father, and it was an open secret that the latter did not hold the Protector's principles. Thus, out of the necessity of things, the choice for the succession fell on Richard—a man of small talents and less ambition.

The drama drew to a close. The Parliament of 1656 adjourned, in order that the Protector might revive the House of Lords. But when that body was restored and the Commons again convened, the Lower would not acknowledge the coördinate authority of the Upper House. Thereupon the old spirit of Cromwell blazed forth, and going to the Commons he dismissed them with his usual ferocity, exclaiming, "Let God judge between me and you!" It added to the significance of the scene that the republican members cried out, "Amen!"

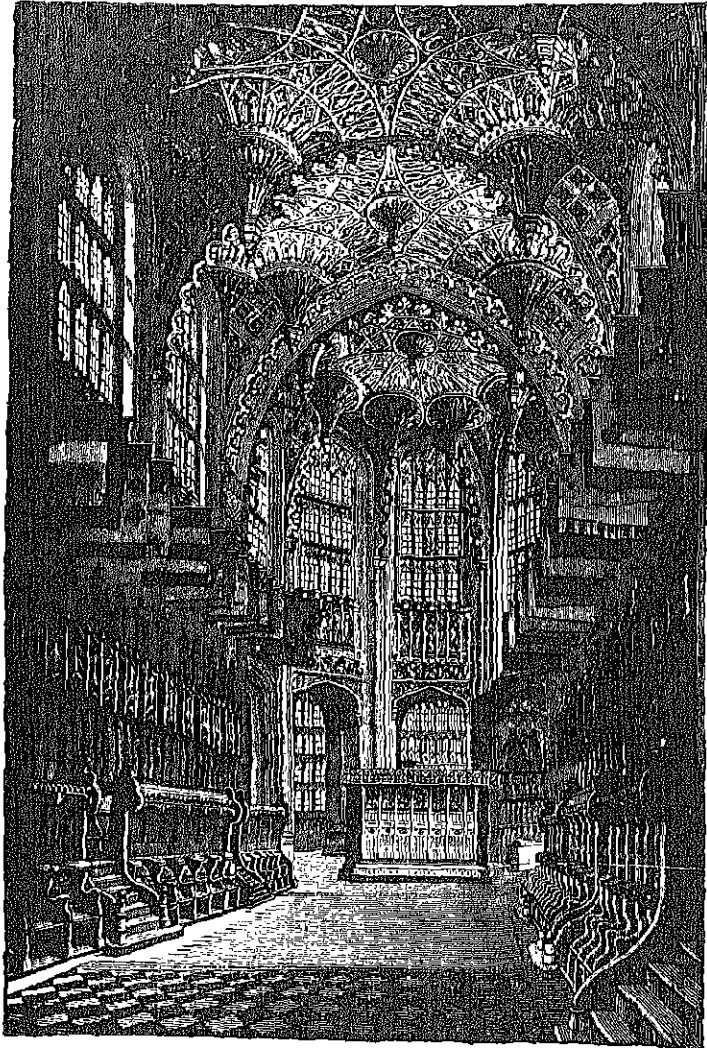
It is a strange part of the exciting history of these years that, hampered and impeded by these embarrassments at home, the Protector was able to show to all foreign states a front of polished metal, without a dint or flaw. He maintained his alliance with Louis XIV., in league with whom he made successful war on Spain; and such were his abilities and energy in the management of affairs that both the French king, then regarded as the greatest monarch in christendom, and his famous minister, Cardinal Mazarin, remained attached to the Protector's interest to the last day of his life.

In the summer of 1658 Cromwell's daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, died, and the event so darkened the already gloomy mind of the father that he is said never to have smiled afterwards. In the latter part of August a tertian fever came on and confined him to his room. He grew steadily worse until his

Protector was laid to rest in the chapel of Henry VII.

Hardly had RICHARD CROMWELL been raised to the seat of the Protectorate until the nation perceived how great was the change from father to son. It was evident that, in place of the strong, and withal *just*, hand by which

the domestic tranquillity and foreign equipoise of England had been maintained for so many stormy years, a feeble hand had been lifted, from whose palm flashed forth no ray of power. From the first the Commonwealth showed unmistakable signs of restiveness under the new Lord Protector. Nor could the thoughtful fail to discover that the time was at hand when the counter-revolution might be expected to begin. Richard himself foresaw the storm. For a few months he continued in nominal authority. In 1659 he summoned a Parliament, and at the opening made to that body a sensible speech. But nothing was devised of a nature calculated to uphold the tottering Commonwealth. On the 22d of April the assembly was dismissed; but after a few days, a ridiculous remnant of the body came together and pretended to reorganize. It was to this absurd fug-



CHAPEL AND MAUSOLEUM OF HENRY VII., WESTMINSTER.

"Fortunate Day," which was the 3d of September, being the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester; and on that day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, while one of the most terrific storms of modern times was making London quiver as a reed, the spirit of Oliver Cromwell took its flight. A magnificent funeral followed, and the body of the

greatness that the wit of the age applied the derisive epithet of the RUMP PARLIAMENT, by which name the body has ever since been designated. At last, like the prudent, weak man that Richard was, he resigned the dignity which he could not sustain. About the same time his brother Henry gave up the government of Ireland and retired to privacy.

On every hand were now seen the unmistakable symptoms of a great collapse. The country was without a ruler, and the warring factions in the Parliament beat at each other like the Blues and the Greens in the old circus at Constantinople. The republican Gog grappled the monarchic Magog in the arena, and sought to strangle him amid the uproar; and the great Milton, now almost blind, went to his closet and wrote a pamphlet entitled *A Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*. And his Utopia had this merit, that it was to have no sovereign and no House of Lords.

But neither the tempest of parliamentary winds nor the Miltonic pamphlet could avail against the inevitable; and that inevitable was the restoration of the House of Stuart. Prince Charles, now in Holland, scented the movement from afar, and breaking up an exile which he had devoted to the pleasures of wit and a sort of genteel libertinism, he came as far as Calais, where, for a while, he stood looking wistfully across the Channel.

For a time, however, the movements in his favor were feeble and sporadic. But while he awaited the issue a secret correspondence was opened between him and General Monk, who still commanded the army in Scotland. General Lambert, at this time in command of the parliamentary forces in England, was now endeavoring to secure for himself the vacant office of Protector, and this fact, added to other causes of jealousy, had produced an intense dislike, even hatred, between him and Monk. It is probable that these motives rather than any pronounced preference for the House of Stuart, induced the general to signify to Charles his intention to aid him in recovering the throne of his father. At any rate, Monk undertook that task, and, concealing his real purpose, set out with his Scottish regiments for London, declaring his mission to be the restoration of Parliament. Lambert, on his part, divining that his rival's march was directed against himself, set out with the southern army to oppose Monk's progress; but Lambert had no hold upon the affections and confidence of his own men. The force melted out of his hand, and the greater part flowed into the camp of Monk. The deserted general was seized and impris-

oned in the Tower, and the man of the North marched his army into London.

For a brief period he pretended to be carrying out his purpose of supporting Parliament; but it was not long until he dismissed that body, and issued a call for the reassembling of all the surviving members of the Long Parliament, which had been broken up by Colonel Pride in 1648. The call was answered, and on the 21st of February, 1660, the assembly was convened. The nation was quick to perceive that the men thus evoked from an obscurity of twelve years' duration were the real parliamentarians of England.

But the session only lasted for a few days. The members, perceiving that the authority by which they were called had no constitutional basis, made haste to dissolve, but took care before doing so to issue writs for a new Parliament, to be chosen according to the time-honored usages of the country. The election was held at once, and on the 25th of April the first legal House which had been chosen since the death of Charles I. convened and was organized. Within five days of the opening of the session Monk proposed to the assembly the restoration of the Stuarts. The reaction was tremendous. The news of the proceedings spread into the city, and all London took fire. The cry was taken up from street to street, and was echoed by the country populations everywhere. The old peers of the kingdom came forth from their retreats, and hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient seats. On the 8th of May an act was passed proclaiming Charles II. king of England, and a committee was appointed to wait upon that gentleman and to conduct him to London.

Then the tide rose higher. The nation roared as with the voice of waters. Loyal acclamations were heard on every hand. Charles landed at Dover, and was met by General Monk, who led him to the capital. The journey thither was a continued triumph. No such scenes of abject loyalty had ever before been witnessed in England. It was as though a savior had come. The people put on their best apparel, and thronged the route by which the king was to pass, and made the welkin ring with their shouts. Men doffed their manhood and women their womanhood

as the pageant passed into the city. As for the king, he was in high delight. His well-practised wit expressed the situation. "I can not understand," said he, "why I have stayed away so long, since every body is so rejoiced to see me!" On his thirtieth birthday, the 29th of May, he entered London, and was led to the royal seat amid the acclamations of his subjects. Thus, after the storms of twenty years, England returned to a calm under the scepter of her hereditary sovereign.

If from the turbulence of public affairs we turn for a moment to the private and social condition of the people in the times of the Commonwealth, we shall find many matters of interest, and some unexpected signs of progress. During the reign of Charles I. a postal system was established between London and Edinburgh. At the first the mails were carried once a week, but soon the facilities were improved and the transit made with greater frequency. The publication of newspapers, which had been suspended since the days of Elizabeth, was revived in 1642, from

which time forth periodicals became not only a chronicle of passing events, but also, in some degree, an organ of public opinion. It was at this time, too, that banking, in the modern sense of that term, was established in England. Hitherto the Mint in the Tower had been the principal place of deposit for the money of the wealthy; but with the coming of the Revolution, that stronghold was regarded as no longer a place of security, and the goldsmiths of the city began to be employed as the depositaries of the rich. After the restoration of Charles II. this usage continued, and banks were founded on the basis of such deposits. Thus, while civil war was raging without, while the Stuart dynasty was breaking into fragments under the sledge of a tremendous insurrection, while the nasal and lugubrious oratory of the Puritan preachers was substituted for the stately but hollow forms of the Established Church, the slow and painful progress of human society, groping to find the light, was still discoverable in the half-darkness of the age.

CHAPTER CVIII.—RESTORATION AND SECOND REVOLUTION.



O great was the enthusiasm with which the Second Charles was welcomed back to the throne of his ancestors that no pledges or guarantees were required at his hands. He was permitted to go up to the royal seat with no fetters of restraint besides those which were imposed by any deference he still retained for the constitutional forms of the English monarchy. It can not be denied, however, that a certain element of prudence in the character of Charles, manifested in the first days of his recall to power, seemed to promise a fairly liberal policy in the government; and the long abuses to which the country had been subject during the Commonwealth made the free-handed absolutism of the new king appear a blessing.

KING CHARLES II. was now in the early years of his perfected manhood. His bearing was elegant; his manners, affable. Not handsome in feature, having still in his face the reflected harshness of Lord Darnley's visage, he made up what he lacked in this regard by wit, suavity, and a most graceful deportment. His talents were of a higher order than nature is often pleased to bestow on a king; but his really great abilities were obscured and made useless by a certain stoical indifference, a kind of cheerful pessimism combined with an inordinate love of pleasure. With him indulgence was the principal thing, and gaiety a means thereto.

In the construction of his ministry Charles looked to compromise and conciliation. The first place was given to Lord Clarendon, who had accompanied the prince during his sixteen years of exile, and who was now made chan-

cellor of the kingdom. But after this first preference to his own adherents, the king admitted to his council some of the best men of the opposition—a course the effect of which was by no means lost on his own popularity.

Following this came the general indemnity for political offenses. An act was passed granting a full pardon to all those who had taken part in the rebellion against the House of Stuart, *except* those who had presided as judges at the trial of Charles I., or had been in other ways immediately responsible for the condemnation and death of that monarch. Nor could it well be expected that the Second Charles could so easily forget and forgive the murder of his father as to include in the amnesty those who might be properly held to account for that deed. The number of those whom the king considered to be thus personally responsible for the execution of Charles I. was about sixty. Many of these, however, were already dead, and others were esteemed less guilty.

Of the twenty so-called regicides now brought to trial and condemned, only ten were executed. The rest were saved either by reprieve or commutation of sentence. Of those who were put to death, the most noted were Sir Hugh Peters, who was alleged to have been one of the masked executioners who stood at the block when Charles was be-

headed; Sir Henry Vane, who was executed for his defiance rather than for his participation in the regicide; and John Harrison, who had conducted the captive king from Hurst Castle to Windsor. General Lambert, who had commanded the last Parliamentary army, was condemned to die, but was reprieved and exiled to the island Guernsey. As



CHARLES II.

to the great Cromwell, he had passed beyond the reach of any earthly revenge. Nevertheless, condemnation was passed upon him. His body was dragged from its royal resting-place, hanged on a gibbet at Tyburn, and buried under the gallows. To complete the mockery, the head was cut off and set up on the gateway of Westminster. Thus was the shade of Charles I. appeased by the posthumous insults done to the body of his greatest enemy.

One of the first cares of the king was to destroy the military power, or so much as remained, of the old republican party. The standing army, which least of all had rejoiced at the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, was disbanded, and most of the forts established under the Cromwellian régime were dismantled. The whole military forces of the kingdom were reduced to a few guards and garrisons.

In the next place the counter revolution was carried into the realm of religion. The Episcopal order was restored throughout the kingdom. The nine surviving bishops of the



EARL OF CLARENDON.

old Church were reinstated in authority, and as many of the ejected clergy as were still alive came back and took their livings. This movement was of course resisted to the utmost of their strength by the Presbyterians, but they could not avail to check the reversion. The ministry soon found an excuse for pressing matters to a finality, which was reached in the passage of the *Act of Uniformity*, by which the assent of all the clergy to certain articles of faith and practice was demanded. The Presbyterians refused to sign, and to the number of two thousand were ejected.

In England the restoration of the old re-

ligion was effected without much difficulty; but in Scotland the task was far more serious. Though the people of the latter country had hailed the return of Charles to the throne, they were greatly displeased when they discovered his purpose to establish Episcopacy in the North. To them it seemed the worst of all calamities that the half-papal hierarchy of the Church of Elizabeth should be set again in authority. So complete had been the demolition of the Episcopal system in Scotland that the king could hardly find a footing for his project. At length, however, he succeeded in winning over a distinguished Presbyterian leader named James Sharp, upon whom, as a reward for his defection, he conferred the archbishopric of St. Andrews. But his example was not imitated, and when the prelate began a series of persecutions against the Presbyterians, the popular rage against him rose to the pitch of assassination. He was waylaid by a company of men under the lead of a fanatic named Balfour, and by them was dragged from his carriage and murdered. Such was the shock thus given to the project of the king that the attempt to replant the Episcopal Church in Scotland was abandoned.

One of the most important, and at the same time one of the most disgraceful, acts of Charles II. was his sale of the fortress of Dunkirk to the French. This stronghold of England, on the continental side of the Strait of Dover, had been a place of much

importance since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Charles V. had fortified it with a castle. Afterwards it was captured by the English, and was lost by them in 1558. After having been held by the Spaniards and French, it was finally secured by Cromwell in the times of the Commonwealth. It became a matter of sound policy and national pride on the part of the English to retain the fortress as their foothold; but neither motive had much weight with Charles, who, when he found himself short of means, and in such ill repute with Parliament that he could not by any fair method obtain a revenue, opened

negotiations with Louis XIV., and, in September of 1662, sold him Dunkirk for four hundred thousand pounds. No transaction of his long and inglorious reign created greater odium in his own kingdom or has been more harshly judged by posterity.

Within two years after the Restoration a reign of profligacy was established in the court the like of which had never before been known in England. The king himself was the center and his influence the circumference of the shocking moral depravity which pervaded first the courtly society and then the whole kingdom. For this it is just that Charles II. should be held to a rigid account at the bar of history. The condition suited him precisely. But it is also true that the temper of the age was as well pleased with his moral abandonment as he was pleased with it. The true cause of the collapse of public and private virtue in the times of the Restoration is to be sought and found in the inevitable reaction which had taken place against the reign of the Roundheads. That body of religionists had, during their political supremacy, done as much as they could to destroy the happiness of the human race. They had planted themselves squarely in the way of every natural pleasure of which men are capable. To them the innocent joys of childhood, the ringing laughter of youth, the inspiring excitements and recreations of middle life, as well as the casual smiles still flitting at intervals across the wrinkled face of age, were all alike odious, hateful, damnable. They seemed to take a strange inward satisfaction in clothing the whole world in the anguish of dreariness and the dolor of despair. There never was in the history of mankind any other epoch in which the sour-visaged and Scythic giant of Bigotry so beat down with his bludgeon every budding hope, tender love, and blossoming joy of the human heart as when the lugubrious fanatics of 1650 sat on the breast of prostrate England.

Against all this the nature of man at last revolted, and rushed to the opposite extreme. The age of indulgence followed the age of suppression, and the hilarious shouts of drunken rioters were heard instead of the artificial groans and grunts of the Puritans. The jaunty plumes and perfumed locks of the

Cavaliers, in whom the last sparks of moral obligation had gone out, were the fitting counterparts of the shaven faces and carefully cultivated ugliness of the Puritans, in whom a factitious discipline had begotten death, and cant had murdered culture.

Charles II. was the fitting exemplar of his age. The reign of rigor gave place to the reign of riot. And it were difficult to say which was the worse! Certain it is that no more scandalous court has been seen in modern Christendom than that of the Second Charles. He had taken in marriage the Princess Catharine of Braganza, daughter of the king of Portugal, by nature and education as much a prude as he was a profligate. Happy pair! She chose for her maids a bevy of ancient and stately duennas in whom a Jesuitical training had frozen over the rippling river of life and made impossible the heinous sacrilege of laughter. To him this business was intolerable. He flew from it, and gathered around him a company of men and women who sat down to his banquets, and turned all the virtues of the world into ridicule and mockery.

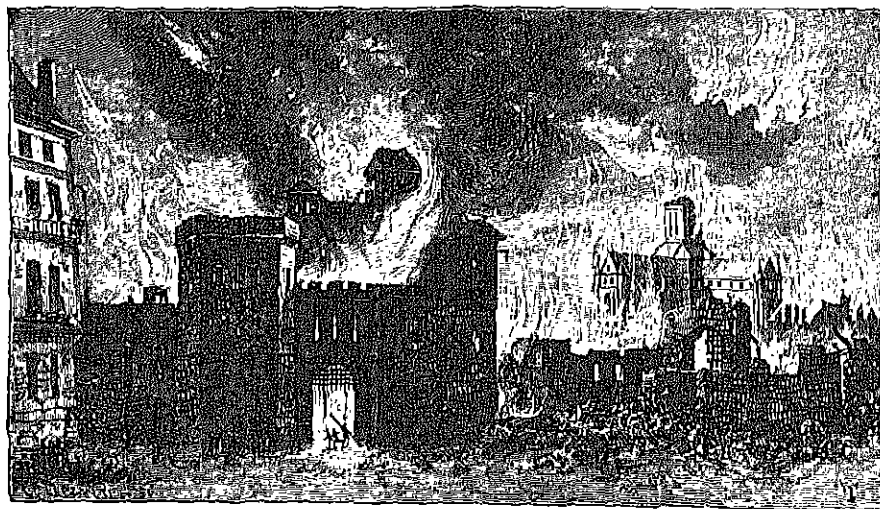
In the fifth year of his reign Charles declared war with Holland. The question between the two powers was the long-standing rivalry of the Dutch and the English for the mastery of the sea. In the struggle which now ensued the land forces of the combatants were not engaged, but the sea-fights were many and severe. The navy of England was under command of the king's brother, James, duke of York, who was one of the ablest captains of his times; and the army was commanded by Prince Rupert and General Monk, who had now been made Duke of Albemarle. The Dutch fleets were under the great admirals De Ruyter and the younger Van Tromp. The crisis of the war was reached in the great naval battle fought in the Downs in June of 1666. For four days the conflict was renewed, and even at the end of the struggle neither fleet had conquered the other. At one time the Dutch squadron sailed up the Thames, and the roar of Van Tromp's cannon was heard by the king, who was, as usual, at a banquet with the ladies of his court. It was the first and last time that the sound of foreign guns has been heard in London. In a second engagement, in the summer of 1666,

fought at the mouth of the Thames, the English gained a decisive victory, and De Ruyter had good cause to cry out, as he did, for one of the shower of bullets to end his life made miserable by defeat.

Their great victory, however, could but poorly compensate the English for the accumulated sorrows of this year 1666—a year which tradition, reinforced by the pen of De Foe and the muse of Dryden, has made forever famous in the annals of calamity. For now it was that the great Plague or Black Death broke out in London and swept the city with its horrid train. The tremendous life of the metropolis was paralyzed by the presence of the specter. Whole streets were deserted, and the steps

accumulated horrors that even Charles II. was affected! He became serious for several days, and actually gave some thought to the measures proposed for the relief of the suffering people. It is said that he laid in his chamber, *where he kept several sluts with their pups*, a flimsy mosaic of good intentions; but the Ethiopian could not change his skin or the leopard his spots. The king relapsed in a week.

The sorrows of the state of England, particularly the disgrace of having a Dutch fleet discharging its insolent cannon in the harbor at Chatham, became the occasion of the overthrow of the Clarendon ministry. That nobleman had thus far been to Charles a kind



THE GREAT LONDON FIRE.

of the few courageous, who still went forth, sounded like the footfalls of them that walk in the city of the dead. It is estimated that at least ninety thousand persons were swept off before the scourge was stayed.

While this dark pestilence still hovered in the air, another calamity almost as dire fell upon the city. On the 2d of September, 1666, a fire broke out near London Bridge, and soon grew into a roaring conflagration. Further and further on every hand spread the flames until it seemed that the whole city was about to be swallowed in the consuming maelstrom. Nor was the devastation ended until thirteen thousand houses had been reduced to ashes. Such was the dreadful condition to which London was brought by these

of master, very necessary to the success of the government, but very disagreeable to the passions and preferences of the dissolute prince. More congenial by far to him was the audacious and profoundly immoral Duke of Buckingham. The latter long plotted and planned how he might compass the downfall of Clarendon. At length pence was made with the Dutch on such terms as appeared to the nation—and were—less favorable than were demanded by a strict regard to the honor of England. This circumstance gave Buckingham the desired opportunity to turn the public dislike and mortification against Clarendon as the responsible cause. Nor did Charles himself, thorough ingrate as he was, do any thing to shore up the fortunes of his falling minister.

He willingly let him fall. Clarendon was impeached, removed from office, and sentenced to banishment. Such was—and is—the gratitude of princes. It was doubtless some consolation to the fallen that his daughter, Anne Hyde, was married to the Duke of York, and that the offspring of this union were likely to succeed the childless Charles on the throne of England.

After the overthrow of Clarendon the king did not dare to throw himself at once into the arms of Buckingham. There followed an intermediate stage of semi-respectability in the ministry. Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, and Sir Orlando Bridgman were called to conduct the government; and they, with a few others of good character, upheld for a season the tottering honor of the state. But after three years this element of half-virtue in the administration expired under the displeasure of the king and Buckingham. In 1670 a new ministry was formed, which, by its lack of all moral restraint, has obtained an easy preëminence over all the corrupt councils known to history. The body was composed of five men almost equally notorious for their profligacy and ill-repute. These were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, whose initials in the order named formed the appropriate word *Cabal*, by which title the ministry was known.

To this infamous clique the entire management of the kingdom was given over; and for four years the reign of disgrace continued. Nor did the Cabal—so confident was that body of its lease of power—take any care to secure even the semblance of popular approval. On the contrary, the ministers projected one measure after another in the very face of the people's displeasure; and the king laughed! By one decree the Cabal shut up the exchequer of the kingdom, thus virtually confiscating all the money which had been deposited therein. Another measure was the renewal of the war with Holland, a policy which was doubly distasteful to the English from the fact that the same had been adopted at the suggestion of Louis XIV. of France. As in the former struggle, the war was carried on by sea, the Duke of York commanding the English and De Ruyter the Dutch fleets. In 1671, while the two squadrons were at

anchor in SOLEBAY, an action was brought on which proved to be one of the most severe sea-fights of the century. The ship of the Duke of York was so shattered that he was obliged to transfer his flag to another. De Ruyter confessed that of the thirty-two naval battles in which he had participated he had never witnessed one so terrible. Both fleets were torn, rent, scattered, but neither could compel the other to yield. On the 11th of August, 1673, a second great battle was fought between the Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, now lying at the mouth of the Texel, and the English squadron, now commanded by Prince Rupert. But again the result was indecisive, and each of the crippled armaments withdrew, dragging its bloody length across the sea.

In 1674 a reaction occurred against the Cabal by which that corrupt body was broken up. Clifford died, and Ashley, who had now been made Lord Shaftesbury, fell into disgrace. A new ministry was formed under the Earl of Danby, and for a brief period there was at least a show of reform. But the government of Charles II. was founded on principles essentially vicious, and nothing could make that virtuous and strong which had neither virtue nor strength in itself. In the later years of the reign, however, there was less popular complaint than in the beginning; for the ministry had learned to temporize and trifle with the nation, cajoling and deceiving by turns that English people whom they despised and derided in secret. Whenever occasion seemed to require, the ministers became as servile as they were corrupt, and utterly contemptuous of the rights and honor of the kingdom; they still made a show before Parliament and the people of upholding the ancient renown of England. The real character and dispositions of the several ministries of Charles II., and the final reaction against them, has been expressed by Guizot with his usual clearness and philosophic insight:

“But this corruption,” says he, “this servility, this contempt of public rights and public honor [on the part of the ministry], were at last carried to such a pitch as to be no longer supportable. A general outcry was raised against this government of profligates

A patriotic party, supported by the nation, became gradually formed in the House of Commons, and the king was obliged to take the leaders of it into his council. Lord Essex, the son of him who had commanded the first parliamentary armies in the civil war, Lord Russell, and Lord Shaftesbury, who, without any of the virtues of the other two, was much their superior in political abilities, were now called to the management of affairs.

The national party, to whom the direction of the government was now committed, proved itself unequal to the task: it could not gain possession of the moral force of the country; it could neither manage the interests, the habits, nor the prejudices of the king, of the court, nor of any with whom it had to do. It inspired no party, either king or people, with any confidence in its energy or ability; and after holding power for a short time, this national ministry completely failed. The virtues of its leaders, their generous courage, the beauty of their death, have raised them to a distinguished niche in the temple of fame, and entitled them to honorable mention in the page of history; but their political capacities in no way corresponded to their virtues: they could not wield power, though they could withstand its corrupting influence, nor could they achieve a triumph for that glorious cause for which they could so nobly die."

Before proceeding, however, to narrate the immediate causes of the Second Revolution in England, a few remaining details of the reign of Charles may well be given. The relations between himself and Parliament were never—after the first inglorious gush of enthusiasm—of a sort to inspire confidence or respect. In vain did the House of Commons wait for some signs of political virtue on the part of the king, and in vain did the king wait for that body—to adjourn! At last, in 1678, after sitting for seventeen years, the Parliament which had hailed his accession with such absurd demonstrations of loyalty was dissolved, and in the following year a new assembly was summoned. But the House now became a scene of turmoil almost as fierce as that which had preceded the downfall of the monarchy. Religious animosity came in to intensify political agitation. Charles

was suspected of being secretly in sympathy with the papists. Moreover, he had no children—at least his queen had none—and it was clear that the succession would, in the event of the king's death, fall to his brother, the Duke of York. But James was an open adherent of the Romish Church; and the English people, who, since the early years of the Tudor dynasty, had been ruled by Protestants, were brought face to face with the near prospect of another Catholic king. The outlook was highly displeasing. The Commons proposed and passed an act for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, and for settling the crown on James's eldest daughter, Mary, who had been married to the Prince of Orange.

While this measure was still agitated in Parliament, another was brought forward entitled the Habeas Corpus Bill, which, as the name implies, was intended to throw a still greater security around the English citizen in the matter of illegal and arbitrary arrest and detention without trial in prison. Thus, while the king and his court were spending their afternoons in witnessing the obscene plays which the prostituted muses of Dryden, Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar were defiling the English stage withal, and their evenings in revells and debauches, the Parliament was struggling to preserve the crown for Protestantism, and to throw additional safeguards around the rights and liberties of Englishmen.

It was at this juncture that the celebrated TITUS OATES appeared on the scene, and by his magnificent scheme of falsehood and perversion turned the sober brain of England into a whirlpool. Oates, having been dismissed from a chaplaincy in the navy, went abroad and became a Jesuit at Valladolid. But he was soon expelled from the college of that Order, and came back to England. Hereupon he drew up an ornate and circumstantial account of a great conspiracy which he alleged to have been formed by the Jesuits for the murder of the king of England and the subversion of the Protestant religion. Then he enlarged the story and made an affidavit of its truth. An excitement broke out in London, the like of which had rarely, if ever, been witnessed in that metropolis. Catholics were

arrested and thrown into prison. Oates was lodged in Whitehall, a guard was appointed for his protection, and Parliament, losing its senses, voted him a pension of twelve hundred pounds per annum. After a scene of indescribable turmoil, the insane excitement at length subsided, and subsequent judicial investigations proved conclusively that there had been no "*Popish Plot*" at all!

Meanwhile the popular discontent with the king waxed hot. Charles and his brother James became the objects of intense dislike. Public meetings were held, and schemes were debated for the reform of the kingdom. Among other projects, a plot was formed for placing on the throne the popular and accomplished James Scott, duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles. It was openly alleged that the king and Lucy Walters, the mother of Monmouth, had been secretly married, and that therefore the duke was virtually legitimate. But the king vehemently denied the story of the marriage, though not the paternity of Monmouth. The latter was ambitious to gain the throne, and was so far involved in the plots which were formed in his interest that he was presently obliged to retire into Holland.

It was now the turn of the Catholics to make conspiracies in behalf of their favorite, the Duke of York. This prince, who had so long distinguished himself as commander of the English fleet, returned to court and became dominant in the affairs of the state. His temper was far more severe than that of the easy-going king, and perceiving the dislike against himself and that the cause thereof was his religion, he urged on his brother to adopt measures of great harshness towards those who were, or were supposed to be, in conspiracy relative to the succession.

In the Parliament of 1680, Lord William Russell was one of those who had endeavored to procure the passage of the act excluding the Duke of York from the throne. In the course of time a band of plotters, under the lead of a certain Rumbold, assembled at a place called the Rye House, near Newmarket, and there debated the question how the king might be overthrown and the duke excluded. It was charged that Lord Russell was privy to

this business, and on this charge—which was false—he was arrested, imprisoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded on the 21st of July, 1683. In like manner, the accomplished Algernon Sidney was seized, sentenced, and executed, his trial being a mockery and the judgment of the court a slander.

The scandalous reign of Charles II. continued for almost twenty-five years. At the beginning of February, 1685, still banqueting and carousing with his boon companions, he was struck with apoplexy and brought to a pause. He lingered in a half-conscious state for a few days, and died on the 6th of the month, being in the fifty-fifth year of his age.¹

Notwithstanding the extreme dislike of the English people, there was but little open opposition to the accession of the Duke of York, who at once assumed the crown with the title of JAMES II. His character was strongly contrasted with that of his brother. He had neither the vices nor the virtues of the late king. His naturally serious and cold disposition had been sunk to a still lower temperature by the influence of his Catholic mother and the hard discipline of his early years. In his religion he was a thorough papist, and to the faith which he had imbibed he added a harshness and bigotry of his own. Neverthe-

¹ The following estimate of Charles is from the quaint *Diary* of his partial friend and admirer, Sir John Evelyn: "Thus died King Charles II., of a vigorous and robust constitution, and in all appearance promising a long life. He was a prince of many virtues and many great imperfections; debonnaire, easy of access, not bloody nor cruel; his countenance fierce, his voice great, proper of person, every motion became him; a lover of the sea and skillful in shipping. . . . He had a peculiar talent in telling a story, and facetious passages of which he had innumerable; this made some buffoons and vitious wretches too presumptuous and familiar. . . . He took delight in having a number of little spaniels follow him and lie in his bed-chamber, where . . . which rendered it very offensive, and indeed made the whole Court nasty and stinking. . . . He frequently and easily chang'd favorites, to his great prejudice. As to other public transactions and unhappy miscarriages, 't is not here I intend to number them. . . . His too easy nature resigned to be manag'd by crafty men and some abandoned and profane wretches, who corrupted his otherwise sufficient parts. . . . He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all occasions, and therefore I can not, without ingratitude, but deplore his loss."

less, he spread the footstool of the throne with good intentions, and was no doubt sincere in his purpose to rule according to the constitution and established laws of the kingdom. Nor might the people, from their acquaintance with his past life, with good reason suspect him of insincerity.

At the first there was a

with the Holy Church. Nor is it likely that the king would have forborne to press his project to immediate fulfillment but for the counsels of the Pope himself, who deemed the measure inexpedient. In the mean time, the Duke of Monmouth, who, as will be remembered, had gone into banishment, returned to the kingdom



JAMES II.

quiet acceptance of the situation. In a short time, however, it became known that James had sent a Catholic legate to Rome to open with Pope Innocent XI. such negotiations as looked to the religious reunion of England

and laid claim to the crown. On the 11th of June, 1685, he landed with a hundred followers at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and relying upon his popularity invited the people to his standard. In a short time a force of

six thousand men had been mustered and equipped, and many more asked to be given arms but could not be supplied. Monmouth again gave out the story that his mother had been married to the late king, and in this, as well as in the Exclusion Act which had been passed by the House of Commons against James, the adherents of the duke found an excuse and ground of their insurrection.

The movement became formidable, and it is likely that had Monmouth marched at once on London he might have succeeded in driving James from the kingdom. But the rebellious duke stopped here and there to be proclaimed, and thus gave the king time to organize for defense. Continuing his course toward the capital, Monmouth met the royal army at Sedgemoor, on the 5th of July, and was there totally defeated. The duke fled from the field, changed clothes with a peasant, and hid himself in a ditch, but all to no avail. He was hunted down, captured, and taken to London. Great was the grief of the people to know that their favorite was in the toils. Vainly did Monmouth seek to gain an interview with the king in the hope of moving his sympathies or pity. The occupant of the throne was a very different personage from Charles II., and no commiseration was to be expected. Monmouth was hastily tried, condemned, and beheaded. His followers were hunted with merciless severity.

Now it was that Lord George Jeffreys, through whose agency Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney had been unjustly put to death, and who for that nefarious work had been made chief-justice of England, appeared on the scene as a judicial exterminator of the king's enemies. He was placed at the head of a special commission, empowered to deal with those who had been concerned in Monmouth's rebellion. He went into the infected district and instituted his courts in the spirit of an executioner. Never before since the days of Alva in the Netherlands had there been under the seeming sanction of law such a judicial destruction of men. Of those brought before Jeffreys's tribunal three hundred and twenty were hanged, eight hundred and forty-one were sold as slaves into the tropics, and multitudes of others were scourged and imprisoned. The judicial ghoul

even made a boast that he had hanged more traitors than all the other judges in England since the Norman conquest. Doubtless the boast was true. At any rate, James had good reason to designate the work of Jeffreys as "the chief-justice's campaign in the West," and to reward him with the office of High Chancellor of England.

On the 30th of June of this first year of James's reign another atrocity was perpetrated in the execution of Sir Archibald Campbell, duke of Argyll. This nobleman had during the whole time of the Commonwealth remained faithful to the House of Stuart, and after the return of Charles II. had been restored to his earldom. When, however, at the accession of James he was required to take the test oath, he refused to do so, except with the added clause, "as far as is consistent with the Protestant faith." For this he was charged with high treason and convicted. Under sentence of death he succeeded in making his escape to Holland, where he gathered an army, and then came back. Defeat and capture followed, and then execution.

The king thus swept the field of open opposition. But there still remained the deep-seated discontent, distrust, and unrest of the people. Most of all, the hand of the English nation was lifted against James because of his covert purpose everywhere cropping out to restore Catholicism in England. He had, after the death of his first wife, the daughter of Lord Clarendon, married the Princess Maria Beatrice of Modena, who, twenty-five years his junior, used all the blandishments and arts known to the woman of Italy to intensify James's preference for the ancient Church.

In this business she was aided and abetted by the king's confessor, Father Peters, who urged the monarch forward in the work of installing Catholics in places of trust and honor. The chaplaincies of the army and navy were turned over to Catholic priests. The Episcopal bishop of London was suspended from his office, and in order still further to favor the papal party an *EDICT OF TOLERATION* was issued to all religionists of every hue and fashion who dissented from the Church of England. Under this sweeping license of worship it was intended to give a wide campaign in which Catholicism might expatiate on soaring wing.

Of course the adherents of the Established Church made a prodigious effort to put a stop to these reactionary proceedings. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six other great prelates of the kingdom drew up a remonstrance and presented it to the king; and for this action so simple, so just, so constitutional the remonstrants were seized and imprisoned in the Tower. On being brought to trial, however, they were triumphantly acquitted—a result which showed conclusively the temper of the people and their determination to resist and resist the further encroachments of the king.

At this juncture both the Papal and the Protestant party scanned most eagerly the question of the succession, and from the probabilities in that regard the king and his enemies alike drew hope and comfort. For as yet the king had no son, and his eldest daughter Mary was the wife of no less a personage than William Henry, prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands. That prince was now at the head of the Protestant cause in Europe, and his wife was in hearty accord with her husband. To this fact the Protestants in England looked with intense satisfaction, perceiving that in the event of James's death they should have a queen after their own heart, with a powerful prince-consort able to defend her. But while the Protestants thus waited and took comfort, the Italian queen of King James presented him a son. Great was the joy of the king and the Catholic party at this event, and equally keen was the mortification of those who had hoped that nature had put her everlasting interdict against a Catholic succession. When the unpleasant news was carried to William of Orange he clenched his fist and scowled at the paper, as though it were a letter from his evil genius.

The prince thus given to the king of England was born on the 10th of June, 1688, and was destined, under the title of the Pretender, to become an important factor in the subsequent history of the country. Though his birth was regarded by his father as the most auspicious of events, it was in reality to him the most disastrous. For the Protestants, disappointed in their hope that the crown would, after James's death, fall to the wife of the Prince of Orange, now formed the resolve

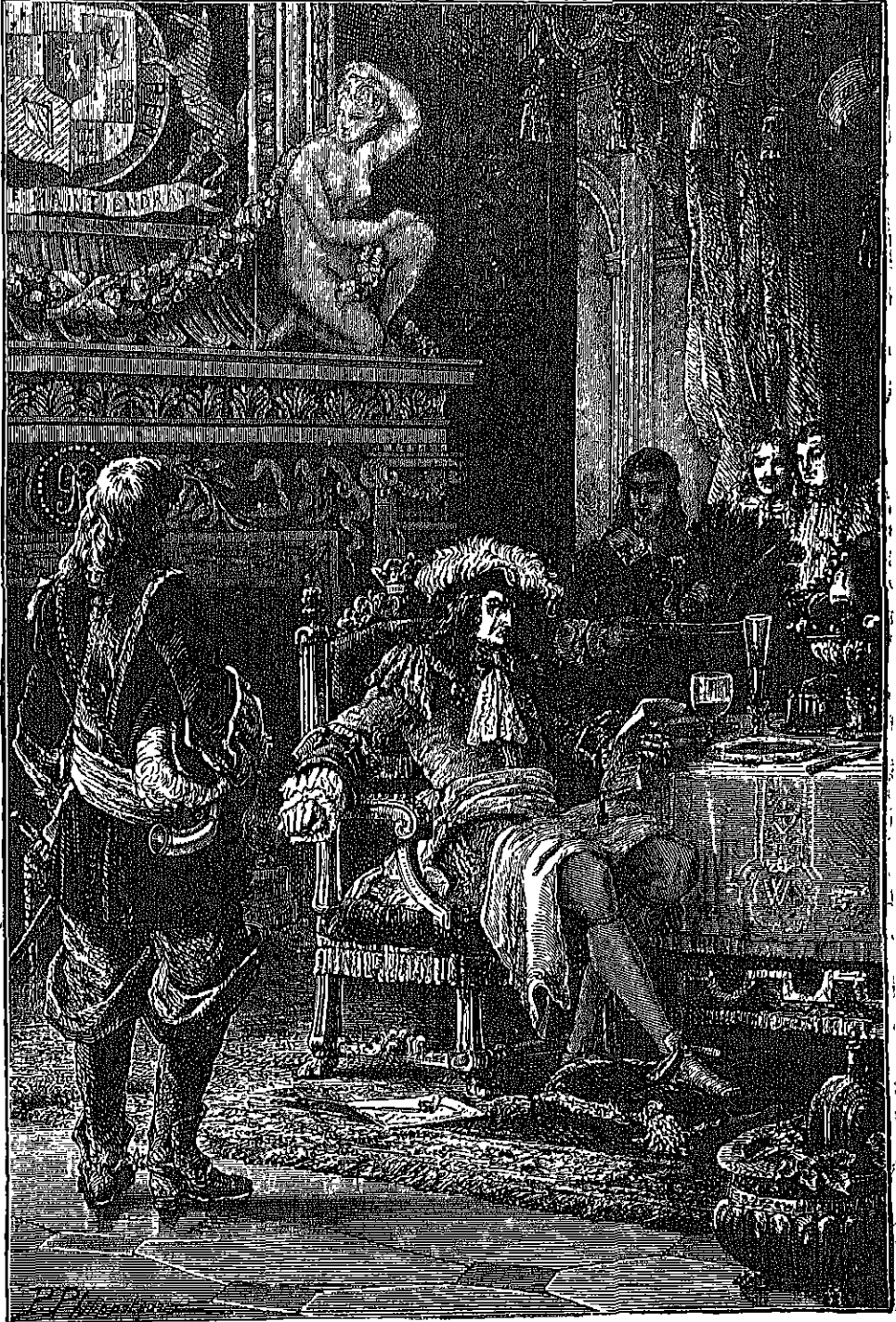
of compelling what nature had denied. Many of the leading men of the kingdom entered into a correspondence with Prince William, with the ulterior design of offering him the crown.

The king in the meantime was so absorbed with his project of reëstablishing popery in England that he seemed not to perceive the premonitory shiver of the earthquake in which he was about to be engulfed. He went straight ahead with his proscriptive policy; nor was he aroused to the peril of the situation until his minister at the Hague sent him a letter in which he was warned that he might at any moment expect a Dutch invasion. Things had now gone so far that, when in his alarm he suddenly reversed his methods and undertook by various concessions to put back the rising storm, he merely gained for himself the reputation of being a political coward as well as a tyrant. His retractions and conciliations did no good, but rather encouraged the revolutionists to go forward with their work. Their design at this time was simply to expel forever the Stuart dynasty from England.

In the summer of 1688 the Prince of Orange issued a declaration that he would presently come into the Island and redress the grievances of the English people. This announcement was received with delight by the Protestant party and with dismay by the king. To the latter it was the handwriting on the wall; nor was the express purpose of Prince William by any means an idle boast. He meant what he said, and having made up his mind to interfere in the affairs of England, he hastened to carry out his design. Having already well in hand the military resources of Holland, he organized a powerful army and fleet, and sailing from Helvoetsluis, in the last of October, 1688, landed on the 5th of the following month at Torbay.

He came partly in his own right, partly in the right of his wife, partly by the invitation of the English people, and partly as the defender of Protestantism. At the first his reception was less cordial, or at any rate less enthusiastic, than he had been led to expect. For the people of the West were still smarting under the punishments which the king and Jeffreys had inflicted upon them for their

participancy in Monmouth's rebellion. For this reason they feared at first to hazard their lives and fortunes in a new adventure. But they soon perceived that William of Orange and the Duke of Monmouth were two very different personages, and that he who now led



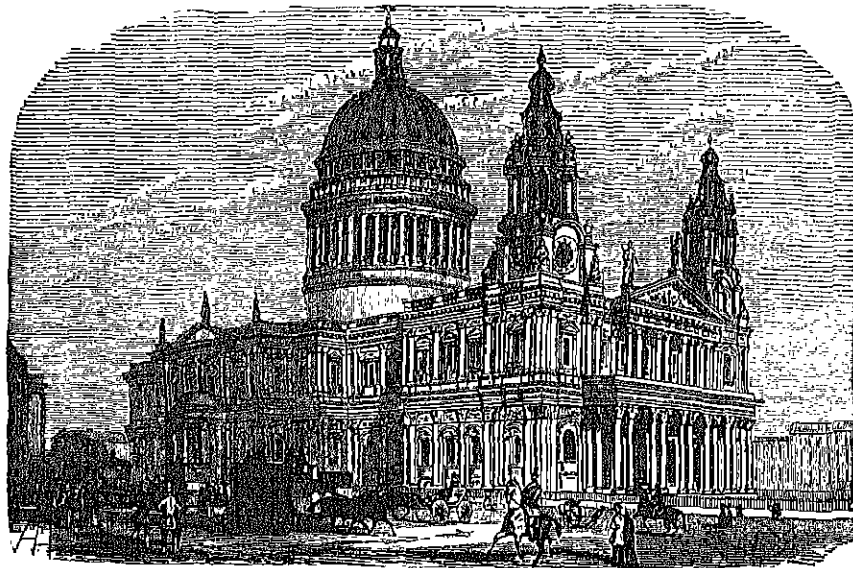
WILLIAM III. OF ORANGE RECEIVES THE NEWS OF THE BIRTH OF THE PRETENDER.
Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

the insurrection against the crown might be safely followed. In a short time the gentry of Devon and Somerset began to gather to his standard, and then the invasion rolled on with ever increasing volume. It was surprising to note what a mere moiety of the English people remained devoted to the king.

The little clique of Jesuits who still surrounded the throne formed but a ridiculous panoply about the quaking monarch. Perceiving with that sense of shrewdness by which the Order has ever been characterized, that their game was up in England, they advised James to quit the country until what time, by foreign alliances and a hoped-for re-

houses were torn down and the priests obliged to fly for their lives. The ministers of the fugitive king were glad to get out of sight; and they who had abetted him in his work escaped as best they could. Lord Jeffreys, having disguised himself, attempted to get away, but was caught, recognized, and so terribly maltreated by the mob that he died from his injuries.

In the mean time, Lord Feversham, who commanded the royal army, believing that resistance was hopeless, disbanded the troops and set them loose without pay upon the country. A new element was thus added to the general confusion and lawlessness. The



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.—Built by Christopher Wren.

action at home, he might so strengthen himself as to reclaim the crown. The queen and the ministers likewise admonished him to fly before the storm which he had no means of resisting. This policy he accordingly adopted. Sending the queen and her infant son before him, he himself on the night of the 12th of December, 1688, slipped out of London, and accompanied only by Sir Edward Hale, fled to Feversham.

As soon as it was known in the capital that the king had taken flight, all the winds were loosed. The London mob rose and howled through the streets. The work of destruction was begun. Upon the papists the insurgents let loose all their fury. The mass-

country was in an uproar until those peers and bishops who could be assembled in London sent an invitation to Prince William to take upon himself the work of restoring order to the kingdom.

As to the fugitive James, he was presently found at Feversham, and greatly against the wish of the Prince of Orange was brought back to London. It had been the intention of William to permit, even to encourage, the escape of his father-in-law from England; for he had promised Mary that her father should suffer no personal harm. Accordingly the Prince connived at a second escape of the disrowned king from the city; and on the evening of Christmas, 1688, James, having

made his way without discovery to the coast and taken ship, was landed at Ambletus in Picardy. Thence he continued his course to St. Germain, near Paris, where he was awaited and cordially received by Louis XIV., very glad to gain such an accession to his list of dependents.

Thus, without bloodshed, was the House of Stuart, which had been dominant in England, except during the epoch of the Revolution and the Commonwealth, for a period of eighty-five years, quietly but forcibly expelled from the government of a people between whom and itself there had never been any thing but misunderstanding, distrust, hostility. The dynasty was simply cast off as no longer tolerable; and while the loyalty of the realm contented itself with the fact that the daughter of the exiled king was still to be queen of England, the popular spirit found comfort and a sense of relief in hurling contempt after the fugitive House.

In the midst of the narrative of these exciting and revolutionary events it is a pleasure to turn for a moment to some of the victories of peace. Among these may be mentioned the revival of London, rising like a phoenix from her ashes and from the horrors of the plague. The city was rapidly rebuilt, and the new structures gave unmistakable evidence of the greatness of the England of the future. In the work of reconstruction the genius of the great architect, Sir Christopher Wren, shone out with peculiar brightness. He was as indefatigable in the task to which he devoted himself as he was preëminent in architecture. No fewer than fifty-four of the new churches of the city sprang into being under his hand. Among these, first of all, was the great Cathedral of St. Paul's—a structure which, in its magnificence and durability, stands second only to the masterpiece of Michael Angelo, the unrivaled St. Peter's at Rome. It was the good fortune of Sir Christopher to live to see the completion of the sublime edifice to which he had devoted the thought of thirty-five years. To him London is indebted for her commo-

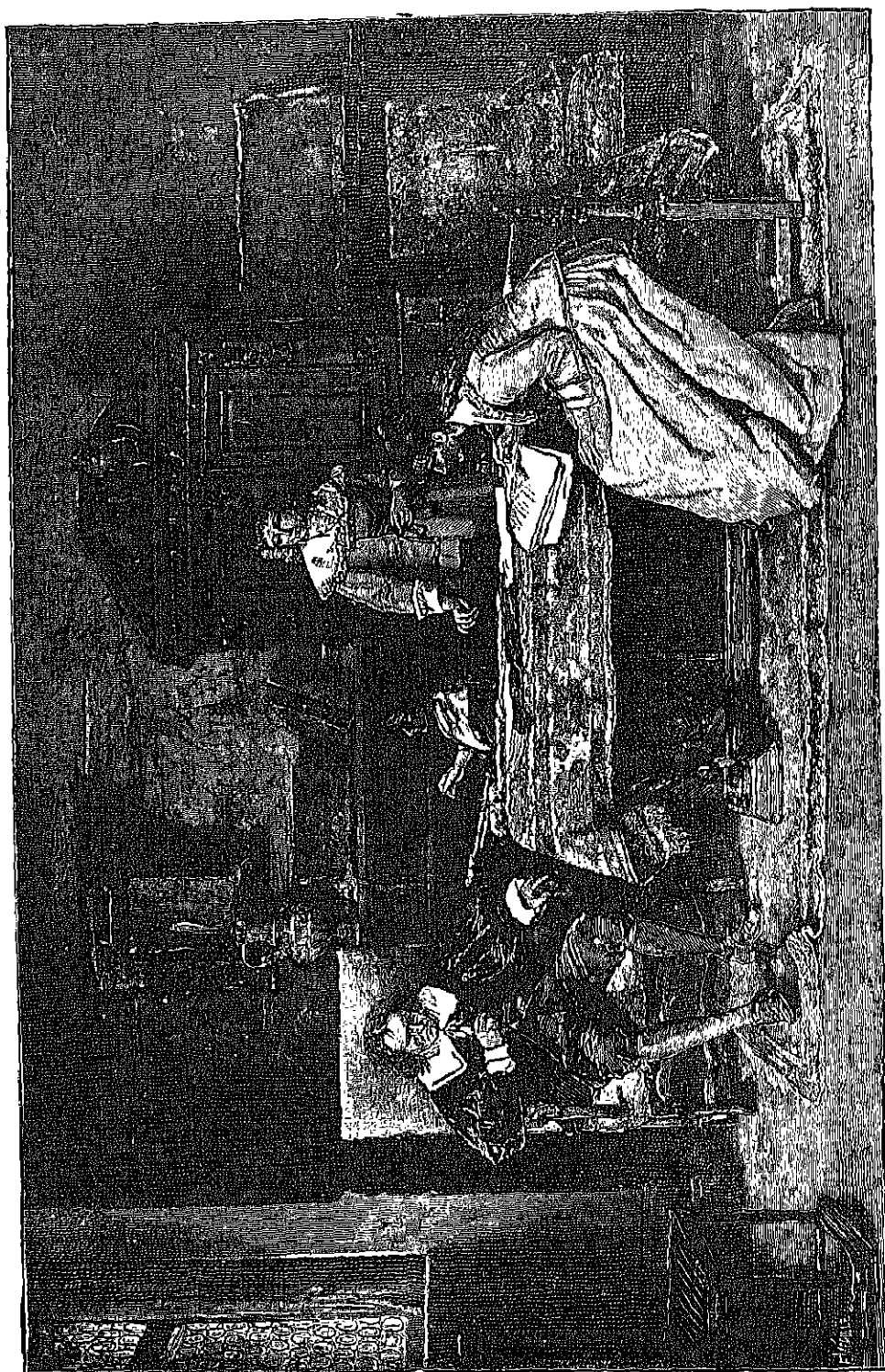
dious quays along the Thames, her frequent squares and piazzas in the district ravaged by the fire of 1666, the Royal Exchange and Custom House, the Monument Temple Bar, and the College of Physicians; and in many other parts of England the trophies of his genius still attest his greatness as a builder.

Nor did literature, at this epoch, fail to produce some of her greatest achievements. Milton is generally considered as belonging to the Commonwealth, and so far as his political life was concerned, his activities were referable to that stormy period. But his greatest



MILTON.

works were produced after the Restoration. There, in his humble house at Chalfont, whither he had retired after the downfall of the Commonwealth, he sat down—old, blind, deserted—and dictated from the double fountains of pagan lore and Puritan melancholy the dolorous and glorious strophes of *Paradise Lost*. Old John Bunyan also came with his allegorical and realistic genius, and, sitting in Bedford Jail, wrought out that *Pilgrim's Progress* in whose simple page the conscience of the English-speaking race has found itself a glass for more than two hundred years. Nor should failure be made to mention the great satirist of the Cavaliers, that quaint

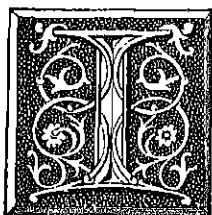


MILTON DICTATING TO HIS DAUGHTER.

Samuel Butler, whose *Hudibras*, stinging and deserved burlesque on the Puritans, has immortalized the cant and fanaticism of its victims. And time would fail to speak of Evelyn and Pepys, whose two private *Diaries* were held up like the sensitive plates of a photographer to catch and retain forever the scan-

dals and gossip of the age; or to note the career of the brilliant and time-serving Dryden; or to speak of Congreve and Collier and Otway; or to praise the magnificent work of Robert Boyle, one of the founders of the Royal Society.—These things belong to the history of English Letters.

CHAPTER CIX.—WILLIAM III. AND LOUIS XIV.



IN the beginning of the present Book it was said that the English Revolution was a general movement of political society to overthrow the absolutism of secular authority, just as the religious insurrection of the preceding century had destroyed the absolutism of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As the Reformation spread from country to country until nearly all Europe was affected by its influence, so the politico-revolutionary movement begun in England, leaped the Channel, became confluent with a similar current in the Netherlands, combined therewith and dashed high against the imposing monarchy of France. In that country, since the accession of Henry of Navarre, the institution of royalty had become more and more consolidated. The French kings had adopted systematic methods, and had reared a monarchical structure which appeared to them to be imperishable. The Bourbons became in spirit, if not in fact, the most absolute princes of Western Europe; and when, in 1643, Louis XIII. died, leaving the crown to his son, then but five years of age, and the regency to the queen and the great minister, Cardinal Mazarin, there were present in France the precise antecedents for the erection of a colossal civil despotism.

During the childhood of Louis XIV., he was neglected and purposely kept in ignorance of affairs by Mazarin, who, scarcely less ambitious than Richelieu himself, desired to rule France, and, through France, Europe. Not until the royal lad was thirteen years of age did he assert himself and begin to make his

keepers understand that their master was coming. By that time the disorders of the French kingdom, and the still more violent disorders in England, a knowledge of which was borne to the prince, had profoundly impressed his mind with the idea that to govern is to govern; that so-called popular influence in the affairs of state is a delusion and a snare; and that a really great monarch is the embodiment of the kingdom over which he is called to reign. All this chimed in in perfect harmony with the natural instincts and predispositions of Louis, whose religion and maternal descent from the House of Austria had combined to make him one of the most profound autocrats of modern times.

From the date of his assumption of the royal dignity, this young devotee of absolutism manifested such remarkable discernment as to compensate for that lack of information for which he was indebted to his mother and Mazarin. In 1653 he accompanied the army under Turenne in a campaign against the rebellious Prince of Condé, who at that time was engaged in the siege of Arras. By the defeat of Condé and the breaking up of the siege, an end was put to that great civil disturbance which, under the name of the *War of the Fronde*, had distracted France for fifteen years.

After having joined with Cromwell in a war on Spain, Louis, in the year 1659, concluded with that country a peace known as the Treaty of the Pyrenees, and in the following year—according to one of the provisions of the treaty—he took in marriage the Princess Maria Theresa, daughter of the Spanish king Philip IV.

In 1661 the Cardinal Mazarin died, after having managed the affairs of the kingdom with great success for a period of eighteen years. Louis thereupon gave notice that henceforth *he would be his own minister*. When the functionaries of the state came in desiring to know, after the manner of their kind, to whom they should thereafter address their communications on public business, he an-

swered them, "To myself." Here at last was king indeed.

The king next asserted his will in foreign affairs, and in this department of statecraft



CARDINAL MAZARIN.

soon proved himself a master. An occasion was not long wanting for the display of his power. In the year 1661, just after the Restoration of Charles II., a difficulty occurred between the ambassadors of France and Spain at the English court, which gave Louis an opportunity to play the king in a grand style. In that age of formal and ridiculous pomp the question of precedence among ambassadors was considered of the utmost im-

portance. Having thus taken upon himself the immediate responsibility for the government, Louis turned his attention first of all to the finances of the kingdom. He called to his aid the banker-statesman, Jean Baptiste Colbert, a man of great financial genius, and with him instituted a radical reform in the monetary affairs of the kingdom. Fouquet,

the former minister of finance, was arrested, tried, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment for his peculations while in office. The new administration under Colbert quickly restored the public credit, and the French financial system became a model for surrounding nations.

portance. Who should stand first and who second in a court procession was a matter of the gravest concern. Until this time, Spain, owing to her relations with the German Empire, had outranked France; and so, when, on a given occasion, Vatteville, the Spanish ambassador in London, attempted to take his place in a diplomatic procession, he found the place occupied by the Count D'Estrades, the ambassador of France. An altercation ensued, and then a riot. The French representative

that Philip IV. sent a special messenger to Paris, and there, in the presence of Louis and the ministers of foreign powers assembled at Fontainebleau, the humble retraction and apology were made. All claim of Spain to ambassadorial precedence over France was renounced in a manner sufficiently humiliating to satisfy the offended king. Soon afterwards a difficulty of like nature occurred in Rome, in which some of the servants of the Duke of Créquy, the French minister, were injured by



DEATH OF MAZARIN.

was beaten from his place. His carriage was broken to pieces, his horses hamstrung, and his son and attendants wounded in the *milée*.

On receiving the news of what had been done to his ambassador Louis at once ordered the Spanish ambassador at his own court to quit France. He also recalled the French representative from Madrid, and notified the king of Spain that if he did not immediately disavow the outrage which had been done, withdraw all claim to precedence, and make ample apology, he might prepare for war. Such was the terror inspired by this menace

the papal guards. For this offense Louis compelled the Pope to disband his guard, to exile his brother, to send a cardinal to Paris with a formal apology, and to build a monument in Rome, on the side of which was recorded the insult to French dignity, together with the reparation which had been made therefor. Thus did the haughty monarch vindicate his claim to be a king in fact. Not without good reason did he adopt for his motto *L'État c'est Moi*—"I am the State."

Great was the popularity obtained by

Louis on account of the reforms which he instituted, the return of prosperity to the kingdom, and his imperious bearing, so well suited to the French people in that age. They gloried in their sovereign and accepted his motto.

It thus happened that Louis XIV. of France became the recognized head of absolutism in Western Europe at the same time that William of Orange became the recognized exponent of the opposite theory of government. Catholic France, with her Grand Monarch, was set over against Protestant

art became an antecedent necessity of the situation. The liberty which had been at the first wrested from Catholic absolutism in the times of Elizabeth, and again taken by force from Charles I., was now imperiled to the extent that united England and Holland must draw the sword in its defense.

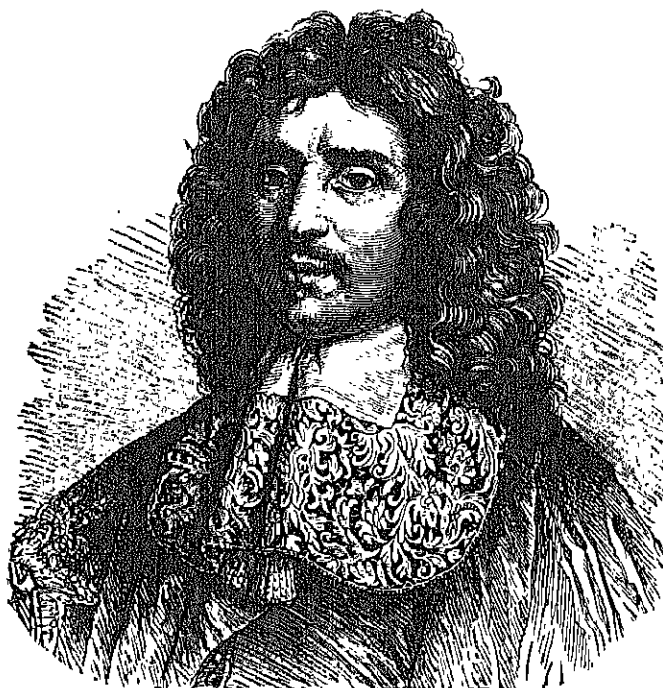
Not without a certain hereditary claim to the crown of England did William appear on the stage, where he was now destined to act so conspicuous a part. He was the grandson of Charles I., his mother being the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of that sovereign. He

had, as already stated, taken in marriage his cousin Mary, daughter of James II., and she, until the birth of the Pretender, had been regarded as the true successor to her father's crown. The claims of the prince and princess were thus mutually strengthened. If William's title was imperfect, being deduced through the female line, that of Mary was also uncertain in that she was a woman, her half-brother, James Francis Stuart, having been born in the very year of the Revolution.

It thus happened that though James was unequivocally expelled from the kingdom, Parliament had a serious question to deal with in settling the succession. After a long and excited discussion, an act was finally passed by which the English crown was conferred on

WILLIAM AND MARY in jointure. It was agreed that the two royal personages should reign together as king and queen of England. The immediate administration of affairs, however, was given to the king alone. It was further provided that in case William and Mary should die without children, the crown should descend to the Princess Anne, remaining daughter of James II.

The new prince, thus called to the throne of England, was at the time of his accession in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was in all respects one of the most remarkable men of the century. Such had been the vicis-



COLBERT.

England and Holland, with their dauntless defender, the Prince of Nassau. Thus it was that the larger forces of historical causation, operating independently of the wills of the actors, brought about a crisis at the close of the seventeenth century, and set against each other, in necessary and inveterate antagonism, the king of France and William of Orange.

It was considerations such as these that influenced the most thoughtful men of England in inviting William to pass over to the Island and become their king and leader. They foresaw the conflict, and anxious to prepare therefor, the expulsion of the House of Stu-

attitudes through which he had passed and the trials to which he had been subjected that he was prematurely old. Not that his strength of will or power of endurance was broken; but both his visage, which was pale and thin, and his person, which was emaciated, gave token that natural elasticity had been destroyed by care and exuberance of feeling expelled by anxiety. He had a severe and solemn aspect, and his temper was not altogether free from peevishness; but the native vigor of his understanding, his strong sense of justice, and the real greatness of his character shone out clear and bright over all his drawbacks and imperfections, and gave him an easy preëminence among the rulers of his times. Nor was Queen Mary unworthy of her consort. To great dignity of bearing she added a winning face and affability of manners; and the genuine virtues of her character were more consonant with the reputation of her husband than with the narrowness and bigotry of her father.

The transition from the House of Stuart to the House of Nassau furnished to the English Parliament a fine opportunity to assert its power in laying certain constitutional limitations on the prerogatives of the king. With this purpose in view a measure was brought forward and passed under the name of the *BILL OF RIGHTS*, by which the king's authority was abridged in many particulars and defined in others. Certain safeguards were at the same time thrown around English citizenship by which that somewhat vague but yet most real thing called the liberty of the people was better than ever before secured.

The new king of England could not complain of any want of a cordial reception by his subjects. They, on their part, were sufficiently pleased that they had had their way in the expulsion of the Stuarts, and did not at first scan with a critical eye the temper and

purposes of the sovereign whom they had chosen in place of James. In the course of time, however, many elements of discord were discovered between William and his people. He was in all things a soldier, bred to the camp, utterly indifferent to the pleasures and excitement of the court. The English nation preferred a king capable of magnificence, such as Henry VIII., who could sit on a real throne with a real plume in his hat and a real scepter in his hand. For all this William had no liking. He was a man of business, a



WILLIAM III.

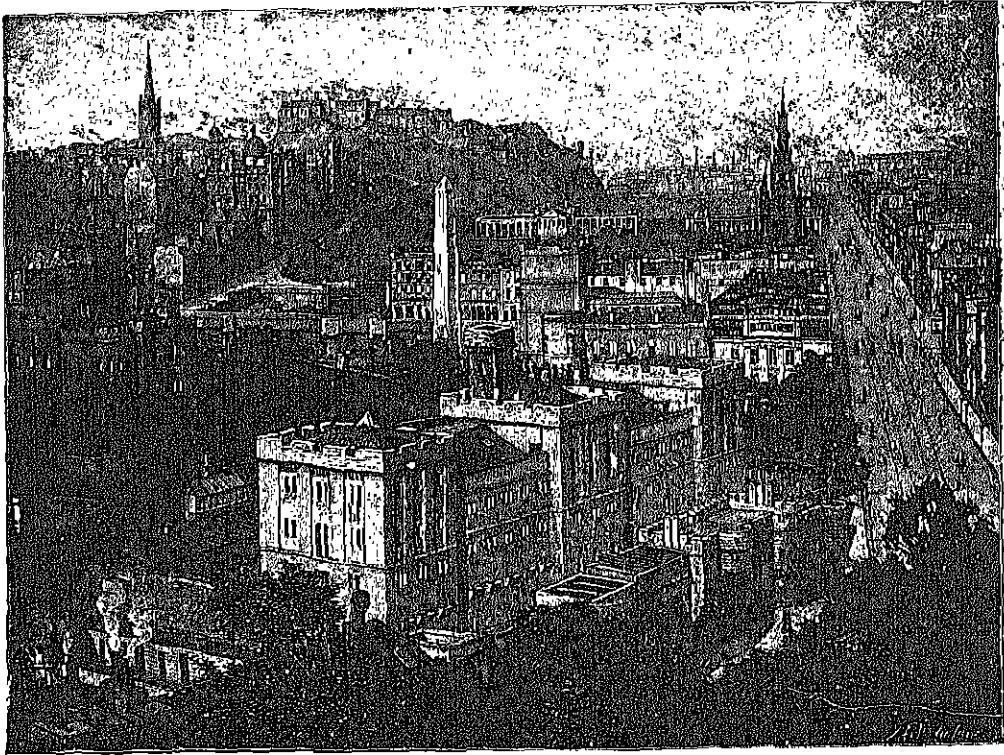
warrior, not copious in speech or courtly in manners. Besides his ideas of government were more monarchic than liberal. Though he kept all his pledges with scrupulous fidelity, he made no new ones unless compelled by the exigencies of the situation. For the most part he confined himself to his military camp at Hounslow, where he busied himself in laying plans to thwart the machinations of his great adversary, the Grand Monarch of France, little heeding the wishes or answering to the expectations of the people of the court.

But this natural and acquired indifference to the public desire did not blind William to

the danger of giving serious offense to his subjects. At length he made an honest effort to appear at court and to shine as an English king; but the result showed that he was more capable of being dazzled than of dazzling. The ceremonial and pageant of the palace suited not his severe and penetrating genius. He escaped as quickly as possible from the thralldom of royal fashion, preferring the soldier's harness, the sober talk of his Dutch counselors and the profound problems of state-

act by which the sovereignty of the country was given to William and Mary. At Edinburgh and generally throughout the Lowlands the change of dynasty was as cordially endorsed as it had been in the south. Among the Highlanders, however, the expulsion of the House of Stuart produced a sullen discontent. A large number of clansmen gathered around the standard of Lord Dundee, who headed a revolt against the king.

A strong force was sent out by William



EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.

craft, in which he became an adept and a master.

The action of Parliament by which the crown was conferred on William and Mary extended only to the sovereignty of England. It was doubtful whether the Scots, among whom a strong sentiment of loyalty to the House of Stuart still existed, would follow the lead of the Southern kingdom in bestowing the crown on the Prince of Orange. The event soon proved, however, that the apprehension was not well grounded. A short time after the revolution at London was accomplished, the Scottish Parliament convened and passed an

act to put down the revolt; but his troops were met and defeated by the Highlanders in the pass of Killierankie. But Lord Dundee was slain in the battle, and the rebellion fell to pieces. Instead of following the example of his father-in-law in his course with the Duke of Monmouth, William adopted a liberal policy towards those who had participated in the revolt. All were pardoned on condition of becoming loyal subjects of the king.

In the mean time a critical condition of affairs had come about in Ireland. The Catholic population of that island had strongly sympathized with James II. in his misfortunes:

nor was it doubtful that, had opportunity offered, they would have openly espoused his cause. As for James himself, now resident at the court of Louis XIV., he still cherished the design of recovering the crown of which the revolution of 1688 had deprived him. His hopes were fed with assiduity by the politic king of France, who, being fully conscious that a great struggle was impending between himself and King William, was very willing to render assistance to any who might embarrass that monarch or confuse his plans. Louis accordingly furnished James with arms and money necessary for the organization of a great rebellion in Ireland. Early in 1689 the exiled king landed at Kinsale, and was welcomed with great joy by the Catholic population. In March he made a triumphant entry into Dublin, and accepting the popular enthusiasm in his favor as an omen of success, he laid siege to Londonderry.

But the people of this town were loyal to William of Orange, and the place was defended with great obstinacy. At length relief arrived from England, and the siege was raised. In the latter part of summer the Duke of Schomberg, the most trusted general of King William, landed in Ireland with an army of ten thousand men. The opposition, however, proved to be much stronger than was anticipated, and after a ten months' campaign, the veteran duke, now eighty-two years of age, was obliged to confess himself unable to put down the rebellion. But this emergency was precisely of the kind to bring out all the reserved force of which the Prince of Orange possessed such an abundant store. He resolved to undertake the Irish war in person, and having organized an army of about twenty-five thousand men, he went over to the insurgent island and joined his forces with those of the Duke of Schomberg.

On the 1st of July, 1690, the two armies came face to face on the opposite banks of the river Boyne. Here a decisive battle was fought, in which the *Jacobites*—a name now given to the adherents of the House of Stuart¹—were completely defeated. James himself, who watched the action from the neighboring hill of Dummora, regarded the

¹The word Jacobites is from *Jacobus*, the Latin word for James.

battle as decisive of his fate. Going at once to Dublin, he announced to the magistrates his determination to give over the contest and retire from the kingdom. It was a *doleful* day for the papal party in England, and, indeed, in all Europe. For they clearly perceived that their hopes of recovering the English crown, and of thus regaining their lost ascendancy in the political affairs of Europe, were doomed to disappointment.

The Protestants, on the other hand, were equally jubilant. True, the old Duke of Schomberg had been killed in the battle of the Boyne. William himself had been wounded, and other serious losses sustained; but all these calamities were courageously borne by the victors; and the Society of Orangemen, composed of those who made oath to uphold the Protestant throne of Great Britain and oppose the policy of the papal Church, still bears witness to William's honor and perpetuates the great victories which he achieved over his enemies.

A few days after the battle, James took ship and sailed for France. He again put himself under protection of Louis XIV., at whose court he passed the remaining ten years of his life. Deeming it no longer necessary for him to conduct the Irish war in person, William now returned to England, leaving the command of the army to the Duke of Marlborough, who, together with the Earl of Athlone, brought hostilities to a successful conclusion before the end of the year 1691. When the rebellion was finally at an end, William followed the example which had been set by Cromwell of permitting the malcontents to leave the country. About twelve thousand of the leading Catholics—so ardently were they attached to the cause of James II.—availed themselves of the license thus given and followed their master to France. In that country they were cordially received by Louis XIV., always willing to behold the depopulation of any kingdom but his own, and were admitted into the military service of France under the name of the *Irish Brigade*.

One of the greatest mistakes in the early years of the reign of William was his attempt to establish the Episcopal Church in Scotland. The Presbyterians, who had long and successfully resisted the Stuarts in a similar project,

were now equally stubborn in their opposition to William. Insurrections occurred here and there in Scotland, but did not gather sufficient head to become formidable. After some des-

ultory movements the various uprisings subsided, and William issued a proclamation of pardon to all who on a certain day would renew their oath of allegiance.



JAMES II. AT THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

Drawn by F. Lx.

At this juncture one of those historical incidents occurred by which, though insignificant in themselves, the course of history is frequently modified. The chief Macdonald of the clan of Glencoe mistook the day on which the oath of allegiance to the English king was to be renewed. Between him and the Earl of Breadalbane a bitter enmity such as the Highland chieftains often bore to one another existed, and the earl, in order to be avenged on his foe, sent information to the king that Macdonald had refused to take the oath. Believing that the chieftain was in rebellion, William sent orders to the North that the Clan Macdonald should be exterminated, and the Campbell clan was directed to carry the order into execution. The Campbells accordingly repaired to Glencoe, fell upon the unsuspecting Macdonalds, and butchered them without mercy. About forty of the clan were massacred, and the remainder escaped only to perish by famine and exposure to the cold. Such was the shock produced by this horror in Scotland that no explanation could remove the distrust or check the rising hatred of the people against William and his government. Even the king's official statement that he had signed the warrant for the execution of the Macdonalds through mistake and in the hurry of his business, did not suffice to quiet the Highlanders, and henceforth they lost no opportunity to trouble and resist the king.

At this point let us turn for a brief space to the affairs of the continent. France and Holland had long been at war. It will be remembered that, while the Stuarts still held the throne of England, that monarchy was arrayed against the Dutch and kept in alliance with the French. It was evident that this position of England was constrained and unnatural. The false attitude which she was made to assume in joining Catholic France in attempting to subvert the Protestant liberties of Holland was exceedingly distasteful to England, and became one of the leading causes of the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty.

Even before the final expulsion of that House, public sentiment had obliged Charles II. to renounce the alliance with Louis. But that monarch had now become so powerful and aggressive that he was not dismayed by the defection of his ally, and the war upon the Dutch was continued with as much vigor as ever. In 1675 Louis, at the head of a large army, made an invasion of Franche Comté, and reduced the whole province to submission in a single campaign. Alsace was in like manner overrun by Marshal Turenne. The



THE GREAT CONDÉ.

Prince of Condé gained some advantages over Prince William in Flanders, and the borders of France were everywhere defended against the assaults of her enemies. In the operations of the next year, Turenne and General Montecuculi confronted each other on the Rhine until what time Turenne was killed in the battle of Sasbach. He was succeeded in command by the Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great. But he, after continuing the war for a year, retired from the service to pass the rest of his life at Chantilly. On the other side, Montecuculi also left the service, and in the following year, 1676, the great De Ruyter

was killed in a sea fight in the Mediterranean. Then the conflict lagged for want of leaders.

But it was the exhaustion of their resources which led the powers at length to conclude a

peace. In 1677 Charles II. had shown what was for him unusual energy in attempting to mediate between France and Holland. He gave his niece Mary to the Prince of Orange, and



DEATH OF TURENNE.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

thus paved the way for the accession of the House of Nassau to the throne of England. His mediations were at length successful, and in the summer of 1679 a general treaty was concluded at Nimeguen. The Prince of Orange had already made a separate peace with Louis in the preceding year. Either learning the unsatisfactory conditions which had been agreed upon at Nimeguen, or else, as he pretended, being ignorant that any settlement at all had been reached, he attacked Marshal Luxembourg within four days after the Nimeguen treaty, and in the great battle of Mons gained a bloody victory over the French. Nevertheless, the peace was allowed to stand, at least for a time, and Louis XIV. found opportunity to look around him and enjoy with complacency the great glory which he had achieved.

It can not be doubted that at this epoch the French king was by far the grandest figure on the stage of Europe. The palace of Versailles outshone any other court in christendom. Not that the king's character possessed so many elements of real strength and greatness as did that of William of Orange, but Louis displayed himself as the Grand Mon-

arch of his throne. Among other measures adopted to spread the halo of glory around his royal



LOUIS XIV. AT THE AGE OF 41.



MADAME DE MAINTENON.

arch, and augmented, by every fictitious means at his command, the artificial splendor

of his court the most brilliant women and dazzling wits of the kingdom. Among those who were thus induced to add their brightness to the social glory of Paris, perhaps the most noted was Madame de Maintenon, whom the king in vain endeavored to bring into the same relations with himself as were held by the Duchess de la Valliere and the Marchioness de Montespan, and whom, after the death of the queen in 1683, he privately married.

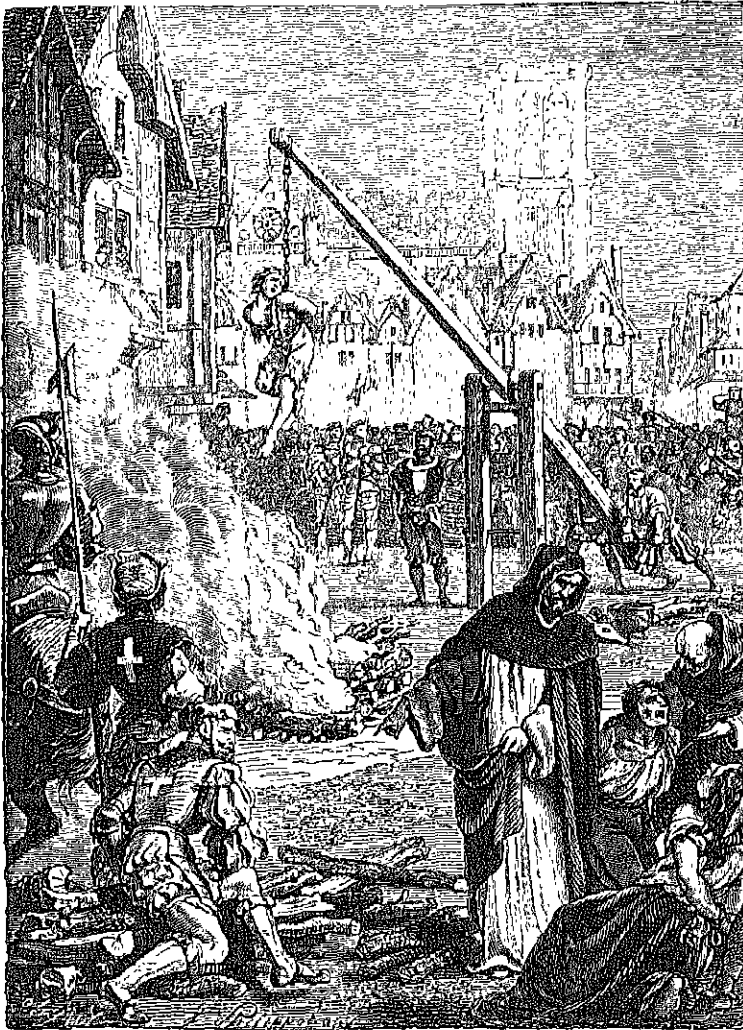
Notwithstanding the treaty of peace, Louis continued to prepare for war. By every means at his disposal he augmented the naval and military power of the kingdom. He extended his lines of defense in Flanders, in Italy, and on the Rhine. He seized the free city of Strassburg, and, converting it into a fortified town, made it his stronghold on the frontier looking towards Germany. He entered into numberless intrigues to sap the foundations of neighboring kingdoms. Setting up a vain pretension to the town of Alost, in the Spanish Netherlands, and finding that claim resisted by the Spaniards, he

master it was now agreed that the whole scheme of toleration, which had been devised and proclaimed in April of 1598 by Henry of Navarre as the fundamental condition of the religious peace of France, should be reversed and abrogated, to the end that Catholic abso-

jure their religion and return to the communion of Rome under penalty of having their property confiscated and themselves put beyond the protection of the law. Nor was the measure coupled with the poor provision for voluntary exile. Instead of permitting the

Huguenots to go into self-banishment in foreign lands the most stringent orders were given to prevent their escape from France. It was decreed that any who should be caught in such an attempt should be sent to the galleys. Troops of dragoons were then sent into the districts where the Huguenots lived and a persecution was organized against them which has been made perpetually infamous in history under the name of the *Dragonade*. The minister Louvois declared the will of the king to be that the greatest rigor should be visited on those who would not adopt his religion, and that such stupid vanity on the part of the Huguenots should be pursued to the last extremity.

The king's dragoons were accord-



TORTURE OF THE HUGUENOTS.

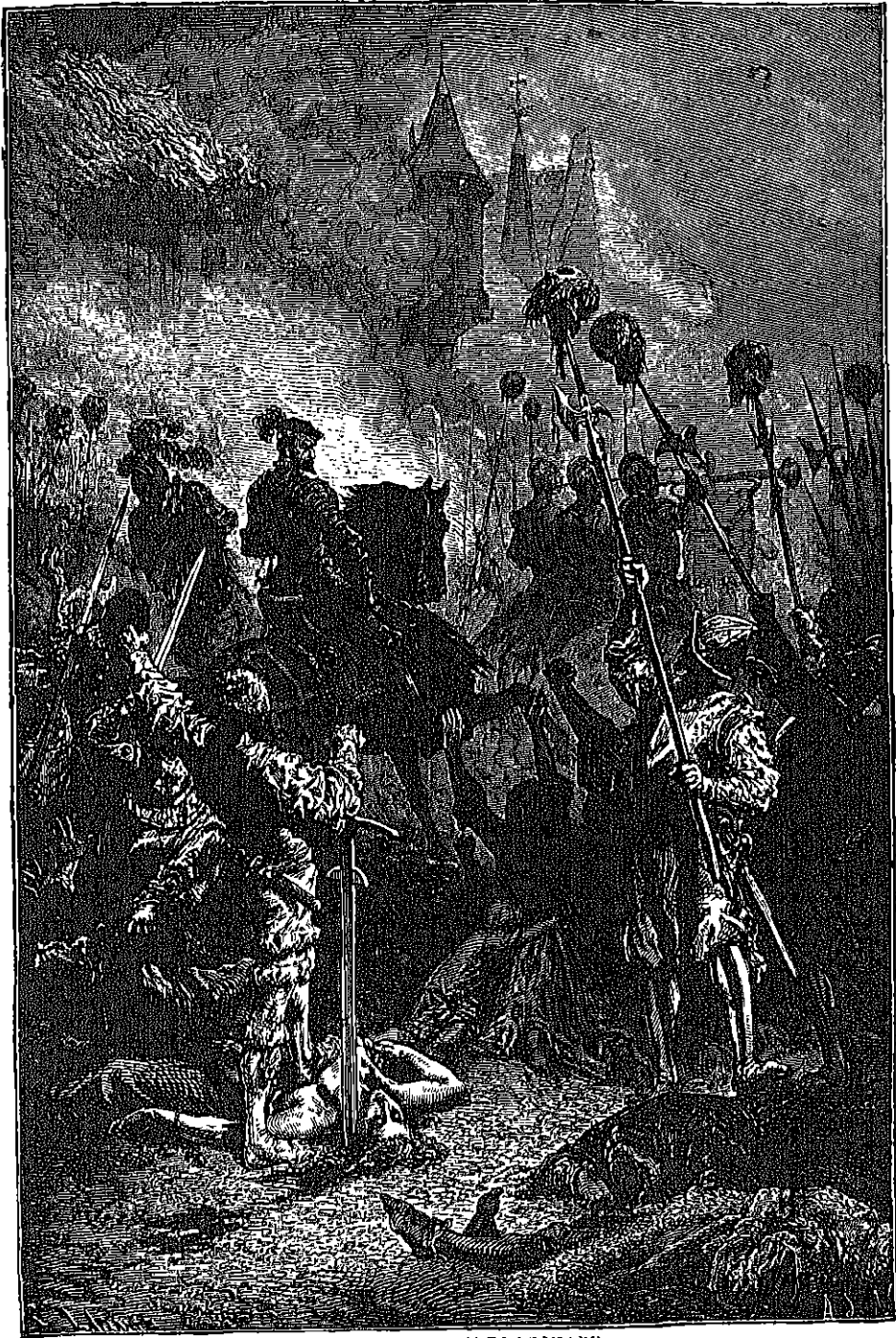
lutism might be reëstablished throughout the kingdom.

After certain preparatory steps, such as local persecutions of the Huguenots, the shutting up of their churches in various places, and their expulsion from public offices, an edict was finally prepared for the purpose of destroying French Protestantism at a single stroke. All Protestants were ordered to ab-

ingly ordered to quarter at will in the houses of those who refused to give up the religion in which they had been nurtured. One cruelty succeeded another. Menace was followed by imprisonment, imprisonment by isolated murders, and these by general and brutal massacres. The Huguenot peasants were hunted into the woods like wild beasts and were shot down or tortured at the caprice of

their persecutors. Neither the decrepitude of old age nor the pleading weakness of infancy stirred any remorse in the breasts of the bloody butchers who went about cutting down

all ages, sexes, and conditions. Many of the Huguenot women were dragged into convents and given over to the nuns, by whom they were not suffered to sleep until they had con-



WORK OF THE DRAGONADE.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

sented to go to mass. The regions where the Huguenot population predominated were reduced to a desolation, and it is estimated that France by her frightful barbarity to her own people lost fully half a million of her most industrious inhabitants before the folly of the king and the cruelty of his minister worked their own cure by reducing the revocation to a dead letter. This in the year 1685! This in the most polite and refined kingdom of Christendom! This at the hands of him who delighted to be styled the Grand Monarch!

Two years before his accession to the English crown, the Prince of Orange succeeded in uniting Germany, Holland, and Spain in a league against France. But the movement did not escape the vigilance of Louis, who resolved to anticipate the purposes of his enemies. Accordingly, in 1688, he struck a vigorous blow at the Empire, capturing Philipsburg, Mainsheim, and several other towns in a single campaign. Just at this juncture, however, his attention was suddenly drawn from the affairs of the continent to those of England, where, by a bloodless revolution, the House of Stuart had been expelled from the kingdom and the Prince of Orange summoned to the English throne. Then followed the project of restoring James to his lost dominion; the Irish rebellion; the going over of the exiled king to that island; the battle of the Boyne; the final collapse of the Stuart dynasty, and the setting over against each other for a decisive struggle of the two champions of their respective causes, William of Orange and Louis XIV. of France.

Thus, after a long digression, we come back to the year 1691, at which time, after his return from Ireland, the English king went over to Holland to direct in person the preparations of the Dutch for the impending war. Flanders became the chief scene of the conflict. The great generals now opposed to France were—besides King William himself—Prince Eugene of Savoy and the dukes of Marlborough and Schomberg, the latter being a son of the old duke slain in Ireland. On the side of the French, Marshals Luxembourg and Catinat became almost as renowned as Condé and Turenne had been before them. One of the principal engagements in the first year of the war was the great naval battle of

La Hogue, which took place off the cape of that name on the 29th of May, 1692. The French armament, commanded by De Tourville, was met in this water and totally defeated by the combined fleets of England and Holland. Only a shattered remnant of Tourville's squadron escaped to the French coast to be overtaken there and destroyed by the English and Dutch. The exiled James II. himself beheld from a neighboring hill the defeat and destruction of the armament on the success of which his last hopes depended. And it is said that the darkness which gathered around him was lighted up with a few gleams of pride when he saw that the victory was resting on that same pennon of St. George under which his own renown as a sea-captain had been achieved in the days of his youth.

In the following summer, however, Tourville retrieved in some measure the disaster of La Hogue by inflicting a severe defeat on the squadron of Sir George Rooke in the Mediterranean. This success he followed up by making attempts on Cadiz and Gibraltar. But from both places he was repelled by the Spaniards and English. The allied fleets then retaliated by making descents on St. Malo and other places on the coast of France. On the land the war was in general favorable to France. In the great battle of Neerwinden the English were disastrously defeated. Namur was besieged and taken before King William could bring an army to its relief. Then followed the hard fought battle of Steinkirk, in which each side inflicted a tremendous loss on the other; but the victory remained with the French. In the following year it seemed at one time that the whole issue would be decided in the field, for the kings of France and England commanding in person brought their two armies face to face near Louvain, and it was thought that the most decisive struggle of the century was about to ensue. But though the forces of Louis were more than double those of his antagonist he forbore to hazard a battle in which every thing, including his glory as king and warrior, was involved. At length he disbanded a part of his army and thus brought upon himself the ridicule of his generals and the satire of the wits. It is said that the

humiliation to which he thus exposed himself was the first shaft which penetrated the armor of his vainglorious arrogance. At any rate, he never more presumed to command the

army in the field, but confined himself to matters of administration and diplomacy. Soon after this episode Marshal Catinat gained a great victory in the battle of Marsaglia, and



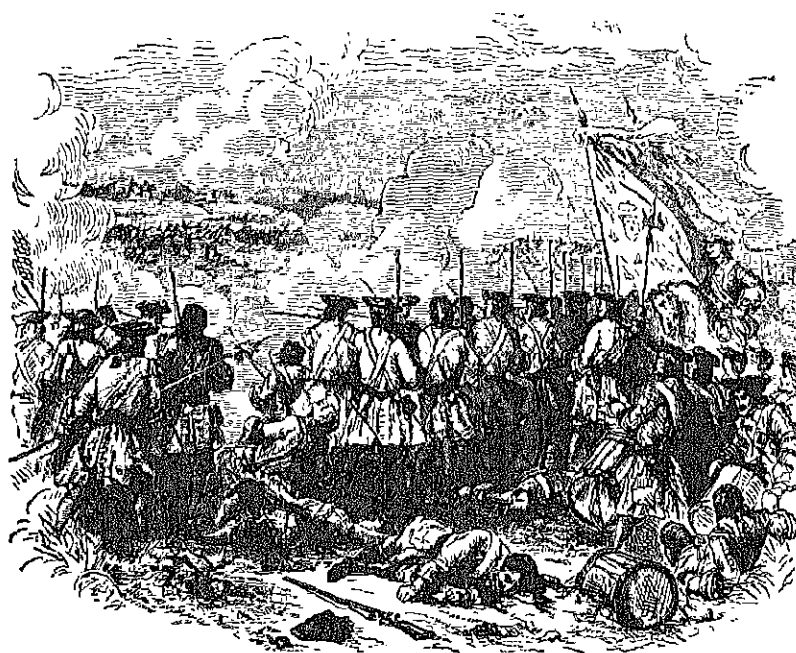
BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

this was followed by the capture of Rosas, in Catalonia, by the Duke of Noailles.

But notwithstanding these triumphs of the French arms the condition of the kingdom was such as to impress upon the royal mind the necessity of peace. It was said that the French people were perishing to the sound of *Te Deums*. The farms and vineyards of France were going to decay through neglect; for the peasants had been drafted into the army or massacred in the Dragonade. Besides all this the debt of the kingdom had become enormous, and the ever-increasing taxes were

the debt of nature. Such a plot at one time existed; but neither of the royal conspirators could hope to be successful in his designs upon the kingdom of the peninsular brother-in-law while one half of Europe was at war with the other. Louis especially became anxious that the powers should be pacified to the end that he might have an open field for his operations against Spain. He accordingly solicited the aid of Pope Innocent XII. and urged that potentate to take upon himself the office of mediator between the states at war. He also appealed to the kings of Denmark and Swe-

den to use their influence in favor of peace; but at this juncture the Emperor perceiving that the pacific Louis was actuated by motives wholly selfish set himself resolutely against the schemes of the French king, and united most cordially with William III. to prevent the making of peace. The king of England knew full well that his great adversary had exhausted his resources and must soon humble himself by propos-



BATTLE OF NEERWINDEN.

still insufficient to support the government and carry on a never-ending war. Even these strong motives did not act so powerfully on Louis's mind as others which existed in the political situation of surrounding kingdoms.

In Spain the childless Charles II. was on his death-bed. He was a brother-in-law of Louis XIV., and also of the Emperor Leopold of Austria. Each of these sovereigns had married a sister of the Spanish king, and each was a grandson on the mother's side of Philip III., of Spain. There was, therefore, some ground for a plot between Louis and Leopold looking to a seizure of the dominions of the Spanish king as soon as the latter should pay

ing more favorable terms as the price of a settlement.

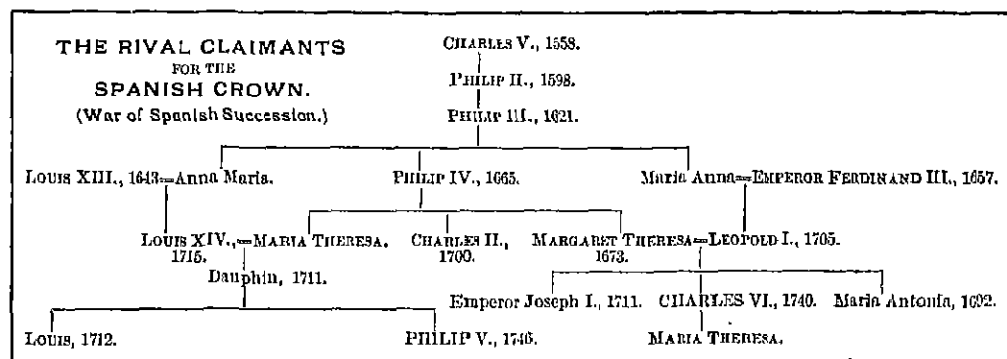
So the war dragged on. A French army was sent into the valley of the Rhine, and that region was again wasted as in the Thirty Years' War. On the sea, also, the privateers of France did great damage to the commerce of the Dutch and the English. On the other side, King William besieged and took Namur, which had been the first conquest made by Louis at the beginning of the war. This circumstance gave great encouragement to the allies; but their spirits were presently dampened by the defection of the Duke of Savoy, who withdrew from the league and went over

to France. Thus were passed the years 1695-96.

William, as king of England and stadtholder of Holland, now conceived that the time had come for peace. The Emperor still resisted the project, but was at length overborne, and negotiations were opened. Commissioners from most of the states of Europe met at Ryswick, near the Hague, and in September of 1697 a treaty was concluded. The French ministers effected a three-fold settlement: one with England, another with Holland, and a third with Spain. In the first Louis acknowledged William III. as the rightful occupant of the English throne, and bound himself to give no further aid or encouragement to James II. or to other members of the Stuart dynasty. The independence of the Netherlands was again acknowledged, and a

that all the elements of discord and commotion were lapsed at once in the peninsula. Politically, the Spanish treasury was bankrupt, the army virtually disorganized, the officers of the government unpaid. The social state was also distracted. A terrible famine supervened. Then came physical disturbances. Earthquakes and floods prevailed, and hurricanes of violence completed the devastation.

The Emperor Leopold and Louis XIV. watched with inner satisfaction this rapid disintegration of the Spanish kingdom. But such was the sentiment of Europe that each monarch in his turn was obliged to disclaim his purpose. The Emperor presently assigned his claims to his second son, the Archduke Charles of Austria; and Louis in like manner named his grandson, Philip of Anjou, as his candidate for the Spanish crown. It soon



restoration promised of the conquests made from the Dutch during the war. Spain also was to receive back the towns of which she had been deprived in Catalonia and the Spanish Netherlands. Another month, however, elapsed before a settlement could be reached between Louis and the Emperor. At last the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen were taken as a basis, and to these certain clauses were added by which it was agreed that Leopold, duke of Lorraine, should be restored to his electorate; that Joseph Clement of Bavaria should receive Cologne; that the Duchess of Orleans should renounce her claim to the Rhine palatinate, and that Alsace should remain to France.

Against all expectation, Charles II. of Spain still lingered among the living. But he was evidently in a dying condition. Never was a kingdom more distressed. It seemed

became evident, however, that Leopold meant to secure a complete union of Spain and the Empire. He assumed to direct Spanish affairs in the manner of a sovereign. His encroachments became so manifest and his methods so open that the powers, perceiving his intentions, and bitterly jealous of his growing influence at the court of Madrid, began to ally themselves against him. Even William III. entered into a league with the Grand Monarch to prevent the accomplishment of Leopold's purpose respecting the Spanish kingdom. In 1698 Holland, England, and France made a secret compact, by which it was agreed that on the death of the king of Spain the crown of that country should be given to the Duke of Bavaria. But the possessions of Spain in Italy were to be divided between the Dauphin of France and the Archduke of Austria.

While the invalid Charles II. still hung to life, a knowledge of these proceedings was borne to him at the Spanish capital, whereat he was fired with just anger. Turning upon his couch, he dictated a will by which his whole dominions were bequeathed to the

were not to be easily defeated in their designs. In the year 1700 they entered into a new agreement for the spoliation of Spain. It was decided that Lorraine and all the Spanish possessions in Italy, except Milan, should, after the death of Charles II., go to the Dauphin of France; and that the Spanish kingdom, thus stripped of its dependencies, should be given to the Archduke Charles; but it was stipulated that Spain and the Empire should never be united in one sovereignty. It was also agreed that in case the Emperor would not accede to this arrangement, then the Spanish dominions should descend to some third party, not yet publicly mentioned in connection with the succession, perhaps the Duke of Savoy.

It is highly illustrative of the character of Louis XIV. that, at the very time when he was engaged in making this settlement and compact with King William, he was also, by means of his secret agents in Madrid, some of whom were the Spanish ministers themselves, exerting himself to the utmost to procure from Charles a declaration in favor of his own candidate and grandson, Philip of Anjou, second son of the dauphin. Duplicity could go no further. And the scheme succeeded; for, just before the death of the Spanish king, he was induced to make a new will bequeathing all of his dominions to the Duke of



FREDERICK I., KING OF PRUSSIA.

Prince of Bavaria. Thus would he thwart the machinations of those who were plotting to dismember his kingdom. Within a year, however, the heir whom he had appointed to his royal estates died, and by this event both the king's will and the secret treaty made by William and Louis were rendered of no effect.

But the rulers of France and England

Anjou. Then all Europe saw the adroit game which the Grand Monarch had played, and most of the rulers knew not whether to admire or be angry.

Of all the beaten monarchs the Emperor was most displeased. But just at this moment a Hungarian insurrection broke out, and the attention of the indignant Leopold was, by

necessity, withdrawn to his own affairs. As for King William, he concealed whatever chagrin he may have felt, and made the most of the situation by recognizing Philip of Anjou as the rightful sovereign of Spain. Doubtless he had a sense of profound disgust as he gulped down the enormous bolus of deceit which Louis had so carefully prepared.

Most of the other European rulers acknowledged Philip V. as king of Spain. That prince repaired to Madrid, and was duly proclaimed. For the time it appeared that the stroke of Louis had been completely successful. Perhaps, if his subsequent course had been marked with as much prudence as his previous programme had been carried out by subtlety, his ultimate purpose of a vast French empire in the West might have been attained. But he soon lost his advantage by indiscretion. Instead of cajoling the Spanish authorities and bringing them over to the cordial support of his grandson, he offended the nation by his arrogance. To England he behaved in like manner; and to the Dutch he gave a mortal offense by expelling their garrisons from the fortified places which they had established on the frontiers as a defense against France.

Meanwhile Prince Eugene of Savoy appeared on the scene and urged upon the Emperor the necessity of immediate war as the only means of saving the Imperial dominions. Just at this juncture, Leopold also discovered a powerful ally in the person of Frederick III. of Brandenburg. This prince, who was ambitious to become a king, was very willing to join in a war with France, that he might procure from the Emperor a recognition of sovereignty. In order to forward this project a diet was convened in November of 1700; the royalty of Frederick was recognized, and he, hastening back to Königsberg, assumed the title of King of Prussia. Thus, on the broad military foundation which had been laid by the genius of the Great Elector—father of him who now became a sovereign—was reared the solid superstructure of the Prussian monarchy; and so began that great conflict with which the eighteenth century was ushered in, and which is known in history as the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

The struggle was begun by the Imperialists

under Prince Eugene in Italy. That great general, in the spring of 1701, gathered his forces at Trent, and thence made a descent into Lombardy. Catinat, who commanded the French army in Northern Italy, was defeated, and the Imperialists overran the country. So serious was the reverse of the French that Catinat was displaced and the command given to Marshal Villeroy; but the latter was no more able than his predecessor to meet Prince Eugene in the field. In the two battles of Chiari and Cremona the French were disastrously defeated, and the Italian campaign ended by the restitution of Imperial authority south of the Alps.

In the mean time a Grand Alliance had been concluded by the kings of England and Prussia, the states of Holland, and the elector of the Palatinate. It was resolved to bring the greater part of the power of Europe to bear in the work of humbling the overweening pride of Louis. At the head of the league stood King William of England, and all the energies of that prince were now evoked by his powerful will and made subservient to the great work which he had taken in hand.

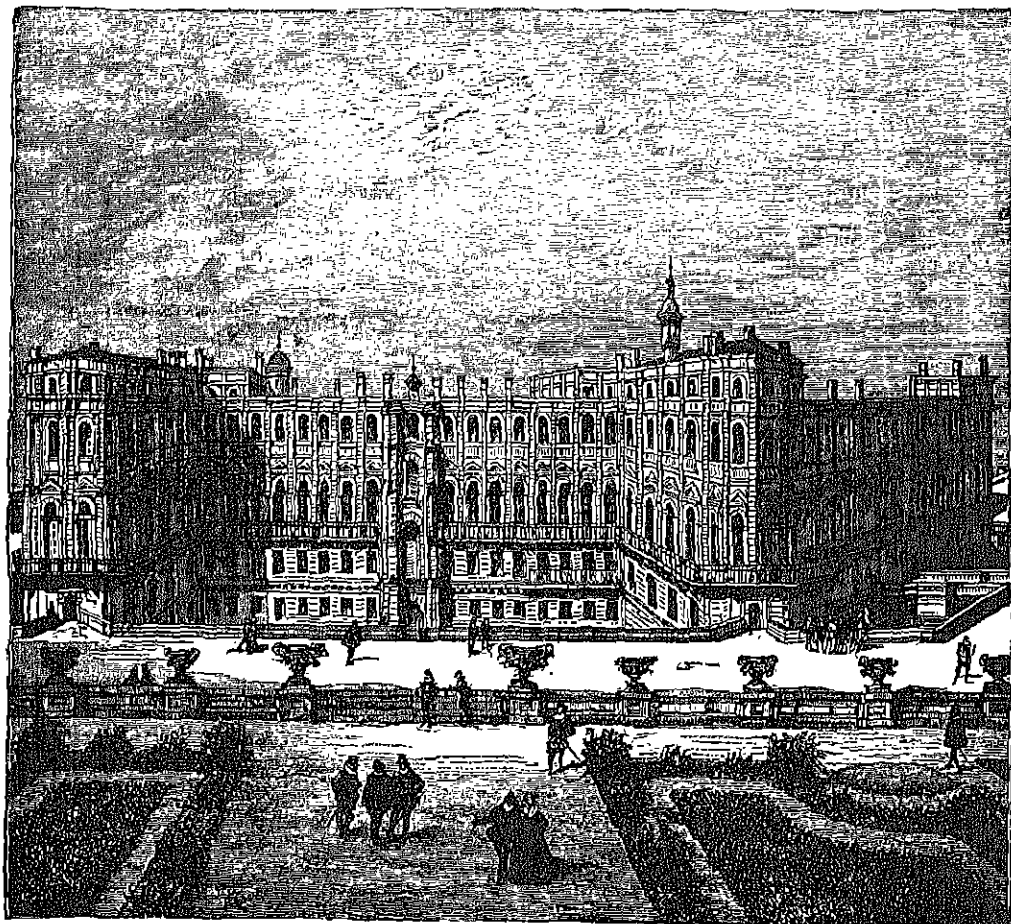
But Louis was by no means appalled at the array against him. He even added insult to injury. For when, in September of 1701, the exiled James II., who for more than twelve years had had his residence in the palace of St. Germain, died, the Grand Monarch made haste to recognize his son, the Pretender, as king of England. The conduct of King William had of late been very distasteful to the English nation, but this act of the French king in recognizing the hated scion of the House of Stuart roused all the slumbering loyalty of William's subjects, and he suddenly regained by the reaction more than he had lost in the public esteem. Parliament fired with the insult. Supplies for the prosecution of the war were voted without stint, and the king was petitioned never to make peace with Louis of France until the latter had made full reparation for the affront which he had offered to the English people.

While this great drama was enacting on the continent the home government had been for the most part intrusted to Queen Mary. During her husband's long absences in the

Netherlands she managed the affairs of state with so much prudence and ability as greatly to endear herself to Parliament and the people. It was, therefore, to the profound grief of the nation, as well as to the king, when, in 1694, the queen contracted small-pox and died.

With this event William became more

year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign. Though he and the queen had lived happily and loyally together, they were not blessed with children; and thus the very emergency which Parliament had foreseen and provided for when the crown was first offered to William, had arrived. By the provisions of that settlement the scepter now



PALACE OF SAINT GERMAIN.

Time of Louis XIV.

than ever a soldier. But after seven years of service, mostly on the continent, his own career was now, at the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, destined to close. In February of 1702, while riding from Kensington to Hampton Court, the king's horse stumbled and threw the rider with so much violence as to break his collar-bone. While still confined to his couch by this accident he was attacked with malarial fever and died on the 8th of March, being then in the fifty-second

year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign. Though he and the queen had lived happily and loyally together, they were not blessed with children; and thus the very emergency which Parliament had foreseen and provided for when the crown was first offered to William, had arrived. By the provisions of that settlement the scepter now

passed to the Princess ANNE, sister of the late queen and daughter of James II. The new sovereign was in her thirty-ninth year at the time of her accession to power. She had been married in 1683 to George of Denmark, brother of Christian V. By him she had seventeen children, of whom only a single one, the feeble George, duke of Gloucester, lived beyond infancy; and he died at the age of eleven. It thus appeared even at the date of her coming to the throne that the

last member of the House of Stuart, which the Parliament was willing to recognize as having royal claims in England, was doomed to perish childless.

Anne, however, possessed a full measure of ability; and as for the succession she left that matter to be decided by parliamentary discussion. It was at length enacted that at her death the crown should descend to the Protestant offspring of Sophia, duchess of Brunswick, niece of Charles I., granddaughter of James Stuart. This royal lady was married to the Duke of Hanover-Brunswick, and thus was paved the way for the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne of England.

Great was the discouragement of the allies when it was known that William III. was dead. But there was no receding from the position which they had taken with respect to the policy of France. They must either succeed in humbling the pride of Louis, or else consent that their respective territories should be subjugated and perhaps absorbed in the widening boundaries of France. But the news also came that Queen Anne had adopted the same policy which had been pursued by the late king of England, and that she was loyally upheld in this course by the English Parliament and people. Moreover, the illustrious John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, greatest of English generals since the days of the Black Prince, still stood at the head of the Protestant armies in the Netherlands, and by his military genius added glory to the conflict. To him the reputation of England was

intrusted by the queen. She made him her ambassador at the Hague, and to such an extent did he gain upon the confidence of the Dutch that he was presently appointed by the States-general to command the forces of Holland. His chief abettors in the prosecution of the war were the Grand Pensionary Hein-



QUEEN ANNE.

sus, who was now uppermost in the civil affairs of the Netherlands, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who, after Marlborough himself, was perhaps the greatest general of his time. These three, known as the Triumvirate, now assumed the responsibility of the conduct of the war with France.

In May of 1702 hostilities were formally

declared by England, Holland, and the Empire. The first campaign of the allies was against the territory of Cologne. During this invasion the towns of Kaiserswerth, Veuloo, Stephanswerth, Ruremond, and Liege were wrested from the French. On the Upper Rhine, Prince Louis of Baden had better fortune, and succeeded in the capture of Landau. In the following year the whole electorate of Cologne was overrun by Marlborough. On the other hand, the French, under Marshal Villars, made a successful invasion of Germany, seized Ratisbon, and defeated the Imperial army at Höchstädt. Breisach on the Rhine was also taken, and the Emperor's



THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
After the painting by Kneller

army suffered a second defeat at Spirebach. At this juncture the Duke of Savoy abandoned the cause of the French and went over to the Grand Alliance. In like manner Pedro II. of Portugal cast in his fortunes with the allies, and entered into a perpetual league with England and Holland.

By these successes and accessions of strength the allied powers were so much emboldened that they openly declared their purpose of unseating Philip V. from the throne of Spain, and of conferring the crown of that country upon the Archduke Charles of Austria.

In the beginning of the campaigns of 1704 the Duke of Marlborough captured the heights of Schellenberg, and thus gained control of the river Danube. He and Prince Eugene

then formed a junction of their forces, and on the 13th of August confronted the combined army of French and Bavarians, under Marshal Tallard and the elector Marsin, on the ever-memorable field of **BLenheim**, near Höchstädt. The Anglo-Austrian army numbered about fifty-two thousand men, and that of the French and Bavarians was fifty-six thousand strong. The battle which ensued was among the fiercest and most bloody of the century. More than ten thousand of the French and Bavarians were killed or wounded, and others innumerable were driven into the river and drowned. The English loss was also enormous, amounting to about five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded. At the close of the bloody struggle Marshal Tallard, with eighteen thousand Frenchmen, was obliged to surrender to Marlborough, while Prince Eugene drove the Bavarians in utter rout from the field. So decisive was the victory of the English and Imperialists that the prestige of Louis XIV. was destroyed forever. The rejoicings in England knew no bounds. Queen Anne bestowed upon Marlborough a tract of nearly three thousand acres near Woodstock, and here in the park was erected for the duke the magnificent palace known as **Blenheim House**; and Parliament voted to the conqueror a gift of five hundred thousand pounds.

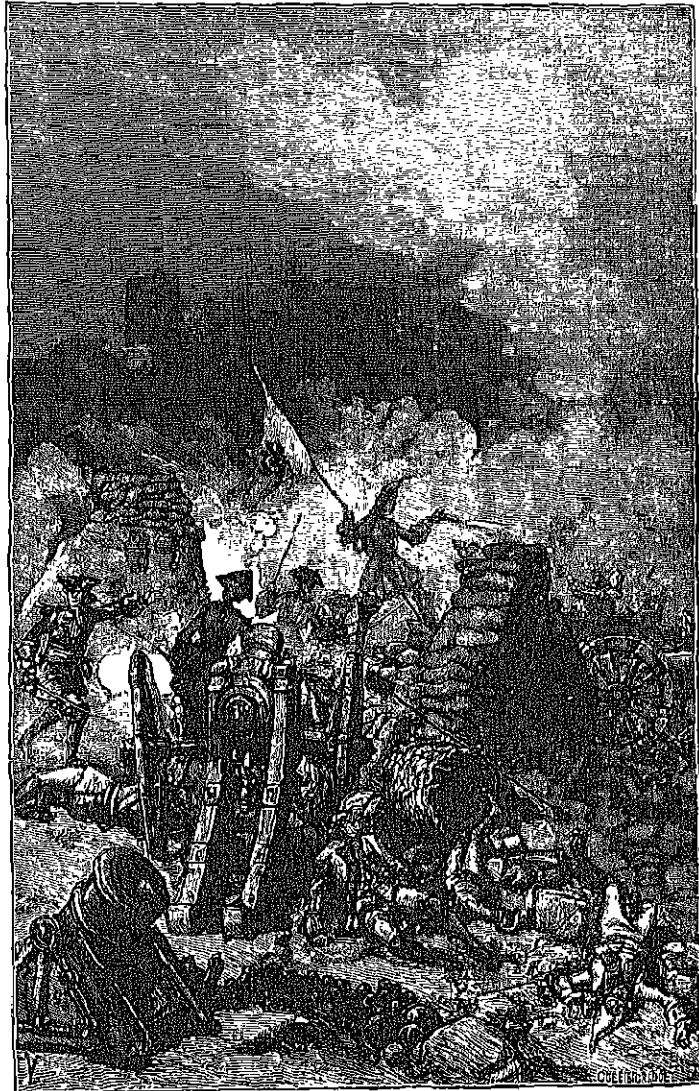
On the side of Germany the power of the French was now completely broken. But in Italy the allies were less fortunate. In that country the French overran the northern part of Piedmont, and reestablished their communications with Milan. At this juncture the Archduke Charles, candidate of the allies for the Spanish throne, was proclaimed as Charles III. Supported by a Dutch and English army, he landed at Lisbon, and undertook to make his way to Madrid. But he was checked in his progress by the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II., in command of the French forces in the peninsula. About the same time Sir George Rooke, with an English fleet, bore down upon Gibraltar, and, taking advantage of a holiday, when the garrison was off its guard, seized the acclivity and took the place by storm. By the conclusion of 1704 the allies had established themselves almost as firmly on the side of Spain as previously on the side of Germany.

In the year 1706 the Emperor Leopold was succeeded by his son JOSEPH I. More energetic measures were now adopted against the insurgent Hungarians and also against the electorate of Bavaria, at this time in revolt.

In the preceding year the French, under the Duke of Vendôme, had gained a decisive victory over Prince Eugene in the battle of Cassano. They also attempted, but unsuccessfully, to retake Gibraltar. In the same year the Earl of Peterborough captured Barcelona, gained over Catalonia and a part of Valencia, and had Charles III. proclaimed as sovereign. This action on the part of the Catalonians was in the next year followed by the people of Aragon. The allied armies then marched upon Madrid. Philip V. and his court took to flight. The triumphant Charles took possession of the capital.

But now it was that the innate preference of the Spaniards for the House of Bourbon, and their inveterate dislike of the House of Austria, were manifested. Revolts broke out against the allies, who were regarded as invaders, and the insurrectionary movement gained such headway that the garrisons which the supporters of Charles established in various parts of Aragon were expelled from the fortresses, and the allied forces were obliged to fall back into Valencia. Before the close of the year the English rallied again, and captured Alicante and Carthagena; but later in the season the latter place was retaken by the Duke of Berwick. In September of this

year Prince Eugene won a great victory over the French at Turin; but his triumph was not as brilliant as that already gained in the preceding May by the Duke of Marlborough in the bloody battle of RAMILLIES. By these



CAPTURE OF AUSTRIAN BATTERIES AT LANDAU.

Drawn by Vierge.

two great successes all Lombardy and Brabant and the greater part of Flanders were won by the allies, and Charles III. was joyfully proclaimed at Milan.

So tremendous were the blows which Louis had received that he now made overtures for peace. He offered to give up the Spanish Netherlands to Holland and to recognize

Charles III. as king of Spain and the Indies, if the allies on their part would concede to Philip of Anjou the French possessions in Italy. But the allied powers had now become as arrogant as the Grand Monarch himself. They would have all or nothing. So the war was continued with as much vigor as ever. The French seemed to rouse themselves with unwonted energy, and the fortune of war began to incline to their standard. In 1707, they fought and gained the great battle of Almanza, in which the English forces were scattered and their standards and baggage-trains captured by the victors. All Valencia and Aragon were recovered by Philip V. Even Lerida and Ciudad Rodrigo were taken by the French. The allied campaigns in Italy were also attended with ill-success. Prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, assisted by an English fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, laid siege to Toulon. But the coming of a French squadron obliged them to retire. Only in the south of Italy did Marshal Daun successfully uphold the cause of Charles III.

Soon after the raising of the siege of Toulon, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was shipwrecked on the rocks of Sicily. He himself perished, and of four ship's crews only one captain and twenty-four seamen were rescued. At this time an old factor reappeared in the contest in the person of the Pretender. In 1707, the union of England and Scotland, deferred for more than a century, was finally effected, and this event gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the people of the Northern Kingdom. Louis XIV. attempted to take advantage of this discontent by sending a fleet and army to conduct the Pretender to the country, which was supposed to be waiting to receive him. But the English admiral, Byng, was on the alert, and the squadron of escort was met and put to flight before it could reach the Frith of Forth.

In the vicissitudes of the struggle the French were, in 1708, enabled to gain some decided advantage in the Netherlands. The cities of Ghent and Bruges were taken and occupied by the forces of Louis. On the other hand, the combined armies of Marlborough and Eugene won a decisive victory in the battle of Oudenarde. The fortress

of Lille was taken by the allies, and Brussels was wrested from the elector of Bavaria. In the Mediterranean the cause of Charles III. was well sustained by the English armament under Admiral Leake, who effected the conquest of Sardinia.

To the distresses which a long-continued war had brought upon the people of France were now added the disasters of the severest winter which had ever been known in the country. Such rigors had hardly been imagined as possible in that latitude. The swift and arrowy Rhone was converted into a glacier. For a month or more the Mediterranean resembled the Arctic Ocean. It was only by the most strenuous exertions that the peasants, even of Southern France, saved themselves from being frozen to death. The vineyards and orchards upon which the French people so largely relied for support were totally destroyed, and even the grain-crop was well-nigh ruined. During the summer of 1709 France hovered on the confines of famine, and Louis was driven again to make proposals for peace. His overtures were of the same general character as those which he had previously made; but the allies, now more haughty than ever, demanded that the French armies should be used in the expulsion of Philip V. from Spain. This tyrannical exaction a second time brought on a reaction; and, notwithstanding her extreme distress, France returned to the conflict and fought with the fury of despair.

In 1709, the English and Imperialists under Marlborough and Eugene, won a victory in the battle of MALPLAQUET and captured Tournay. Mons was also obliged to surrender to the allies. Hereupon Charles III. was recognized by the Pope, and the campaign closed with his success almost assured. Again in 1710 Louis sought peace, and even offered a million livres as the price of a reconciliation; but nothing short of the actual turning of the French arms against Philip would satisfy the allied powers; so the war continued with more bitterness than ever. "If I must fight," said the enraged Louis, "I will war against my enemies, not my children." His generals returned to the conflict, and in conjunction with the Spainards gained at Brihuega and Villa Viciosa two victories so de-

cisive as to establish Philip V. on the throne of Spain.

In the mean time a political revolution was effected in England. The Whig ascendancy was broken by the Tories, and a new ministry was formed in opposition to the Duke of Marlborough. The latter was, on the 1st of January, 1712, removed from all his offices and virtually driven into exile on the continent, where he remained until the accession of the House of Hanover to the English throne.

In April of 1711 Joseph I. died, and this event suddenly changed the whole character of the conflict. For the Archduke Charles, on whose head for so many bloody years the allies had been trying to place the crown of Spain, now claimed the Empire, and the specter of universal monarchy suddenly strode over from France to Germany. The allied powers at once perceived that by his accession to the Imperial dignity Charles would become as great a terror as Philip of Anjou had been before him. The same policy which had leagued all Europe against Louis XIV. and his seeming purpose to combine the kingdoms of France and Spain, now demanded a similar alliance to prevent the union of Spain and Austria. In England the movement in favor of peace was accelerated by the Tory ministry, headed by Harley, earl of Oxford; and when, in December of 1711, Charles was crowned at Frankfort as the Emperor CHARLES VI., the continental powers wheeled into line, and the peace became assured.

Two months before the coronation of the new Emperor, the preliminary articles of a treaty had been agreed upon between France and England. A general congress, composed of representatives of all the states which had been at war, was convened at UTRECHT, in Holland, in January of 1712. The allies were represented by eighty ambassadors and France by *three*! It was agreed, first of all, that Philip V. should be recognized as king of Spain; but this agreement was well-nigh annulled by a strange fatality which now overtook the family of Louis XIV. The Dauphin died in 1711, and his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, became heir expectant to the French crown. As for that alleged twin-brother, the famous Man in the Iron Mask,

who had been a close prisoner for more than a quarter of a century, first in the Island of Ste. Marguerite and afterwards in the Bastille, he too had died in 1703, and had carried his mystery to the grave with him. While the negotiations were going on at Utrecht, the new Dauphin, who was a great favorite with the French nation, also died. His wife had already perished of the same malady a few days before. His two sons were now attacked, and the elder, the Duke of Bretagne, died, while the younger, greatly enfeebled, barely survived. The life of this young prince became the only barrier between Philip V. and the French crown. For he was next in order of succession, according to laws of France. On this account the ambassadors, especially the representatives of England, insisted that Philip of Anjou should, before his recognition as king of Spain, cede all of his claims to the French throne to his younger brother, the Duke of Berri—which he accordingly did.

When the conference at Utrecht was begun, the Emperor refused to participate in the proceedings; for he still hoped to obtain the Spanish crown for the House of Austria. But in attempting to carry on the war alone, he met with one reverse after another and soon became willing for peace. He and the king of France appointed Prince Eugene and Marshal Villars to negotiate a separate treaty, which they quickly concluded in 1714, at Rastadt. By this settlement it was agreed that all the provinces on the right bank of the Rhine should be restored to the Empire, and that Charles VI. should also receive the entire Spanish possessions in Italy and the Netherlands. The new electorate of Hanover was permanently established, and the electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to authority.

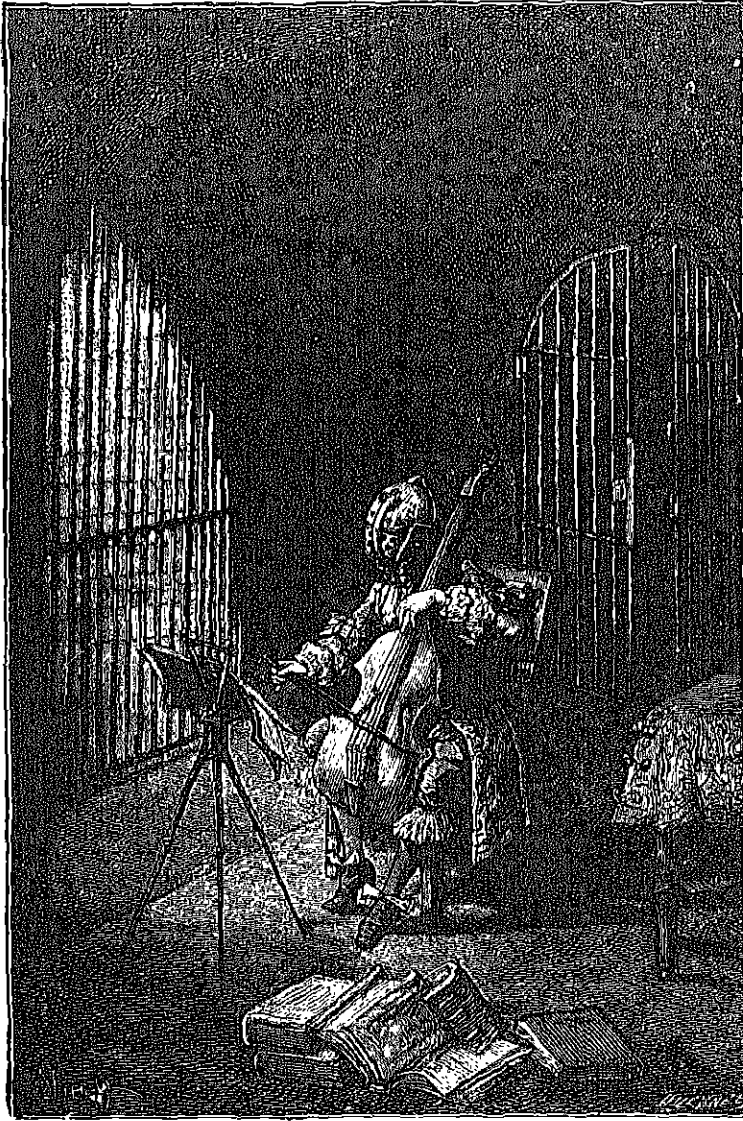
Meanwhile the general questions under discussion by the ambassadors at Utrecht were finally decided, and the treaty signed in April of 1713. As to England, the Hanoverian succession was recognized, and it was agreed that, after the death of Queen Anne, the crown should pass without controversy to the Electress Sophia of Hanover-Brunswick. In the way of a cession England received from France all of her North American possessions in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's

Bay, together with the island of St. Christopher's. The king of France also engaged to dismantle Dunkirk and to abandon forever the cause of the Pretender. By another clause it was agreed that the royal rank of

nor Jews should be tolerated in the places ceded. To this England consented! The fangs of the Middle Ages were still displayed at the council-board of Utrecht.

Thus was ended the War of the Spanish Succession. In the same year of the treaty the Electress Sophia, to whom and her descendants the crown of England was soon to pass, died, and the succession rested on her son, George-Louis. Soon afterwards Queen Anne herself fell sick, and it became evident that she could not recover. Messengers were accordingly sent to bring over Duke George as far as Holland, where he was to await the issue. The queen lingered until the 1st of August, 1714, when she expired, being then in the fifty-first year of her age. She was the last of the House of Stuart to occupy the throne of England. The elector of Hanover was at once proclaimed, and was given the crown with the title of GEORGE I.

The life of Louis XIV. was prolonged for another year. But he was now in his decrepitude, and the system of absolute government to which he had devoted the energies of the longest reign known to history was as decrepit and miserable as himself.



THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK.

Drawn by Vierge.

Frederick III. of Prussia should be recognized. The Duke of Savoy became king of Sicily, and was granted the reversion of the Spanish crown in case Philip V. should die without an heir. Spain, on her part, ceded Gibraltar and Minorca to England, but this was done on the condition that neither Moors

nor domestic calamity had come to add to the dolor of his last days. His son was dead. His grandson was dead. His great-grandson stood ready to succeed him. All his visions of glory sank into the shadows. For seventy-two years he had occupied the throne of the most polite and refined kingdom of christendom; and now

this! He had indeed been the Grand Monarch; but his grandeur was artificial, facti-



LOUIS XIV. IN HIS OLD AGE.

tious. In vain in his last days did he call in the Jesuit Le Tellier, and to him commit the keeping of his soul. Out of the hollowness of the past the knell sounded in his ears, and on the 1st of September, 1715, he was called to pay the debt of nature. To his great-grandson, who stood by his bedside, he said, as if in perfect mockery of all those schemes to which he had devoted his own life: "You will soon be king of a great kingdom. What I most strongly recommend to you is, never to forget the obligations you are under to God. Remember that to him you owe

all that you possess. Endeavor to preserve peace with your neighbors. I have been too fond of war. Do not you follow my example in that, or in my too lavish expenditure. Take advice in all things, and endeavor to find out the best, that you may invariably adhere to it. Ease your people as soon as you can, and do that which I have had the misfortune of not being able to do."

It has been—and is—the custom to speak of the Age of Louis XIV. as an epoch of great industrial, literary, and artistic progress. By this method certain writers have hoped to establish and perpetuate the belief that literature, art, and general prosperity—all, indeed, that constitutes the greatness and glory of a state—can be, and frequently are, produced by the patronage of the great. Not knowing, or unwilling to believe, that freedom is the one antecedent of the true intellectual greatness of mankind, such writers would fain attribute to rulers, kings, princes, patrons, those brilliant achievements of which free men are



JACQUES BENIGNE BOSSUET.



LACINE.

capable when left to themselves. We are thus asked to admit that the *paternal* system of government is better than liberty. Never was there a more false and pernicious theory. The mind must first be free before it can be great. No artificial stimulus has ever produced—can ever produce—a masterpiece. As a matter of fact, the alleged intellectual greatness of the Age of Louis XIV. is a fiction. It has remained for Buckle to puncture this bubble, and to destroy forever the cant of the historians and encyclopædists who would perpetuate the idea that intellectual grandeur is caught by reflection from the smiles of kings and princes.

It has been claimed that a great group of illustrious men—poets, orators, scholars, statesmen—flourished in the sunshine of the court of Louis XIV. His reign has been styled the Augustan Age of France, and the encyclopædias give long lists of illustrious names in art and letters to substantiate the Grand Monarch's claim to be the father of

a literary epoch. An examination of the facts, however, shows that, of the men of genius whose names are generally paraded as the glory of Louis's times, the great majority were either dead or in their dotage long before the system of literary patronage for which so much is claimed was adopted or could have borne the smallest fruit. The poets, dramatists, painters, musicians, sculptors, and architects, even the theologians, of France in the seventeenth century were nearly all born and educated

under the free policy which prevailed while the great Louis was still in his swaddling-clothes. It will be remembered that he did not assume the government of France until 1661. His reign extended from this time until his death in 1715, a period of fifty-four years. But it was not until as late as 1680 or 1690 that his policy of patronizing literature and art was systematically adopted. Nor could it reasonably be supposed that any effect of that system could be expected

to appear before the close of the century.

As a matter of fact, however, the end of



JEAN BAPTISTE POQUELIN MOLIERE.

the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century mark an epoch of intellectual decay and of imitation in the literature and art of France; and this decay, and not any previous splendor, of the French mind was the real fruit of the system of patronage established by the king. The citation of a few names and dates is all that is required to brush away the pretensions which have been made by the flatterers of Louis and his government. Nearly all of the great men of France were in their graves more than a quarter of a century before the king was called to his account. Of the great divines, Bossuet died in 1704; Bourdaloue in the same year; Mascaron in 1703. So that neither of these can be said to have been the fruit of Louis's system. Of the great artists, Le Brun died in 1690; the elder Mignard in 1668; the younger in 1695; Claude Lorraine in 1682; Lesueur in 1655; Poussin in 1665. Of great architects, Claude Perrault died in 1688, and Francis Mansart in 1666. Of the great sculptors, Puget died in

also, we should look in vain for a single prominent example which might truthfully be



NICOLAS BOILEAU-DESPREAUX.

cited as belonging exclusively to Louis's much vaunted reign.

Turning to the dramatists the same thing may be noticed. All of the great works of Racine were produced before the year 1691, and those of Molière before the year 1668. Likewise the masterpieces of Boileau were all published before 1674. The Fables of La Fontaine were given to the world in 1678; the Essays of La Bruyère in 1687; the Letters of Pascal in 1656. So that from beginning to end the claim that the reign of Louis XIV., and the system which he adopted of patronizing literature and art, were productive of great men and great works, is utterly and forever exploded.

The system of arbitrary government, of which he was the great exemplar, grew old with himself, and both together went down in a general decay of the French mind as pitiable as his own claims to glory had been magnificent and unfounded.



JEAN DE LA FONTAINE.

1694. Lulli, the founder of French music, died in 1687. So that in the domain of art,

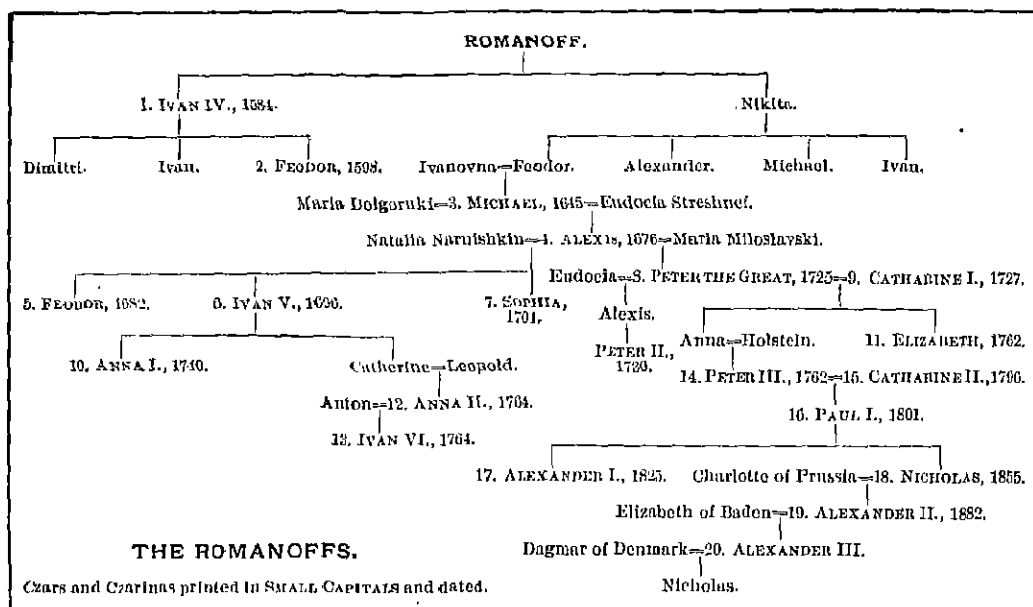
CHAPTER CX.—CZAR PETER AND CHARLES XII.



TOLERABLY full account has now been given of that great movement for political liberty which, beginning in England and Holland, spread into every part of Western Europe, and which, if not everywhere successful, was at least triumphant in the lands of its origin. True it is that not all of Europe was involved in this contest. Many portions were not yet sufficiently advanced in civilization to sympathize with the movement and

Charles XII. of Sweden, for the mastery of the North.

In entering upon this subject it will at once strike the reader that the conflict in question belongs rather to the Middle Ages than to modern times. The events to be narrated are set chronologically at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but logically they are associated with those movements which in the more enlightened parts of Europe had long subsided. By the story to be narrated in the present chapter one must needs be reminded rather of the Crusades than of



share in its destinies. In general the Northern and Eastern states took but little part and felt but little interest in this contest going on in the West. It will be appropriate, therefore, before concluding the present Book, to turn briefly from the consideration of this struggle of liberty with political absolutism, to which the four preceding chapters have been devoted, and to note the progress of events in the more remote and less civilized parts of Europe. In so doing the principal drama to which our attention will be drawn is the contest between Czar Peter I. of Russia and

the conflict of the English and Dutch peoples with political absolutism at home and abroad.

The House of Romanoff was raised to the throne of Russia in 1583. In that year IVAN IV., surnamed the Terrible, came to the throne and held it for fifty-one years. He was one of those barbaric reformers whose savage swords cleave a pathway for civilization. In 1545 he organized a Russian standing army, and seven years afterwards reconquered Kazan, which had revolted during his minority. The people of the outlying provinces, often in rebellion, were as often reduced

to submission. In his war with Livonia, however, he was unsuccessful, and was obliged, in 1582, to cede that country to Sweden. Two years afterwards he was succeeded by his nephew FEODOR, who by some is regarded as the founder of the Romanoff dynasty. The third czar of this name was MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH, son of the Archbishop of Rostov. The first years of the seventeenth century had been marked by civil commotions and foreign wars. In the fourth year of his reign, Czar Michael concluded a treaty with Gustavus

Russia of several important provinces, including Kiev and the Ukraine. Then from 1676 to 1682 came the reign of FEODOR III., by whom several important reforms were introduced into the polity of the Empire. In his will he excluded his imbecile brother Ivan, who was the heir apparent, from the throne, and bequeathed the crown to his half-brother Peter, whose conspicuous talents and sterling character had already attracted the attention of the people. He it was who, in 1682, came to the throne with the title of PETER I., des-



THE PEOPLE OF KASAN SUBMITTING TO IVAN.

Adolphus and also with the Poles. Russia for the first time in several generations became sufficiently pacified to enter upon a career of industrial and commercial progress.

Other treaties were made with England, France, Persia, and China, and the confines of Russia were stretched eastward even to the Pacific. In 1645 Michael was succeeded by his son ALEXIS, by whom, nine years after his accession, the Cossacks were humbled and made to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Czar. Then followed a war with Poland, which resulted in the annexation or restoration to

himself to win for himself the surname of the Great.

Peter was born on the 10th of June, 1672 and was, therefore, but ten years of age when Feodor died, leaving him the crown of Russia. His accession was marked by an insurrection fomented by his sister Sophia. After several bloody conflicts between the partisans the breach was healed by the joint coronation of Peter and Ivan under the regency of Sophia. This status was maintained for seven years; but in 1689 Peter suddenly asserted himself, married Eudoxia Feodorovna, con-

trary to his sister's wishes, and assumed the government in his own exclusive right.



IVAN IV. (THE TERRIBLE.)

He banished Sophia's minister Gallitzin and shut her up in prison, where she remained until her death in 1704. Ivan retired from public view, "lagging superfluous on the stage" until his death, in 1696.

Peter, thus left alone in the sovereignty of Russia, at once devoted himself to the duties of his station in a manner as energetic as it was novel. He reorganized the army, and himself entered the ranks as a soldier. He rose through each grade of the service, just as any other might do, by promotion, and this example of subordination and discipline he obliged his nobles to follow. He next laid the foundations of a navy, employing shipwrights from Holland and Venice to ply their vocation on the shore of Lake Peipus. He then entered the naval service on board the Dutch and English ships in the harbor of Archangel, and became expert as a seaman. Many young, adventurous Russians were sent abroad to Venice, Leg-

horn, and Amsterdam to familiarize themselves with the building and management of ships.

At this time Archangel was the only seaport belonging to Russia. But in 1696 Peter besieged and captured the Turkish town of Azov on the sea of that name, this being the first of his aggressive movements in the direction of the warmer waters of the South. By this time the young and ambitious Czar had learned by comparison the half-barbarous character of his people. He was seized with a passion to bring them into the civilized state; and appreciating his own inferiority in refinement to the rulers of Western Europe, he now resolved to take up his residence abroad, with a view to acquainting himself with the manners and customs of other nations, and of acquiring by foreign residence and study a culture which he could not hope to obtain in Russia. Accordingly, in 1697, he went with a few attendants first to Saardam and



MICHAEL I.

thence to Amsterdam. At the latter place he disguised himself and became a ship-carpenter.

Peter also devoted himself with assiduity to the study of geography, anatomy, natural philosophy, and astronomy. In the beginning of the next year he went to London, where he was received with distinguished consideration, and where his savage manners and passionate behavior were met with as much forbearance as the people and Parliament could summon for the occasion. For some time he was given a residence with Sir John Evelyn, at Deptford, whose fine gardens and home Peter and his barbarians well-nigh ruined before their departure. In April, of 1698, the Czar returned to Holland, and thence made his transit across the continent to his own dominions. He had intended to pause at Vienna and make a brief study of military science as the same was then illustrated in the organization and tactics of the Imperial army; but an insurrection had already broken out in Russia, and Peter was obliged to hurry home, where he arrived after an absence of seventeen months. He found that the revolt had already been suppressed by his Scotch general, Gordon, whom he had left in command during his journey abroad.

The Czar now broke up the old military organization of the Empire and instituted a new, based on the German model. He established schools strongly inclining towards military and naval studies. He reversed the old-time policy of Russia, which forbade foreign trade under penalty of death, and required his subjects to enter into commerce with other nations. He reformed the calendar, making the year begin on the 1st of January instead of the 1st of September, a measure which horrified the priests. At the same time, and in order to encourage a national spirit, he instituted the order of St. Andrew, in honor of the patron saint of the Russians.

Having thus prepared himself for the duties of government, and cleared the field by instituting salutary reforms in his own country, Peter next turned his attention to the foreign relations of the Empire. He adopted the policy of recovering all the territories which had at any time belonged to Russia.

To this end he undertook to regain the provinces of Ingria and Karelia, and as preliminary to his purpose he entered into an alliance with the kings of Poland and Denmark against Charles XII., the young king of Sweden. This movement brought upon the stage the second actor in the drama with which, in Northern Europe, the eighteenth century was to be ushered in.

Let us turn then to Sweden. In that country the crown had passed, after the death



ALEXIS.

of Gustavus Adolphus in 1632, to his daughter CHRISTINA, who reigned until 1654, when she abdicated in favor of her cousin, CHARLES X. The latter held the throne for six years, and then bequeathed it to his infant son, CHARLES XI., whose long reign of thirty-seven years was marked by few important events. But not so with the reign of his son and successor. CHARLES XII. was born in 1682, the same year in which Czar Peter, then at the age of ten, came to the throne of Russia. The Swedish prince, unlike his rival, was carefully educated under the care of his father, and at

an early age became familiar with several languages—French, German, Latin, beside his mother tongue. He was also an adept in such sciences as geography, history, and mathematics. His youthful imagination is said to have been fired with the story of the victories and conquests of Alexander the Great.

At the time when Peter was setting out on his journey to learn ship-building in the docks of Amsterdam, Charles XII., then fifteen years of age, was declared by the estates of

The particular thing which had weaned Denmark from her natural affiliation with Sweden and carried her over to an alliance with Russia was the annexation of her dependency of Schleswig-Holstein to the Swedish dominions. In the beginning of the war, the Danes invaded the territories of Frederick, duke of Holstein, who was a brother-in-law of Charles. Frederick hereupon repaired to the court of the Swedish monarch and claimed his aid against the Danish invaders.



POLISH WINGED CAVALRY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Drawn by W. Camphansen.

Sweden to have attained his majority, and to be capable of ruling. On his accession to power he at first displayed little aptitude for his kingly duties. For about two years his chief vocation was bear-hunting, and in this royal pastime he was engaged when the news came that Czar Peter had, as already narrated, formed a treaty with Poland and Denmark, preparatory to the reconquest of the provinces of Ingria and Karelia. It was this news that roused the Swedish king to a sense of his responsibility, and suddenly converted him into a great warrior.

Charles willingly espoused the cause of his kinsman, and having by the treaty of the Hague obtained the countenance of England and Holland, entered upon hostilities with all the energy of which he was capable.

In May of 1700 Charles embarked from Carlscrona with thirty ships of the line and made a descent on the island of Zealand. From the very first he showed that impetuous courage for which he was ever afterwards distinguished. On coming to the place of debarkation he leaped into the water and was the first man to gain the shore. Having suc-

ceeded in his first attack on Zealand, the king then prepared to bombard Copenhagen, and was only prevented from doing so by the opening of negotiations which, in the following August, resulted in the conclusion of a peace between Denmark and Sweden. Frederick IV., the Danish king, saved himself by withdrawing from the alliance with Poland and Russia, and by giving up Schleswig-Holstein to the House of Gottorp.

But while these movements were taking place at the western extremity of the Baltic, the Polish army had overrun Swedish Livonia and invested Riga. Peter himself had taken the field and laid siege to Narva, eighty miles south-west of where St. Petersburg, the new Russian capital, was presently to be founded. By this time Charles had freed himself from all complications in the West, and now he drew his sword against the Czar, in whom he recognized, with the quick instincts of a soldier, a foeman worthy of his blade.

It appears, moreover, that the Swedish king fully appreciated the nature of the task which he had assumed. He immediately cast off all superfluity and took up the discipline of a veteran. He put on the soldier's cloak, banished wine from his table, ate coarse bread, and slept on the ground from preference. Never was there a more daring campaign than that which he now undertook in the depth of winter. With a force of eight thousand five hundred men he marched across Livonia into Esthonia, and made his way directly to Narva, where Peter was conducting his siege with an army fully fifty thousand strong. On the 30th of November, 1700, he fell upon the Russians in an assault wherein it were diffi-

cult to say whether the recklessness was greater or the fury. But the Swede's audacity was rewarded by an overwhelming victory. The siege of Narva was broken up, and the discomfited Peter was left to gather up, as best he might, the fragments of his routed army.

Had Charles now followed up his advan-



Peter

PETER THE GREAT.

After the painting of G. Kneller, Hampton Court.

tage with as much wisdom as he had shown of genius in the field, he might, perhaps, have driven Peter to the wall, and changed the course of history. But instead of pursuing the Czar he turned aside to make war on the Poles and Saxons. The latter were posted in a strong position on the river Duna, and when Charles hurled his forces against them he was at first repulsed. But he reformed his veterans in the channel of the river,

renewed the charge, and gained another decisive victory. From this time his name became a terror to his enemies.

The allies now undertook to circumvent the victor by an intrigue. Augustus II. of Poland, finding himself overmatched, sent his mistress, Aurora von Königsmark, reputed to be the most beautiful woman in Europe, to try the effect of her seductive charms upon

In the mean time Czar Peter, rallying from the disaster at Narva, again entered the field and invaded Finland. At this epoch Charles was absorbed with his project of driving Augustus II. from Poland and conferring the crown of that country on the rival candidate, Stanislas Leszcynski. At length, however, the Swede was obliged to give over this ignoble broil in Poland and turn his attention

to the Czar. For General Rehnsköld with an army of Poles was now *en route* to join Peter, whom Charles, as soon as he turned against him, began to force back through Lithuania. In so doing he intercepted Rehnsköld at Fraustadt, and there in February of 1706, gained another complete victory. Augustus took the alarm and fled to Russia. Soon afterwards he sent his two principal ministers to negotiate with Charles, with whom terms were agreed upon and a treaty signed; but just as a conclusion was reached, intelligence came that the Czar had gained a victory at Kalisz. At this Augustus was so much elated that he declared he had made no peace at all. Charles, however, held Saxony with a firm grip, and it was not long until Augustus renewed the negotiations, and in September of 1708 gave his consent to a treaty by which he resigned the crown of Poland.



Charles
CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN.

the heart of the Swedish lion. The lion refused to see her, and the Polish Venus was dismissed from the camp. Augustus then sent out a new army under General Riese, but the latter was unable to stand against his antagonist. At Kliszow Charles gained, on the 19th of July, 1702, a victory so decisive as to lay all Poland at his feet; but a broken limb impeded the movements of the king until the enemy was able to recover from the blow.

The Swedish king now took up his residence in Saxony and ruled as sovereign. He recruited his army with Saxon conscripts, and in the next place compelled the Emperor Joseph I. to restore to the Protestants a hundred and twenty-five churches which he had taken from them and given to the Jesuits. It was at this juncture that the Emperor, fearing lest the kingdom of Sweden should be added to his enemies and foreseeing that in that

event the German Empire and the House of Austria with it might be ground between the upper and the nether millstone, sent the accomplished Duke of Marlborough to dissuade Charles XII. from his designs on Germany and to turn his antagonism against the Czar. The duke was successful in his mission, and the remainder of the military career of the Swede was devoted to the struggle with Russia.

In September of 1707 Charles, with an army of forty-three thousand men, began an invasion of Peter's dominions. The Swedes took almost the identical route chosen by Napoleon in the Russian campaign of 1812; nor does the analogy of the two great expeditions end with the identity of the lines of march. Almost the same fate awaited the Swede as destiny had reserved for Bonaparte a hundred and five years afterwards. Charles crossed the Beresina, stormed the Russian lines at Golovtchin, and followed the flying enemy with such recklessness that his army became almost hopelessly involved in the Russian forests and swamps. The Swedish artillery was abandoned in a morass, and Charles's veterans began to sink down and die of hunger. Meanwhile General Löwenhaupt, who had followed with another army of Swedes to reinforce the king, was intercepted and defeated by the Russians, led by the Czar in person. Nevertheless Löwenhaupt succeeded in breaking through, and reached the king with a body of six thousand men.

On reaching Smolensk, Charles, whose march up to this time had been directed against Moscow, was persuaded by Prince Mazeppa, chief of the Cossacks, to change his course and carry the campaign into the Ukraine. It was represented to the Swede that the tribes of this region had never been reconciled to the rule of the Czar, and that they were ready and anxious to follow the standard of any who would direct them in a struggle with the Empire. The event proved, however, that Mazeppa, like many another ambitious chieftain, had represented things as he wished them to be rather than as they were. The people of the Ukraine rose not at his approach. He himself was proscribed by the Czar; and it was only after a terrible struggle that Mazeppa succeeded in fighting his way

back through the desolations of the winter of 1708-9 as far as the Dnieper, where he established his camp. Here he remained till the opening of spring; but his forces were greatly reduced and were on the brink of starvation. Meanwhile, Peter carefully reorganized his army, which was now augmented to seventy thousand men, and advancing with the opening of the year he took up his position at Poltava, a strong town on the river Vorskla. Here he awaited the movement of his antagonist.

Notwithstanding the fearful odds against him Charles was by no means appalled. With the opening of the summer he prepared to attack *POLTAVA*. On the 8th of July, 1709, the two armies met before that town, and a battle ensued which has taken rank among the great conflicts of history. Before the beginning of the struggle Charles, while reconnoitering the position of the Russians, received a dangerous wound in the thigh, by which he was so far disabled that he was constrained to dismount. But he ordered himself to be placed on a litter and borne about the field, that he might direct the movements of his veterans. If courage and resolution could have prevailed over almost overwhelming numbers and almost equal discipline on the part of the Russians, then perhaps Charles might have saved himself and his army from destruction. But the disparity was too great, and the heroic Swede had the mortification of seeing his ragged and half-starved soldiers driven like a whirlwind by the discharges of the Russian artillery until only a handful of his followers remained to bear him from the field. The Czar pursued his fallen antagonist, and overtook him in the territories of old Mazeppa, who still remained faithful to the Swedes.

After the victory the Czar pursued the division of Löwenhaupt, and overtaking that general on the Dnieper, compelled him to surrender. Charles himself made good his escape to Bender, on the river Dniester. This place, within the Turkish territory, was strongly fortified, and here for the present the fugitive king was safe. He was cordially received by the Turks, and permitted to fit up a residence somewhat befitting his royal rank. Having thus established himself, he immediately turned his whole energies to the work of

persuading the Ottoman Porte to undertake a war with Russia. The year 1710 was spent by him in these solicitations, and the Sultan was finally induced to take up arms. In the following year the grand vizier took the field with a powerful army of two hundred thousand men. Peter drew back before this formidable array, and was shut up in a most perilous position on the Pruth. For the time it appeared that his star was about to set for-

would be driven to complete overthrow. The Swede had heard of the intrigue which the future Empress was conducting, and rode at full speed to the vizier's camp in the hope of thwarting the scheme. But his coming was too late; the woman had prevailed.

Great was the mortification of Charles to see coming to naught the grand project of humbling his enemy by means of the Turks. Vainly he struggled to prevent the miscar-



CHARLES XII. BORNE ON A LITTER AT POLTAVA.

ever; but in his extremity he adopted the same expedient which Augustus of Poland had tried without success on Charles. The Czar sent his wife—her who was afterwards the Empress Catherine I.—to the vizier's camp to try the effect of her gems upon the eyes of the Oriental. The Turk was dazzled, and Catharine succeeded in bribing him with her jewels to permit her husband's escape. The Czar made haste to extricate himself from his position, and Russia emerged with him. From that day it was certain that Charles

riage of his ambitious scheme. For two years longer he lingered at Bender, constantly engaged in edging on the Ottoman power against Russia. His influence at Constantinople was so great that he effected the overthrow of four successive grand viziers, because they were not sufficiently devoted to his interests. His plan was to induce the Sultan to intrust to him the command of a powerful Turkish army, with which he would invade the Czar's dominions and drive him from the throne. But one delay followed another, and

in the mean time Peter exerted himself to the utmost to establish his power and consolidate the Empire. The provinces of Livonia

was first induced to marry the Czar's niece, the Princess Anna, and then to drink himself to death. A successful invasion was then



PETER THE GREAT AFTER THE BATTLE OF POLTAVA.

nia and Esthonia were overrun and merged in his dominions. Riga also was taken, and then Courland was added to the Imperial territory. The duke of the last-named province

made into Pomerania, and the Saxons, influenced by the Czar, seized all Poland, putting Stanislas to flight and compelling him to seek refuge with Charles in Turkey. The

Saxons and Russians, thus brought into alliance, even in Swedish Pomerania, banned the cities of Stettin, Altona, Gartz, and Wolgast, and hung threateningly on the borders of Prussia. That kingdom was induced, by the promise of the cession of Stettin, to enter the league against Sweden.

Meanwhile the agents of Czar Peter at Constantinople excited themselves to the utmost to secure the expulsion of Charles from the Turkish dominions. It was urged upon the Sultan that the presence of the Swede was dangerous to the peace and welfare of Turkey. These representations at length prevailed to the extent that Charles was notified to take his departure from Bender. This he refused to do. Whereupon the governor of that place was ordered to seize him and bring him, alive or dead, to Adrianople. Learning the edict which had been issued against him, Charles gathered a band of two or three hundred desperate men, barricaded his house, and defended it with great courage until the roof taking fire, he was obliged to fly. Mounting his horse, he dashed away and was about to escape when, his spurs becoming entangled, he was thrown to the ground and captured. In February of 1713 he was taken to Demotika, where he feigned sickness and for ten months remained abed, all the while revolving in his mind the same ambitious and now visionary schemes which he had so long cherished for the conquest of Russia and the destruction of the Czar. At length, however, he became convinced that the Ottoman Court could not any more be induced to espouse his cause. When this conviction settled upon him, his thoughts began to revert to his own kingdom. He resolved to make his escape and find his way back to Sweden. In order to conceal his purpose he sent off a last embassy to Constantinople, and then, disguising himself and taking horse by night, he fled into Hungary. Thence he traveled through Austria, Bavaria, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and Mecklenburg; for by this route he must go in order to avoid the Poles and the Saxons, who were on the alert for his capture. On the 22d of November of 1714, he reached Stralsund and was safe from pursuit.

But the moment it was known that the

Swedish king was again in his own dominions a combined army of Danes, Saxons, Russians, and Prussians bore down upon him. For nearly a year he defended Stralsund with all the skill and bravery for which he had become renowned. While Louis XIV. lay dying on his magnificent couch at Versailles; while the House of Hanover was becoming comfortably seated on the throne of England; and while the new Emperor Charles VI. was preparing the celebrated "Pragmatic Sanction," establishing the future order of succession to the throne of the German Empire, the guns of the courageous Charles were still thundering defiance from the walls of Stralsund.

But no kind of heroism could prevail against the numbers and resources of his foes. In December of 1715 he was obliged to abandon his stronghold and retire to Lund, in Scania. Here again he made a stand, and for a while maintained his footing. At this juncture, however, the war was transferred to the sea. In general the results were unfavorable to Sweden, though on several occasions Charles, by his unconquerable will and daring, became a terror to his foes. Notably in his efforts against Norway he succeeded for a time in distracting the attention and exciting the alarm of the allied forces.

In this extremity of his fortunes Charles found a powerful friend and supporter in Baron Görtz, minister of Holstein. This able diplomatist, who, under more favorable circumstances, would have shone among the illustrious statesmen of his times, exerted all his influence to break up the anti-Swedish alliance. His plan embraced the winning over of Czar Peter at any price which might be necessary to induce his withdrawal from the league; then to gain the French influence by espousing the cause of the Pretender, whom it was proposed to lead back through the agitations of a Scotch rebellion to the throne of England, thereby unseating George I., who, with unbecoming haste, had allied himself with the enemies of Sweden. So successful were the schemes of Görtz that the terms of a treaty were actually agreed upon, by which peace was to be made between Sweden and Russia. It was stipulated that the Czar should retain all his conquests on the Gulf of Finland; that Stanislas should be restored to the throne

of Poland; that Anna Petrovna, widow of the Duke of Courland and niece of the Czar, should be given to Charles XII. in marriage, and a royal bond be thus established between the two great powers of the North.

But the far-reaching plans of the Holstein minister were destined to miscarry by an accident. A Swedish dispatch, containing an outline of the proposed treaty, was captured by the Danes and communicated to the allied powers. Great was their alarm and great their wrath. Denmark perceived that she was about to be crushed between the closing icebergs of Russia and Sweden. Saxony saw Poland about to be wrested from her dominion. To Prussia it was clear that her coveted prize of Stettin would never be delivered. Hanover perceived that her grip upon Bremen and Verdun would be broken; while Frederick of Hesse, at this time the heir expectant to the Swedish crown, saw that if the treaty should succeed, his hopes of royalty would be forever blasted. Among all the allies there was deep-seated alarm, agitation, resistance to the programme of Görtz.

While affairs stood thus the complication was suddenly dissolved by the death of Charles. The king at this time was still prosecuting the war with Norway. A Swedish force under Aunfeldt had been sent to cross the mountains, and had perished of cold and starvation. Another division, commanded by Charles in person, had laid siege to the Norwegian fortress of Frederikshall, and in this enterprise the king was engaged at the beginning of winter, 1718. In the conduct of the siege he behaved with his wonted audacity and recklessness. While standing under the enemy's fire in the trenches at night he was struck by a random shot and killed.¹

¹ A great controversy arose as to the manner of Charles's death. His friends maintained that he had been shot by an emissary of that party, which, alarmed at the projects of Görtz, had determined that the king must die. Others held that he was killed in the manner stated in the text. More than two hundred books and pamphlets were published on the subject. In 1859 the Swedish government ordered a formal inquest to determine the manner of the king's death. The skull of Charles was carefully examined by three eminent physicians, and it was decided that the fatal shot was from a musket, and had been fired from the besieged fortress.

Thus closed in an obscure and inglorious manner the career of one of the most noted men of the eighteenth century. Considered merely as a warrior and general, he stands among the foremost heroes of history. In the field few have been his equals. It was on the side of his civil abilities that he was commonplace or even weak. He was in some measure visionary and always reckless. His mind became fired, while he was yet in his youth, with the passion of conquest, and to this passion he devoted the whole energies of his life. His wars were waged without a rational plan. He fought to conquer. Having conquered, he knew not what to do with his conquest, and being conquered, he knew not what to do except to conquer again. His career furnished to history the last example of a king leaving his own dominions, leading his army into foreign and distant parts, and warring after the mediæval style, with no ulterior political object to be attained. The random shot from the walls of Frederikshall was a fitting conclusion and comment upon that method of warfare which, regardless alike of human joy and sorrow, is waged merely to gratify the malevolent ambition and add to the dubious glory of a conqueror!¹

¹ Not without excellent discernment did Dr. Samuel Johnson select the career of Charles XII. to illustrate the folly and vainglory of war:

"On what foundations stands the warrior's pride,
How just his hopes, let SWEDISH CHARLES decide:
A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him and no labors tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquered lord of pleasure and of pain.
No joys to him pacific scepters yield,
War sounds the trumpet, he rushes to the field;
Behold surrounding kings their power combine
And one capitulate and one resign;
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain;
'Think nothing gained,' he cries, 'till naught remain,
On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky.'

But did not chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound,
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
His fall was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand.
He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale."



THE SWEDS CARRYING THE DEAD BODY OF CHARLES XII. FROM FREDERICKSHALL.
After the painting by G. Cedersjö.

In the genius requisite to a great ruler Czar Peter was much superior to his Swedish rival. Recognizing the fact that his people were still half-barbarians, and that he himself was by no means disengaged from savagery, he set himself assiduously to the work of civilizing the Slavic race. Of course, his methods were arbitrary and severe. He was a reformer of the heroic type. But the exertions which he put forth in the endeavor to lift the Russians to the plane of civilization were worthy of the praise of his own and succeeding ages.

One of his earliest schemes was the removal of the capital of the Empire from the ancient inland city of Moscow to some maritime situation, from which the Czars might give personal encouragement to the developing of Russian commerce. With this end in view he finally chose the marshes at the mouth of the river Neva, on the Gulf of Finland, and there, in 1703, he laid the foundation of **ST. PETERSBURG**. He gave himself with great zeal to the work of constructing dock-yards and wharves and building ships, by which enterprises employment was furnished to thousands of laborers and the foundations laid for the commercial greatness of Russia. Ten years after the founding of the new capital the Senate was removed from Moscow, and in 1715 the summer and winter palaces of the Czars were completed at St. Petersburg. After discarding his first wife Eudoxia, he married his mistress, Catharine, and made her Empress. In 1716 he made a second tour of Western Europe, accompanied by his queen, with whom he was enthusiastically received at Paris. His son Alexis, child of Eudoxia, was soon afterwards detected in a treasonable conspiracy, was sentenced to death, but died in prison while awaiting execution.

After the death of Charles XII., the differences between Sweden and Russia were finally adjusted by the treaty of **NYSTAD**, which was concluded in 1721. By the terms of this settlement Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, a part of Karelia, the province of Viborg, the island

of Oesel, and all the other islands in the Baltic between Courland and Viborg, were ceded by Sweden to Russia. In return for these large concessions the Czar agreed to give up the greater part of Finland, which he had conquered, and to pay the Swedes two millions of dollars. He also granted the free exportation of corn to the annual value of fifty thousand rubles from the ports of Riga, Revel, and Arensburg.

Having concluded this treaty, Peter found



CATHARINE I.

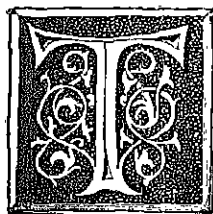
time to take up other enterprises for the improvement of the Empire. He encouraged the construction of canals and factories; introduced a new system of weights and measures; ordered the paving of the streets of the principal Russian cities; framed new statutes; organized courts; built hospitals; sent numbers of the young nobles with their wives to acquire culture by travel in Western Europe; and founded the academy of sciences in his capital.

In the midst of all these arduous and enlightened labors, the Czar himself remained

what nature had made him—an inspired savage. He had sufficient power of introspection to perceive the essential and persistent barbarity of his own mind. This fact was to him, when not under the influence of passion, a source of great grief, which found utterance in his oft-repeated aphorism that he could civilize others but could not civilize himself.

He lived until the 8th of February, 1725, and unto his dying day, or at least until he was prostrated by the fatal malady which caused his death, devoted all the energies of his great mind to the improvement of the people of Russia and the consolidation of that powerful Empire with which his name and fame will be forever associated.

CHAPTER CXI.—PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES.



THE present Book will be concluded with a sketch of the progress of the American Colonies from the time of their planting to the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Beginning at the extreme North, we find that the colonies of France, established on the St. Lawrence by James Cartier and his fellow adventurers, had had a stunted growth, a precarious existence. Quebec and Montreal survived and became the centers of French influence west of Newfoundland. The country known as NEW FRANCE, or CANADA, spread around to the west from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, embraced the larger part of North America east of the Mississippi, and reaching the Atlantic coast at Cape Fear, extended southward to Spanish Florida. The French settlements within this vast area, however, were few and feeble, being limited to the banks of the St. Lawrence and to the shores and islands about the debouchure of that great stream.

Coming to the English colonies in what is now the north-eastern portion of the United States, we note a more rapid development. The settlement planted by the Pilgrims in 1620 at Plymouth, on Massachusetts Bay, struggled for a season for existence. But for the early opening of the spring of 1621, perhaps the whole company would have perished. But with the return of the sun came a renewal of hope, and never was the song of the spring birds more welcome to the weary heart of man.

The fatal winter had swept off one-half of the colonists. The son of the benevolent Carver was among the first victims of the terrible climate. The governor himself sickened and died, and the broken-hearted wife found rest in the same grave with her husband. But now with the approach of warm weather the destroying pestilence was stayed, and the spirits of the survivors revived with the season.

For a while the colonists were apprehensive of the Indians. In February, Miles Standish was sent out with his soldiers to gather information of the numbers and disposition of the natives. The army of New England consisted of six men besides the general. Deserted wigwams were found here and there; the smoke of camp-fires arose in the distance; savages were occasionally seen in the forest. These fled, however, at the approach of the English, and Standish returned to Plymouth.

A month later the colonists were astonished by the sudden appearance in their midst of a Wampanoag Indian named Samoset. He ran into the village, offered his hand in token of friendship, and bade the strangers welcome. He gave an account of the numbers and strength of the neighboring tribes, and recited the story of a great plague by which, a few years before, the country had been swept of its inhabitants. The present feebleness and desolate condition of the natives had resulted from the fatal malady. Another Indian, by the name of Squanto, who had been carried away by Hunt, in 1614, and had learned to

speak English, came also to Plymouth, and confirmed what Samoset had said.

In the early spring a treaty was made with Massasoit, the great Sachem of the tribe of Wampanoags. The compact which remained inviolate for fifty years provided that no injury should be done by the White men to the Indians, or by the Indians to the Whites, and that all offenders and criminals should be given up for punishment.

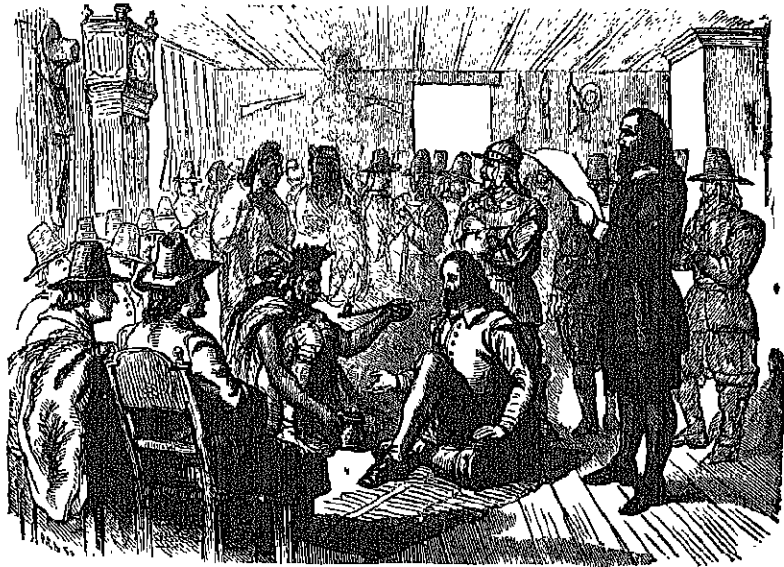
Other chiefs followed the example of Massasoit, and entered into friendly relations with the colony. Nine of the leading tribes acknowledged the sovereignty of the English king. One chieftain threatened hostilities, but Standish's army obliged him to beg for mercy. Canonieus, king of the Narragansetts, sent to William Bradford, who had been chosen governor after the death of Carver, a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake; but the undaunted governor stuffed the skin with powder and balls, and sent it back to the chief, who did not dare to accept the dangerous challenge. The hostile emblem was borne about from tribe to tribe, until finally it was returned to Plymouth.

The summer of 1621 was unfruitful, and the Pilgrims were brought to the point of starvation. To make their condition still more grievous, a new company of immigrants, without provisions or stores, arrived, and were quartered on the colonists during the fall and winter.

The newcomers just mentioned had been sent to America by Thomas Weston, of London, one of the projectors of the colony. They remained with the people of Plymouth until the summer of 1622, then removed to the south side of Boston Harbor, and began a new settlement called Weymouth. Instead

of working with their might to provide against starvation, they wasted the fall in idleness, and attempted to keep up their stock of provisions by defrauding the Indians.

In the following spring most of the Weymouth settlers abandoned the place and returned to England. The summer of 1623 brought a plentiful harvest to the people of the older colony, and there was no longer any danger of starvation. The natives, preferring the chase, became dependent on the settlement for corn, and furnished in exchange an abundance of game. The main body of Pilgrims still tarried at Leyden. John Robinson, their leader, made unwearied efforts to



TREATY OF THE PILGRIMS WITH MASSASOIT.

bring his people to America, but the adventurers of London who had managed the enterprise would provide no further means, either of money or transportation; and now, at the end of the fourth year, there were only a hundred and eighty persons in New England.

The year 1624 was marked by the founding of a settlement at Cape Ann. John White, a Puritan minister of Dorchester, England, collected a small company of emigrants and sent them to America. The colony was established, but after two years of discouragement the cape was abandoned as a place unsuitable, and the company moved farther south to Naumkeag, afterwards called SALEM. Here

a settlement was begun, and in 1628 was made permanent by the arrival of a second colony, in charge of John Endicott, who was chosen governor. In March of the same year the colonists obtained a patent from the Council of Plymouth; and in 1629 Charles I. issued a charter by which the proprietors were incorporated under the name of THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND. In July two hundred additional immigrants arrived, half of whom settled at Plymouth, while the other half removed to a peninsula on the north side of



JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston Harbor and laid the foundation of Charlestown. In the tenth year from the founding of the colony about three hundred of the best Puritan families in the kingdom came to New England. They had the discretion and good fortune to choose John Winthrop for their governor. Never was a man more worthy of his station. Born a royalist, he cherished the principles of republicanism. Himself an Episcopalian, he chose affliction with the Puritans. Surrounded with affluence and comfort, he left all to share the destiny of the persecuted Pilgrims. Calm, prudent, and peaceable, he joined the zeal of an enthusiast with the sublime faith of a martyr.

A part of the new immigrants settled at Salem; others at Cambridge and Watertown, on Charles River; while others, going farther south, founded Roxbury and Dorchester. The governor, with a few of the leading families, resided for a while at Charlestown, but soon crossed the harbor to the peninsula of Shawmut, and laid the foundation of Boston, which became henceforth the capital of the colony and the metropolis of New England.

In 1634 a representative form of government was established against the opposition of the clergy. On election day the voters, now numbering between three and four hundred, were called together, and the learned Cotton preached powerfully and long against the proposed change. The assembly listened attentively, and then went on with the election. To make the reform complete, a BALLOT-BOX was substituted for the old method of public voting. The restriction on the right of suffrage was the only remaining bar to a perfect system of self-government in New England.

During the next year three thousand new immigrants arrived. It was worth while—so thought the people of England—to come to a country where the principles of freedom were spreading with such rapidity. The newcomers were under the leadership of Hugh Peters and Sir Henry Vane, already mentioned in a former chapter. The settlements around Massachusetts Bay became thickly clustered.

Until new homes should be found there was no room for the immigrants who were constantly coming. To enlarge the frontier, to plunge into the wilderness, and find new places of abode, became a necessity. One little company of twelve families, led by Simon Willard and Peter Bulkeley, marched through the woods until they came to some open meadows sixteen miles from Boston, and there laid the foundations of Concord. A little later in the same year another colony of sixty persons left the older settlements, pressed their way westward as far as the Connecticut River, and in the following spring founded Windsor, HARTFORD, and Wethersfield, the oldest towns in the Connecticut valley.

The banishment of Roger Williams, instead of bringing peace, brought strife and dissension to the people of Massachusetts. Religious debates became the order of the day. Every sinner had to pass the ordeal of review and criticism.

Most prominent among those who were said to be "as bad as Roger Williams, or worse," was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of genius who had come over in the ship with Sir Henry Vane. She desired the privilege of speaking at the weekly debates, and was refused. Women had no business at these assemblies, said the elders. Indignant at this, she became the champion of her sex, and declared that the ministers who were defrauding women of the Gospel were no better than Pharisees. At length Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends were declared unfit for the society of Christians, and banished from the territory of Massachusetts. With a large number of friends the exiles wended their way towards the home of Roger Williams. Miantonomoh, a Narragansett chieftain, made them a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island; there, in the month of March, 1641, a little republic was established, in whose constitution freedom of conscience was guaranteed and persecution for opinion's sake forbidden.

In 1636 the general court of the colony passed an act appropriating between one and two thousand dollars to found and endow a college. The measure met with popular favor; the Puritans were an educated people, and were quick to appreciate the advantages of learning. Newtown was selected as the site of the proposed school. Plymouth and Salem gave gifts to help the enterprise; and from villages in the Connecticut valley came contributions of corn and wampum. In 1638 John Harvard, a young minister of Charlestown, died, bequeathing his library and nearly five thousand dollars to the school. To perpetuate the memory of the noble benefactor the new institution was named HARVARD COLLEGE; and in honor of the place where the leading men of Massachusetts had been educated, the name of Newtown was changed to Cambridge.

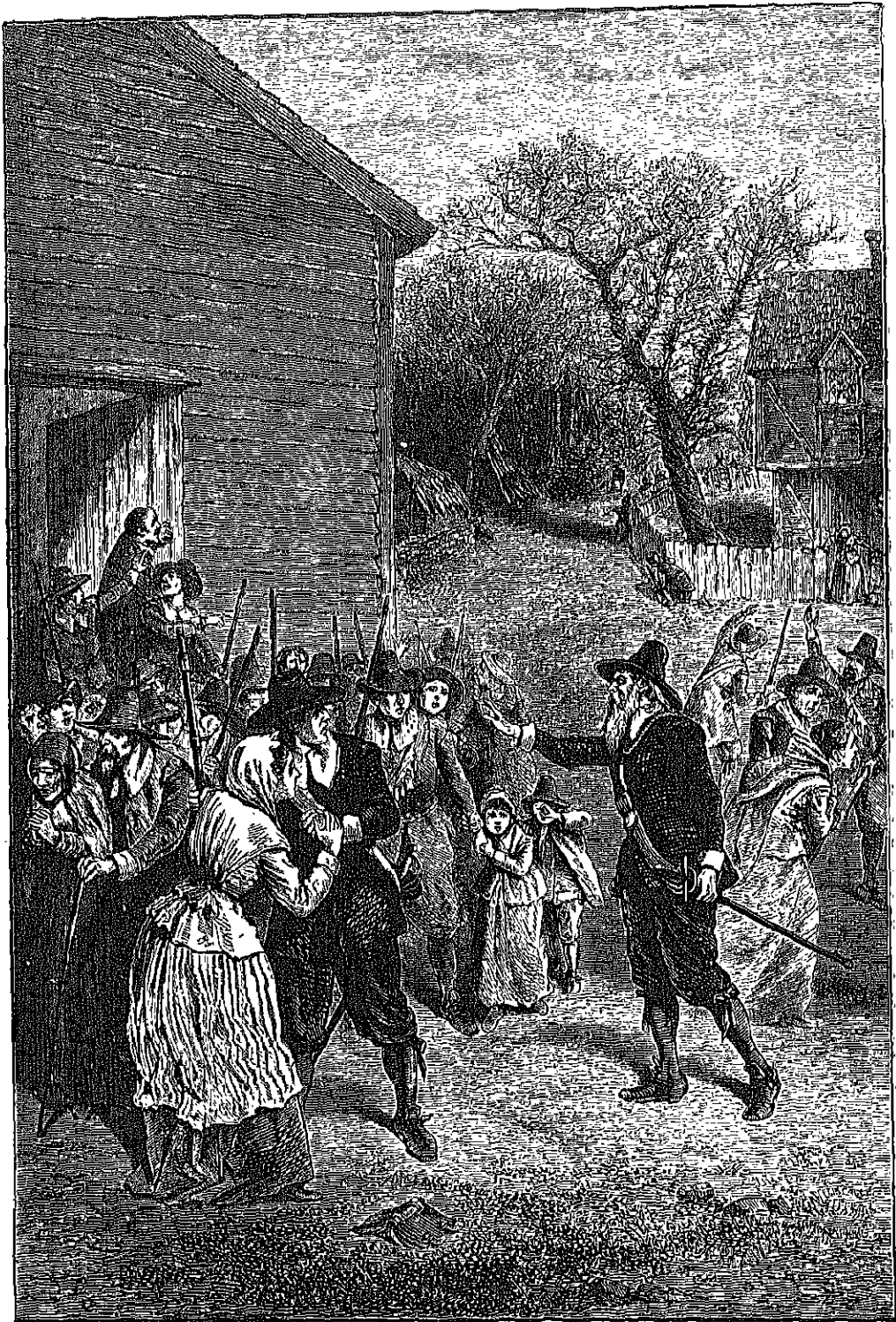
The PRINTING-PRESS came also. In 1638 Stephen Daye, an English printer, arrived at Boston, bringing a font of types, and in the

following year set up a press at Cambridge. The first American publication was an almanac calculated for New England, and bearing date of 1639. During the next year Thomas Welde and John Eliot, two ministers of Roxbury, and Richard Mather, of Dorchester, translated the Hebrew Psalms into English verse, and published their rude work in a volume of three hundred pages—the first book printed on this side of the Atlantic.

New England was now fast becoming a nation. Well-nigh fifty towns and villages dotted the face of the country. Nearly a million of dollars had been spent in settling and developing the new State. Enterprises of all kinds were rife. Manufactures, commerce, and the arts were rapidly introduced. William Stephens, a shipbuilder, who came with Governor Winthrop to Boston, had already built and launched an American vessel of four hundred tons burden. Before 1640 two hundred and ninety-eight emigrant ships had anchored in Massachusetts Bay. Twenty-one thousand two hundred people, escaping from English intolerance of Church or State, had found home and rest between Plymouth Rock and the Connecticut valley.

An effort was now made to form a union of the New England colonies; but at first the movement was unsuccessful. In 1639 and again in 1643 the measure was brought forward and finally adopted. By the terms of this compact Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were joined in a loose confederacy, called THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND. The chief authority was conferred upon a general assembly or congress, composed of two representatives from each colony. These delegates were chosen annually at an election where all the freemen voted by ballot. There was no president other than the speaker of the assembly, and he had no executive powers. Each community retained, as before, its separate local existence; and all subordinate questions of legislation were reserved to the respective colonies.

The people of Massachusetts were little grieved on account of the English Revolution. It was for them a vindication and a victory. The triumph of Parliament over King Charles was the triumph of Puritanism both in Eng-



THE REGICIDE GOFFE AT HADLEY VILLAGE.

land and America. Massachusetts had no cause to fear so long as the House of Commons was crowded with her friends and patrons. But in the hour of victory the American Puritans showed themselves more magnanimous than those of the mother country. When Charles I., the enemy of all colonial liberties, was brought to the block, the people of New England, whose fathers had been exiled by his father, lamented his tragic fate and preserved the memory of his virtues.

The Protector was the constant friend of the American colonies. Even Virginia, though slighting his authority, found him just as well as severe. The people of New England were his special favorites. To them he was bound by every tie of political and religious sympathy. For more than ten years, when he might have been an oppressor, he continued the benefactor, of the English in America.

In July of 1656, the QUAKERS began to arrive at Boston. The first who came were Ann Austin and Mary Fisher. The introduction of the plague would have occasioned less alarm. The two women were caught and searched for marks of witchcraft, their trunks were broken open, their books were burnt by the hangman, and they themselves thrown into prison. After several week's confinement, they were brought forth and banished from the colony. Others came, were whipped and exiled. As the law became more cruel and proscriptive, fresh victims rushed forward to brave its terrors. The assembly of the four colonies again convened, and advised the authorities of Massachusetts to pronounce the penalty of death against the fanatical disturbers of the public peace. In 1659 four persons were arrested, brought to trial, condemned, and hanged without mercy. Nor did the fact that one of these was a woman move the stony hearts of the persecuting judges.

The tidings of the Restoration in England reached Boston on the 27th of July, 1660. In the same vessel that bore the news came Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two of the judges who had passed sentence of death on Charles I. It was now their turn to save their lives by flight. Governor Endicott received them with courtesy; the agents from the British government came in hot pursuit with orders to arrest them. For a while the

fugitives, aided by the people of Boston, baffled the officers, and then escaped to New Haven. Here for many weeks they lay in concealment; not even the Indians would accept the reward which was offered for their apprehension. At last the exiles reached the valley of the Connecticut and found refuge at the village of Hadley, where they passed the remainder of their lives. When, during King Philip's war, the village was attacked by the savages, the venerable Goffe came forth from his hiding-place, rallied the flying people, and directed the defense. Then he went back to his covert and was seen no more.

With the outbreak of the war between England and Holland, in 1664, it became a part of the English military plans to reduce the Dutch settlements on the Hudson; and for this purpose a fleet was sent to America. But there was another purpose also. Charles II. was anxious to obtain control of the New England colonies, that he might govern them according to the principles of arbitrary power.

With this end in view, four commissioners were appointed with instructions to go to America, to sit in judgment upon all matters of complaint that might arise in New England, to settle colonial disputes, and to take such other measures as might seem most likely to establish peace and good order in the country. The royal commissioners embarked in the British fleet, and in July arrived at Boston. Such, however, was the reception given to the king's grand judges by the people of the New England colonies, that they were soon glad to leave the country for some other where their services would be better appreciated.

In 1675 a war broke out between the people of Massachusetts and the Wampanoag Indians, under the lead of their great chief, KING PHILIP. The struggle continued for some time, and was attended with great loss of life and destruction of property. But at last the Indians were subdued, and Philip himself hunted down and killed near his old home at Mount Hope, in Rhode Island.

On the accession of James II. the charter of Massachusetts was formally revoked; all the colonies between Nova Scotia and Narragansett Bay were consolidated, and Joseph Dudley appointed President. New England was not prepared for open resistance; the

colonial assembly was dissolved by its own act, and the members returned sullenly to their homes. In the winter following, Dudley was superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed royal governor of all New England. Under his administration Massa-

Boston rose in open rebellion. Andros and his minions, attempting to escape, were seized and marched to prison. The insurrection spread through the country; and before the 10th of May every colony in New England had restored its former liberties.



DEATH OF KING PHILIP.

achusetts and her sister colonies lost their liberties. The governor and his rule became extremely odious, and when the news came of the expulsion of James from the throne of England, Andros met a like fate at the hands of the American colonists. On the 18th of April, 1689, the citizens of Charlestown and

The various European wars of England, France, and Holland spread into the respective colonies of those states in America. That conflict which was concluded by the treaty of Ryswick involved the English possessions in New England and those of France in Nova Scotia in a serious war, which lasted for nearly

eight years. The results, however, were indecisive, and in 1697 the boundary lines between the respective colonies of England and France were established as before.

Meanwhile New England had been afflicted with the great delusion known as the SALEM WITCHCRAFT. The excitement broke out in that part of Salem village afterwards called Danvers, as was traceable to the animosity of the minister, Samuel Parris, against George Burroughs, a former pastor. By Parris the charge of witchcraft was brought against several of the adherents of Burroughs, who were imprisoned and brought to trial before Stoughton, deputy governor of the colony, and the celebrated Cotton Mather, of Boston, who was the person chiefly responsible for the condemnation of the witches. Twenty innocent persons, including several women, were condemned and put to death. Fifty-five others were tortured into the confession of abominable falsehoods. A hundred and fifty lay in prison awaiting their fate. Two hundred were accused or suspected, and ruin seemed to impend over New England. But a reaction at last set in among the people. Notwithstanding the vociferous clamor and denunciations of Mather, the witch tribunals were overthrown. The representative assembly convened early in October, and the hated court which Governor Phipps had appointed to sit at Salem was at once dismissed. The spell was dissolved. The thralldom of the popular mind was broken. Reason shook off the terror that had oppressed it. The prison doors were opened, and the victims of malice and superstition went forth free.

With the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession the American colonies became again involved in the conflict. The Canadian Jesuits instigated the Indians to rise against the English settlements, and during the years 1703-4 great havoc was wrought by the savages along the desolated frontiers of Connecticut and New York.

In 1707 the reduction of Port Royal was undertaken by Massachusetts. A fleet, bearing a thousand soldiers, was equipped and sent against the town. But Baron Castin, who commanded the French garrison, conducted the defense with so much skill that the English were obliged to abandon the un-

dertaking. From this costly and disastrous expedition Massachusetts gained nothing but discouragement and debt. Nevertheless, after two years of preparation, the enterprise was renewed; and in 1710 an English and American fleet of thirty-six vessels, having on board four regiments of troops, anchored before Port Royal. The garrison was weak; Subercase, the French commander, had neither talents nor courage; famine came; and after a feeble defense of eleven days the place surrendered at discretion. By this conquest all of Nova Scotia passed under the dominion of the English. The flag of Great Britain was hoisted over the conquered fortress, and the name of Port Royal gave place to ANNAPOLIS, in honor of Queen Anne.

For more than a quarter of a century after the treaty of Utrecht, Massachusetts was free from hostile invasion. This was not, however, a period of public tranquillity. The people were dissatisfied with the royal government which King William had established, and were at constant variance with their governors. Phipps and his administration had been heartily disliked. Governor Shute was equally unpopular. Burnett, who succeeded him, and Belcher afterward, were only tolerated because they could not be shaken off. The opposition to the royal officers took the form of a controversy about their salaries. The general assembly insisted that the governor and his councilors should be paid in proportion to the importance of their several offices, and for actual service only. But the royal commissions gave to each officer a fixed salary, which was frequently out of all proportion to the services required. After many years of antagonism, the difficulty was finally adjusted with a compromise in which the advantage was wholly on the side of the people.

Passing over the details of the early history of the minor Eastern colonies, we note the growth of the Dutch settlements in New Netherland. For ten years after the founding of the colony on Manhattan Island, New Amsterdam was governed by a board of directors appointed by the Dutch East India Company. In 1623 the ship *New Netherland*, having on board a colony of thirty families, arrived at New Amsterdam. The colonists,



WITCHCRAFT AT SALEM VILLAGE.

called **WALLOONS**, were Dutch Protestant refugees from Flanders, in Belgium. They were of the same religious faith with the Huguenots of France, and came to America to find repose from the persecutions of their own country. Cornelius May was the leader of the company. The greater number of the new immigrants settled with their friends on Manhattan Island; but the captain, with a party of fifty, passing down the coast of New Jersey, entered and explored the Bay of Delaware.

In the following year civil government began in New Netherland. Cornelius May was first governor of the colony. His official duties, however, were only such as belonged to the superintendent of a trading-post. In the next year William Verhulst became director of the settlement. Herds of cattle, swine, and sheep were brought over from Holland and distributed among the settlers. In January of 1626, Peter Minuit, of Wesel, was regularly appointed by the Dutch West India Company as governor of New Netherland.

In 1628 the population of Manhattan numbered two hundred and seventy. The settlers devoted their whole energies to the fur-trade. Every bay, inlet, and river between Rhode Island and the Delaware was visited by their vessels. The colony gave promise of rapid development and of great profit to the proprietors. The West India Company now came forward with a new and peculiar scheme of colonization. In 1629 the corporation created a **CHARTER OF PRIVILEGES**, under which a class of proprietors called patroons were authorized to possess and colonize the country. Each patroon might select anywhere in New Netherland a tract of land not more than sixteen miles in length, and of a breadth to be determined by the location.

Under the provisions of this instrument five estates were immediately established. Three of them, lying contiguous, embraced a district of twenty-four miles in the valley of the Hudson above and below Fort Orange. The fourth manor was laid out by Michael Pauw on Staten Island; and the fifth, and most important, included the southern half of the present State of Delaware.

Four of the leading European nations had now established permanent colonies in America.

The fifth to plant an American state was Sweden. As early as 1626 **GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS** formed the design of establishing settlements in the West. For this purpose a company of merchants was organized, to whose capital the king himself contributed four hundred thousand dollars. After the death of Gustavus, Oxenstiern, the great Swedish minister, took up the work which his master had left unfinished. The charter of the company was renewed, and after four years of preparation the enterprise was brought to a successful issue. Late in the year 1637, a company of Swedes and Finns left the harbor of Stockholm, and in the following February arrived in Delaware Bay. Never before had the Northerners beheld so beautiful a land. They called Cape Henlopen the Point of Paradise. The whole country, sweeping around the west side of the bay and up the river to the falls at Trenton, was honorably purchased of the Indians. In memory of native land, the name of **NEW SWEDEN** was given to this fine territory.

But difficulties soon arose between the Dutch and the Swedes, and in 1651 the colony of the latter was extinguished by an expedition sent out by the governor of New Netherland.

After several Dutch governors had been despatched to their colony by the West India Company, the soldierly **PETER STUYVESANT** was commissioned, and in 1647 arrived at New Amsterdam. Under his administration the colony began to improve; but the progress was slow, and as late as the middle of the century the better parts of Manhattan Island were still divided among the farmers. Central Park was a forest of oaks and chestnuts.

It was during the administration of Stuyvesant that the little state of New Sweden was invaded, conquered, and incorporated with New Netherland. The nature and extent of the various American possessions and territorial claims of France, England, Holland, Sweden, and Spain will be best understood from an examination of the accompanying map, drawn for the year 1655.

On the 12th of March, 1664, the Duke of York received at the hands of his brother, Charles II., two extensive patents for American territory. The first grant included the district reaching from the Kennebec to the

St. Croix River, and the second embraced the whole country between the Connecticut and the Delaware. Without regard to the rights of Holland, in utter contempt of the West India Company, through whose exertions the valley of the Hudson had been peopled, with no respect for the wishes of the Dutch, or even for the voice of his own Parliament, the English monarch in one rash hour despoiled a sister kingdom of a well-earned province.

Governor Stuyvesant resisted as best he might the arbitrary claims of the English; but resistance was in vain. An armament was sent out under command of RICHARD



PETER STUYVESANT.

NICOLLS, whom the Duke of York had appointed governor. Arriving at New Amsterdam, Nicolls demanded a surrender. Stuyvesant tried to induce the Dutch to fight, but they would not. On the 8th of September, 1664, New Netherlands ceased to exist. The English flag was hoisted over the fort and town, and the name of NEW YORK was substituted for New Amsterdam. The surrender of Fort Orange, now named Albany, followed on the 24th; and on the 1st of October the Swedish and Dutch settlements on the Delaware capitulated. The conquest was complete. The supremacy of Great Britain in America was finally established. From the north-east corner of Maine to the southern limits of Georgia,

every mile of the American coast was under the flag of England.

From 1664 to the close of the century the colony of New Netherland was ruled by English governors. Of these, Nicolls remained in office for three years, and was then superseded by the tyrannical LORD LOVELACE. The latter held authority until 1673, when a Dutch squadron, sent out by Holland, bore down on New York, and the town was taken. The supremacy of the Dutch was restored for a brief season in all the territory between Connecticut and Maryland. But in the following year Charles II. was obliged by his Parliament to conclude a treaty of peace with Holland. There was the usual clause requiring the restoration of all conquests made during the war. New York reverted to the English government, and the rights of the Duke of York were again recognized in the province. To make his authority doubly secure for the future, he obtained from his brother, the king, a new patent confirming the provisions of the former charter.

It was at this juncture that SIR EDMUND ANDROS was sent out as governor of New York. The same troubles which had been witnessed in Massachusetts were brought upon the people of the Middle Colonies. The citizens of New York were constantly embroiled with their governor until 1683, when he was superseded by THOMAS DONGAN, a Catholic. Under his administration the form of the government was changed. An assembly of the people was called to aid in the management of affairs. All freeholders were granted the right of suffrage; trial by jury was established; taxes should no more be levied except by consent of the assembly; soldiers should not be quartered on the people; martial law should not exist; no person accepting the general doctrines of religion should be in any wise distressed or persecuted. All the rights and privileges of Massachusetts and Virginia were carefully written by the zealous law-makers of New York in their first charter of liberties.

In July of 1684 an important treaty was concluded at Albany. The governors of New York and Virginia were met in convention by the sachems of the Iroquois, and the terms of a lasting peace were settled. In 1685, when the Duke of York became king of England,

11. Gustavus Adolphus the Great.

Gustavus Adolphus the Great.
15. The Thirty Years' War begins.
24-42. Richelieu.

Shakespeare.

8. James VI.
43. Louis XIV.
Milton.

Bacon.

25. Charles I.
42. The Revolution.
49. Cromwell.

43. Second Charter granted.
44. The United States.
12. The United States.

19. House of Burgesses established.
51. First Navigation Act.

50. NORTH CAROLINA settled by the London Company at Jamestown.

19. Introduction of Slavery.
24. Dissolution of the London Company.

34. MARYLAND settled by the Catholics under Lord Baltimore.

38. Governor Kief.
47. Sayresant.
56. New York City founded.

25. Minutis, governor.
58. Wilmington settled by the Swedes.

14. NEW YORK settled by the Dutch.
64. Taken by the English.
70. Lowlands.

23. NEW JERSEY settled by the Dutch.
79. New Hampshire as a charter colony.
80. King Philip's defeat and death.

29. NEW HAMPSHIRE settled.
30. Boston founded.

30. MAINE settled.
30. MASSACHUSETTS settled by the Puritans at Plymouth.

30. Massachusetts.
39. First printing press set up at Cambridge.

36. RHODE ISLAND settled by Roger Williams.
39. Newport founded.

30. CONNECTICUT granted to the earl of Warwick.
39. Hartford founded.
39. Saybrook founded.

37. Pequot War.

70. SOUTH CAROLINA settled by Locke's Constitution adopted.
88. Arrival of the Huguenots.

82. PENNSYLVANIA settled by the Quakers under Penn.
92. Founding of Philadelphia.

92. Penn. returns to England.
18. Death of Penn.

33. GEORGIA settled by the English under Oglethorpe.
58. The Monarchs in Georgia.
58. Royal government established.

76. Independence.
55. Braddock's defeat.
74. Second Congress assembled at Philadelphia.

58. Royal government established.

58. Royal government established.

58. Royal government established.

58. Royal government established.

58. Royal government established.

58. Royal government established.

58. Royal government established.

58. Royal government established.

58. Royal government established.

88. Peter the Great.

88. Peter the Great.
89. Catherine II.
92. War of the Austrian Succession.
93. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

85. Revocation of Edict of Nantes.
87. Habemus copias.

88. Second Revolution.
89. William and Mary, and after the death of William III.

89. James II.
89. Bacon's Rebellion.
90. Royal government re-established.

90. Seth Sohier, governor.
91. Arrival of the German immigrants.

91. The Cortes War.
92. Final separation of the Carolinas.

92. Negro plot.
93. Fall of Lewisburg.

93. Cosby, governor.
94. French and Indian War.
95. First Continental Congress assembled at New York.

94. Benjamin Franklin.
95. Union of East and West Jersey.

95. United with Massachusetts.
96. Introduction of tea.

96. Queen Anne's War.
97. First issue of paper money.

97. King William's War.
98. First Newspaper.

98. First post-office.
99. Craft.

99. Rhode Island joined to New York.
100. Administration of Governor Bull.

100. The hiding of the charter.
101. Yale College founded.

101. Expedition against St. Augustine.
102. Royal government established.

102. Pennsylvania settled by the Quakers under Penn.
103. Founding of Philadelphia.

103. Penn. returns to England.
104. Death of Penn.

104. Georgia settled by the English under Oglethorpe.
105. The Monarchs in Georgia.

105. Royal government established.

105. Royal government established.

105. Royal government established.

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105. Royal government established.

105. Royal government established.

40. Frederick the Great.

40. Frederick the Great.
41. Catherine II.
42. War of the Austrian Succession.
43. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

43. Peace of Utrecht.
45. Louis XV.

45. Louis XV.
46. The Rockingham ministry.
47. Chatham.

47. Chatham.
48. War between France and England.
49. The Stamp Act.

49. The Virginia Resolutions.
50. George III.

50. George III.
51. The Cortes War.
52. Final separation of the Carolinas.

52. Final separation of the Carolinas.
53. Arrival of the German immigrants.

53. Arrival of the German immigrants.
54. Negro plot.
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65. First post-office.
66. Craft.

66. Craft.
67. Rhode Island joined to New York.

67. Rhode Island joined to New York.
68. Administration of Governor Bull.

68. Administration of Governor Bull.
69. The hiding of the charter.

69. The hiding of the charter.
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71. Expedition against St. Augustine.

71. Expedition against St. Augustine.
72. Royal government established.

72. Royal government established.
73. Pennsylvania settled by the Quakers under Penn.

73. Pennsylvania settled by the Quakers under Penn.
74. Founding of Philadelphia.

74. Founding of Philadelphia.
75. Penn. returns to England.

75. Penn. returns to England.
76. Death of Penn.

76. Death of Penn.
77. Georgia settled by the English under Oglethorpe.

77. Georgia settled by the English under Oglethorpe.
78. The Monarchs in Georgia.

78. The Monarchs in Georgia.
79. Royal government established.

79. Royal government established.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART NO. VII.

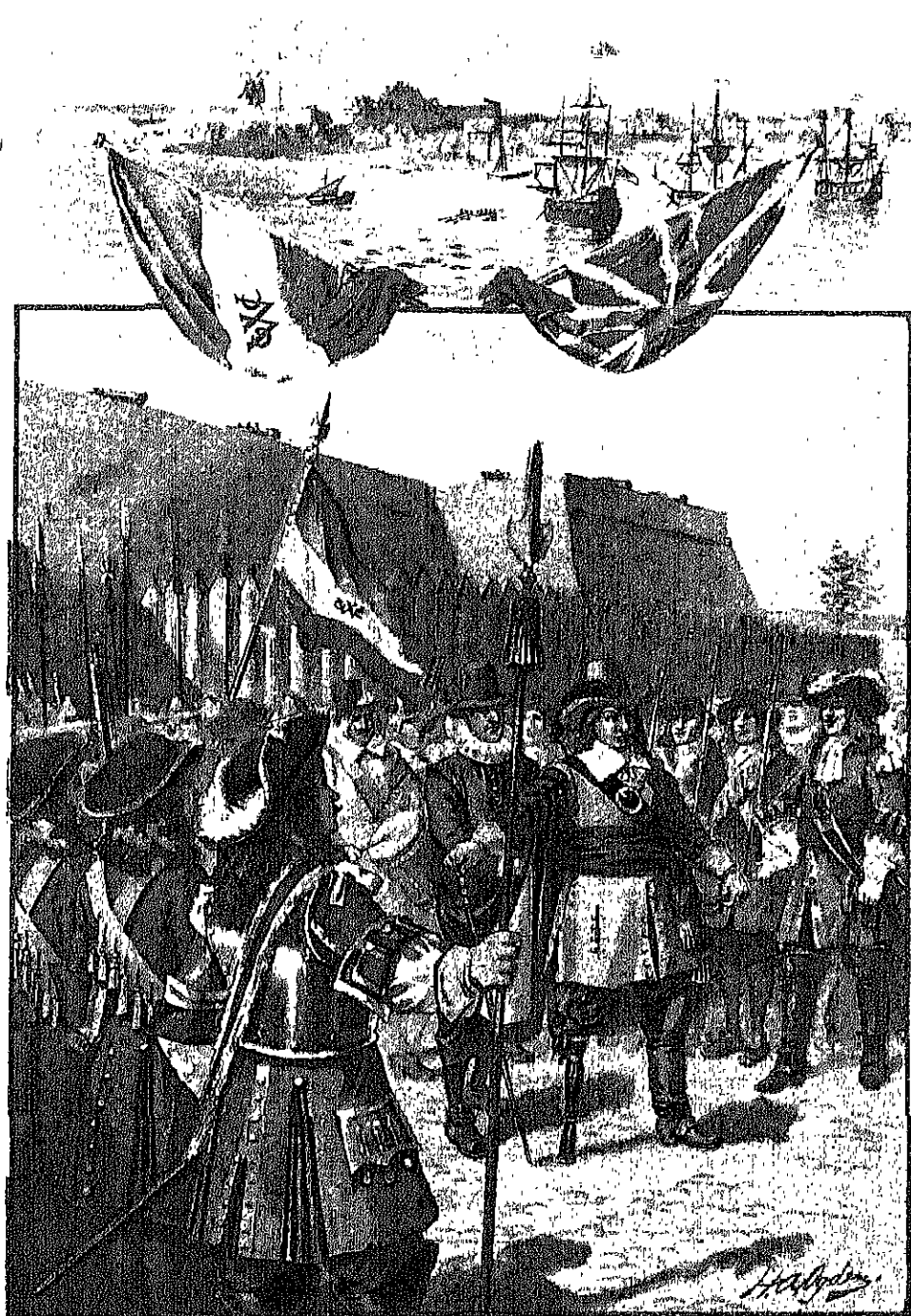
SHOWING

THE PROGRESS OF COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

From 1607 to 1776 A. D.

Prepared by JOHN CLARK RIDEATH, LL. D.

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THE DUTCH SURRENDER NEW AMSTERDAM Sept. 8. 1664

it was found that even the monarch of a great nation could violate his pledges. King James became the open antagonist of the government which had been established under his own directions. The popular legislature of New York was abrogated. An odious tax was levied by an arbitrary decree. Printing-presses were forbidden in the province. All the old abuses were revived and made a public boast.

In December of 1686 Edmund Andros became governor of all New England. It was a part of his plan to extend his dominion over New York and New Jersey. To the former province FRANCIS NICHOLSON, the lieutenant-general of Andros, was sent as deputy. Dongan was superseded, and until the English Revolution of 1688, New York was ruled as a dependency of New England. When the news of that event and of the accession of William of Orange reached the province there was a general tumult of rejoicing. The people rose in rebellion against the government of Nicholson, who was glad enough to escape from New York and return to England.

The leaders of this insurrection were Jacob Leisler and his son-in-law, Milborne. Both were subsequently arrested and hanged by Colonel SLOUGHTER, who came out as deputy-governor in 1691. Then came the government of BENJAMIN FLETCHER, who remained in office until the invasion of New York by the French under Frontenac, governor of Canada, in 1696.

In the year following the treaty of Ryswick the EARL OF BELLOMONT, an Irish nobleman of excellent character and popular sympathies, succeeded Fletcher in the government of New York. His administration of less than four years was the happiest era in the history of the colony. His authority, like that of his predecessor, extended over a part of New England. Massachusetts and New Hampshire were under his jurisdiction, but Connecticut and Rhode Island remained independent. To this period belong the exploits of the famous pirate, Captain William Kidd.

In striking contrast with the virtues and wisdom of Bellomont were the vices and folly of LORD CORNBURY, who succeeded him. He arrived at New York in the beginning of May,

1702. From that time for a period of six years the province was a scene of turmoil and civil dissension. Each succeeding assembly resisted more stubbornly the measures of the governor. Time and again the people petitioned for his removal. The councilors selected their own treasurer, refused to vote appropriations, and curtailed Cornbury's revenues until he was impoverished and ruined. Then came LORD LOVEFACE with a commission from Queen Anne, and the passionate, wretched governor was unceremoniously turned out of office. Left to the mercy of his injured subjects, they arrested him for debt and threw him into prison, where he lay until, by his father's death, he became a peer of England, and could be no longer held in confinement.

During the progress of the War of the Spanish Succession the troops of New York coöperated with the army and navy of New England. Eighteen hundred volunteers from the Hudson and the Delaware composed the land forces in the unsuccessful expedition against Montreal in the winter of 1709-10. The provincial army proceeded as far as South River, east of Lake George. Here information was received that the English fleet which was expected to coöperate in the reduction of Quebec had been sent to Portugal; the armament of New England was insufficient of itself to attempt the conquest of the Canadian stronghold; and the troops of New York and New Jersey were obliged to retreat. Again, in 1711, when the incompetent Sir Hovenden Walker was pretending to conduct his fleet up the St. Lawrence, and was in reality only anxious to get away, the army which was to invade Canada by land was furnished by New York. A second time the provincial forces reached Lake George; but the dispiriting news of the disaster to Walker's fleet destroyed all hope of success, and the discouraged soldiers returned to their homes.

Passing again to the south, we come to the colonies planted on the Chesapeake and the James. The settlement at Jamestown was for a while badly managed; but the fortunes of the colonists were at length restored by the valor, industry, and enterprise of the great adventurer, Captain John Smith. The other members of the corporation proved to be either incompetent or dishonest; but under

Smith the settlement soon began to show signs of vitality and progress. His first care, after the settlers were in a measure restored to health, was to improve the buildings of the plantation. Then he began a series of explorations and adventures, now in the Chesapeake and now a prisoner among the Indians, until, escaping from captivity, he came back to Jamestown to find only thirty-eight of the settlers alive. But just as despair seemed to be settling on the colony Captain Newport arrived from England, bringing supplies and new immigrants.



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

Captain Smith remained in office for nearly two years, and his heroism saved the colony from destruction. Finally, on his way down the James, while asleep in a boat, a bag of gunpowder lying near by exploded, burning and tearing his flesh so terribly that in his agony he leaped overboard. Being rescued from the river, he was carried to the fort, where he lay for some time racked with fever and tortured with his wounds. Finally, despairing of relief under the imperfect medical treatment which the colony afforded, he decided to return to England. He accordingly delegated his authority to Sir George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumber-

land, and about the middle of September, 1609, left the scene of his heroic toils and sufferings, never to return.

After the departure of Captain Smith the Jamestown colony suffered great hardships. The following winter was known as the "Starving Time." Even the return of spring did not bring comfort, and in June Jamestown was abandoned. The disheartened settlers, now grown resentful, were anxious before leaving to burn the town; but Gates, the deputy of Lord Delaware, defeated this design, and was himself the last man to go on

board. Four pinnaces lay at their moorings in the river; embarking in these, the colonists dropped down with the tide, and it seemed as though the enterprise of Raleigh and Gosnold had ended in failure and humiliation. But Lord Delaware was himself already on his way to America. Before the escaping settlers had passed out of the mouth of the river, the ships of the noble governor came in sight. Here were additional immigrants, plentiful supplies, and promise of better things to come. The colonists were persuaded to return and begin the struggle anew.

After Lord Delaware's return to England the colony was ruled by Sir Thomas Dale, and afterwards by Sir Thomas Gates. The latter remained in authority until 1614, when he again transferred the office to Dale, and returned to England. In 1617 Samuel Argall was elected governor and entered upon an administration chiefly

noted for fraud and oppression.

In the spring of 1619 Argall was at last displaced through the influence of Sir Edwyn Sandys, and the excellent Sir George Yeardley appointed to succeed him. The latter, in accordance with instructions received from the company, divided the plantations along James River into eleven districts, called boroughs, and issued a proclamation to the citizens of each borough to elect two of their own number to take part in the government of the colony. The elections were duly held, and on the 30th of July, 1619, the delegates came together at Jamestown. Here was organized the Virginia House of Burgesses,

a colonial legislature, the first popular assembly held in the New World.

The year 1619 was also marked by the introduction of negro slavery into Virginia. The servants of the people of Jamestown had hitherto been persons of English or German descent, and their term of service had varied from a few months to many years. No perpetual servitude had thus far been recognized, nor is it likely that the English colonists would of themselves have instituted the system of slave labor. In the month of August a Dutch man-of-war sailed up the river to the plantations, and offered by auction twenty Africans. They were purchased by the wealthier class of planters and made slaves for life. It was, however, nearly a half century from this time before the system of negro slavery became well established in the English colonies.

The history of Virginia from this time until the outbreak of the English Revolution was marked by few events of importance. In the times of the Commonwealth Virginia shared in some degree the distractions of the mother-country, yet the evil done to the new State by the conflict in England was less than might have been expected. In the first year of the civil war Sir William Berkeley became governor of the colony, and, with the exception of a brief visit to England in 1645, remained in office for ten years. His administration, notwithstanding the commotions abroad, was noted as a time of rapid growth and development. The laws were greatly improved and made conformable to the English statutes. The old controversies about the lands were satisfactorily settled. Cruel punishments were abolished and the taxes equalized.

The Virginians adhered with great firmness to the cause of Charles I., and after the death of that ruler proclaimed his son, Charles II., king of England. Cromwell was offended, and determined to employ force against the colonists. A war-vessel called the *Guinea* was sent into the Chesapeake to compel submission, but in the last extreme the Protector showed himself to be just, as well as wrathful. There were commissioners on board the frigate authorized to make an offer of peace, and this was gladly accepted. It was seen that the

cause of the Stuarts was hopeless. The people of Virginia, although refusing to yield to threats and violence, cheerfully entered into negotiations with Cromwell's delegates, and ended by acknowledging the supreme authority of Parliament.

On recovering his father's throne, Charles II. seemed to regard the British empire as personal property to be used for the benefit of himself and his courtiers. In order to reward the worthless profligates who thronged his court, he began to grant to them large tracts of land in Virginia. What did it matter that these lands had been redeemed from the wilderness and were covered with orchards and gardens? It was no uncommon thing for an American planter to find that his farm, which had been cultivated for a quarter of a century, was given away to some dissolute flatterer of the royal household. Great distress was occasioned by these iniquitous grants, until finally, in 1673, the king set a limit to his own recklessness by giving away *the whole State*. Lord Culpepper and the Earl of Arlington, two ignoble noblemen, received under the great seal a deed by which was granted to them for thirty-one years all the dominion of land and water called Virginia.

Sir William Berkeley continued in office as governor, and his administration became so odious that the people rose in rebellion. A war with the Susquehanna Indians furnished the occasion of an uprising of the militia under a young patriot, named Nathaniel Bacon, who drove the governor across the Chesapeake and for some time kept him at bay. At length, however, Bacon fell sick and died. It was an event full of grief and disaster. The patriot party, discouraged by the loss of the heroic chieftain, was easily dispersed. A few feeble efforts were made to revive the cause of the people, but the animating spirit which had controlled and directed until now was gone. The royalists found an able leader in Robert Beverly, and the authority of the governor was rapidly restored throughout the province. The cause of the people and the leader of the people had died together.

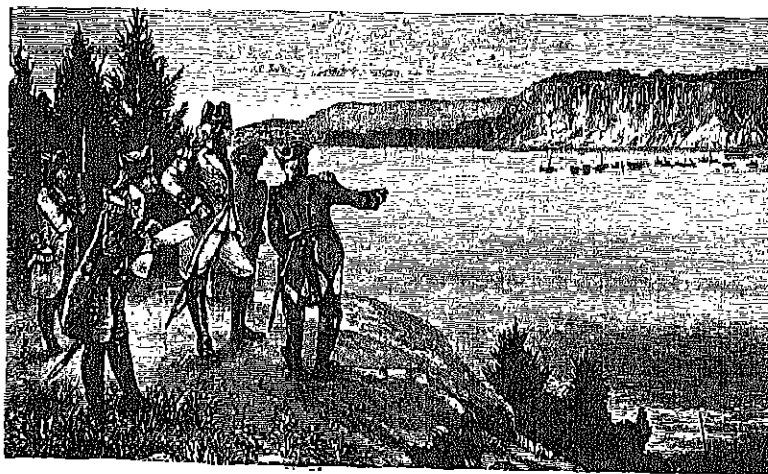
Berkeley's vindictive passions were now let loose upon the defeated insurgents. Fines and confiscations became the order of the day.

The governor seemed determined to drown the memory of his own wrongs in the woes of his subjects. Twenty-two of the leading patriots were seized and hanged with scarcely time to bid their friends farewell.

In 1675 Lord Culpepper, to whom, with Arlington, the province had been granted two years previously, obtained the appointment of governor for life. The new executive arrived in 1680, and assumed the duties of his office. His whole administration was characterized by avarice and dishonesty. Every species of extortion was resorted to, until the mutterings of rebellion were again heard throughout the impoverished colony. In 1683 Arlington surrendered his claim to Culpepper, who thus became sole proprietor as well as governor; but before he could proceed to further mischief, his official career was cut short by the act of the king. Charles II., repenting of his own rashness, found in Culpepper's vices and frauds a sufficient excuse to remove him from office and to revoke his patent. In 1684 Virginia, from being a Proprietary government, again became a Royal province, under the government of Lord Howard, of Effingham, who was succeeded by Francis Nicholson, formerly governor of New York. His administration was signalized by the founding of WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, so named in honor of the new sovereigns of England. This, next to Harvard, was the first institution of liberal learning planted in America. Here the boy Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, shall be educated! From these halls, in the famous summer of 1776, shall be sent forth young James Monroe, future President of the United States!

In the mean time the minor Middle Colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and the minor Southern Colonies of Maryland and Carolina, had also made considerable progress. No other had so greatly flourished as Pennsylvania. Nothing occurred to disturb the peace of that province until the secession of Delaware in 1691. The three lower counties, which, ever since the arrival of Penn, had been united on terms of equality with the six counties of Pennsylvania, became dissatisfied with some acts of the general assembly, and insisted on a separation. The proprietor gave a reluctant consent; Delaware withdrew from the union and received a separate deputy governor.—Such is in brief a sketch of the growth and development of the American colonies, from the date of the first permanent settlements on the Atlantic coast to the rise of the Hanoverian dynasty in England. At the middle of the eighteenth century these colonies will again claim our attention, when, united in a common cause, they become participants with the Mother country in that struggle with France by which the territorial possessions of the latter were torn away and transferred to Great Britain. Then we shall hear the echo of the rifle of the youthful Washington at Great Meadows, and awake to the realization of the birth of a NEW PEOPLE in the prolific West.





Book Nineteenth.

AGE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

CHAPTER CXII.—FIRST TWO HANOVERIANS.



CENTURY the eighteenth witnessed in Europe a striking social and political transformation. A change like the shadow of a cloud swept over the face of society, and the whole landscape took another outline and color. It was the age in which the old style of kingship and statecraft gave place to new methods of administration. That great fact, the European King, at length bowed down to that greater fact, the European People. It is the province of the present Book to narrate the last epoch of the Ancient *Régime*, and to bring the reader up to the verge of that cataclysm which, in the closing years of the century, rent the earth and swallowed up the Past. Since Frederick II. of Prussia was the last and one of the greatest of the old-style kings—by far the most conspicuous figure between the time of the Grand Monarch and the time of Washington and Bonaparte—it is appropriate that this, the nineteenth general division of the present Work, should be designated as the Age of Frederick the Great. As in-

troductory to the more stirring parts of the drama, the present chapter may well be devoted to the reigns of the first two princes of the House of Hanover in England, and the following to the corresponding period in the history of France.

When it became evident that Anne Stuart, seventeen times a mother, was destined to die without an heir, the English Parliament made haste to reestablish the succession. After not a little discussion the choice of the body rested on the Electress Sophia, granddaughter of James I., married to the Duke of Brunswick. This settlement was accepted in Scotland in 1707, was ratified in the conventions with Holland in 1708 and 1709, and was finally guaranteed in the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. On the 28th of May, in the succeeding year, the Electress Sophia died, and Queen Anne lived until the 1st of August following. By these two events the way was cleared for the unchallenged accession of Prince George Lewis, eldest son of Sophia and Duke Ernest.

He on whom the crown of England was thus devolved was born at Osnabrück on the

28th of May, 1660. He was already, therefore, in his fifty-fifth year at the time of his accession. He had been elector of Hanover since 1698; nor was he obliged, under the terms by which he accepted the crown, to give up his electoral office. Indeed, the relation which England was now destined to sustain to Hanover was almost identical with that which she had held to Holland during the reign of William III. It was agreed, in the act establishing the succession, that so long as the crown should be worn by a male descendant of George I. the kingdom and the electorate of Hanover should have a common

the following year, and attempted to organize a revolution; but the movement failed, and James was obliged to save himself by flight.

On the accession of GEORGE I. the Tory party was overthrown, and a new Whig ministry, with Viscount Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole at the head, was appointed. The Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke were impeached as well as put out of office. One of the first parliamentary acts of the new administration was that of removing the restriction upon the length of time during which the House of Commons might remain in session. After the Restoration the limit had been fixed at three years; but now the movements of the Jacobites, in threatening to overthrow the new dynasty, gave a good excuse for extending the period to seven years, which limit was accordingly adopted, subject only to an earlier dissolution by the crown.

It will be remembered that, just before the death of Charles I., Baron Görtz well-nigh succeeded in effecting a Russo-Swedish alliance, and that one of the objects of that distinguished diplomatist was to restore the House of Stuart in England. This movement led, in January of 1717, to the formation of a triple alliance of England, France, and Holland against Sweden and Russia. The Swedish ambassador in London was arrested, and among his papers were found indubitable proofs of the scheme which had been hatched in the fertile brain of



ST. JOHN VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

head; but if a woman of this line should become queen of England, then the electorate should revert to the princes of Hanover.

In September following the death of Queen Anne the king-elect arrived with his son at Greenwich, and was soon afterwards publicly crowned. Thus far there had been no open opposition to the change of dynasty; but the Jacobites were still in the shadows of the horizon, and now came forth in the old-time fashion to undo the settlement of the kingdom. In Scotland the opposition raised the standard of rebellion, and a considerable force was thrown into the field, but was defeated at Preston a month after the king's coronation. The Pretender himself came over to Scotland in

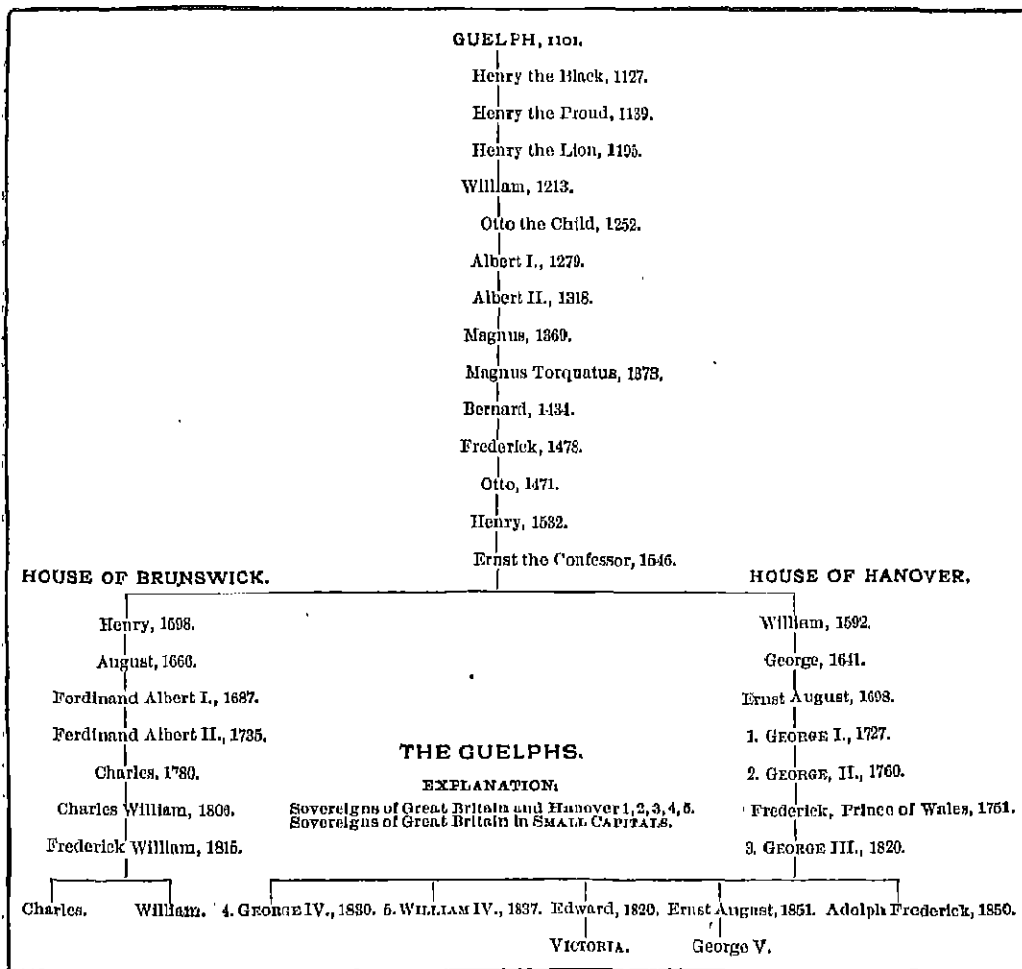
Görtz. It had been coolly determined by the conspirators of the North to use the Swedish embassy as the head-center of an English insurrection; while, at the same time, Scotland was to be invaded by Charles XII. in person. Great excitement and animosity were produced by the discovery of this plot and by the arrest of the Swedish minister caught in such flagrant violation of international law. The dissension extended into the ministry itself, and that body was disrupted. A portion of the members, including Walpole, resigned, and the Earl of Stanhope became the responsible head of the government. In the following year the German Emperor was admitted to the triple al-

fiance, while Spain became a party with Sweden and Russia. A short war ensued, which was brought to a climax by Admiral Byng, who, in August of 1718, fell upon and destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro.

The new royal family of England was at this time seriously affected with a domestic difficulty which threatened to disturb the peace of the kingdom. An unfriendliness

before the accession of King George, Sophia had been suspected of an intrigue with Count Königsmark of Sweden, then resident at the court of Hanover. Before this time George had treated the duchess with great severity, and she now repaid him by flying to France.

She and Königsmark were placed under surveillance; their interviews were watched, and, on leaving her one evening, he was assassin-



arose between the king and his son George, the Prince of Wales. The latter was already thirty-one years of age when his father came to the throne. The wife of George I., mother of the Prince of Wales, was Sophia Dorothea, daughter of the Duke of Celle. For her the king had never entertained such affectionate regard as the situation demanded. But Prince George entertained for his mother the highest esteem and affection. Many years

ated with the evident connivance of her husband. Sophia was divorced and imprisoned from 1694 until her death, thirty years afterwards. It was on this account that the quarrel between the Prince of Wales and his father grew in bitterness, and in 1717 led to the withdrawal of the younger George from St. James's palace and the establishment of his residence at Leicester House, where he kept a court in rivalry with that of his father.

It was in the year 1720 that the attention of the English nation was turned to the vast speculative enterprise called the South Sea Scheme. The measure seems to have been originally contrived by Sir John Blunt, and to have contemplated the organization of a powerful syndicate of merchants to be called the South Sea Company, whose object should be to buy up all the forms of the national debt, and to fund the same in a single stock. The profits to be realized by the stockholders were figured up in advance by the adroit schemers who were managing the enterprise, and such were the representations made that many merchants and capitalists, induced by the prospect of large returns, came forward and subscribed liberally to the fund. At this time the floating debt of Great Britain was about thirty millions of pounds, the interest upon the same being eighteen hundred thousand pounds per annum. It was proposed that every purchaser of any part of the debt should become a shareholder in the company, which was to have a monopoly of the trade with Spanish South America. The speculators, following the successful example which had been set by John Law in France, succeeded in getting their views incorporated in an act of Parliament, passed by both Houses in April of 1720; this plan of paying off the national debt being adopted against the sound and business-like proposition presented by the Bank of England. The parliamentary act not only conferred on the company the exclusive right of trading with the South American states, but, by rendering permanent the duties on wine, tobacco, and silk, secured to the monopolists at least a prospect of such profits as would yield an exorbitant interest on their stock.

The shares soon became in great demand, and the company agreed to take the entire national debt. An unheard-of speculative mania seized the public mind. The excitement rose to a frenzy. The shares of the stock, which at the time of the passage of the act by Parliament were rated at three hundred pounds, soon obtained a fictitious value, and the continued competition of the buyers put the quotations higher and higher. Two-thirds of the holders of the public funds of England rushed forward and exchanged their certificates

for those of the new company. Even the collapse of John Law's scheme in France did not seriously check the infatuation of the people. The stock continued to rise until it was quoted at a thousand pounds a share. But in September it was discovered that Sir John Blunt, president of the company, and several of the directors, had privately disposed of their stock! This circumstance pricked the bubble, and it became a struggle among the dupes of the scheme to sell out and escape from the ruins. Both the government and the Bank of England made strenuous efforts to prevent the wreck of the company and the consequent precipitation of a commercial panic. But the whole scheme ran its natural course. The company stopped payment, and thousands were reduced to beggary. Like every other measure having for its bottom motive the making of something out of nothing, the South Sea Scheme exploded and left an odor of fraud. Parliament came forward and ordered an investigation into the management of the company. The usual amount of corruption was uncovered. Nor did the schemers get away without deserved punishment. Several of the directors were imprisoned, and all were fined to an amount aggregating over two millions of pounds.

The valid assets of the company were seized, and the proceeds, amounting to about thirty-three per cent of the sum of which they had been defrauded, were distributed among the victims. It is said that the astute Sir Robert Walpole was about the only eminent man of England who had the discernment and courage to enter his protest against the proposed scheme of Sir John Blunt and his confederates. After the bubble burst the people laid the blame on the ministry, and the members were driven almost to distraction by the clamor that was raised against them. Lord Stanhope, in attempting to reply to an attack in the House of Lords, fell down in a fit of apoplexy, and died. Craggs, the secretary of state, also died, and Lord Sunderland left the treasury. It was even expected that the king would abdicate, but he held to the throne. Sir Robert Walpole, however, was recalled to the ministry, and the Whigs carried the House of Commons by a great majority.

In the year 1722 the Jacobites were detected in a plot for another insurrection, and Bishop Atterbury was arrested and banished for alleged complicity in the movement. These schemes, however, for the restoration of the House of Stuart had now become visionary and were no longer regarded with trepidation, except by the most timorous. The Jacobites dwindled to a handful of schemers in the North, whom few respected and none feared.

At this time the kingdom was considerably agitated by a second speculative enterprise, based upon the mining and coinage of copper. Through the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, mistress of the king, a monopoly of the copper mines in England was secured by a capitalist named William Wood, who devoted his energies to the coinage of farthings and half-pence for Ireland. The new issue was debased below the standard weight, and though the measure had the sanction of both Walpole and Sir Isaac Newton, who was master of the mint, a great disturbance was produced. Dean Swift issued a pamphlet addressed particularly to the Irish, whose excitable nature was inflamed to the highest pitch by the appeal of the unscrupulous pamphleteer.



JONATHAN SWIFT.
After the engraving by Bolt.

Such was the fury of the storm that the patent granted to Wood had to be withdrawn. The influence of the king was augmented by the fact that he never attempted to abridge the liberties of his subjects. Even in religious matters he was tolerant. One of his earliest measures was to extend the privileges of the dissenters. In 1723 another act was secured, by which the rights of Nonconformists, especially the Presbyterians, were still further enlarged and guaranteed. In general

the government of George I. was little oppressive; nor does it appear that his animosity was ever seriously aroused against the people.



SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

The year 1724 was noted for the enlargement of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which institutions received a good share of royal favor. Chairs of Modern History were now endowed and added to the other departments of instruction. In the following year Lord Macclesfield, chancellor of the kingdom, was impeached and removed from office. Sir Robert Walpole, however, stood unscathed amid the assaults of the opposition. Neither private machination nor public assault could shake him from his base. His influence in the affairs of England was especially salutary. He promoted peace without the exhibition of weakness, and encouraged the accumulation of wealth by the old-fashioned methods of industry and economy. It was not, however, within the scope of his power to prevent the outbreak of a war with Spain. In 1725 an alliance was made between the Spanish king and the German Emperor, which called forth a counter-league on the part of England, France, Prussia, and Sweden. The whole movement of Spain looked to the recovery of Gibraltar from the English. In 1727 a Spanish squadron was put afloat for the retaking

of that fortress. At the same time an English fleet was sent into the West Indies; but the former armament had no success, and the latter but little. Before the end of the year the parties came to an understanding, and a treaty was concluded at Paris.

Queen Sophia still lingered in imprisonment, and the breach between the king and Prince George was never healed. In 1726 Sophia died, and the king's nature, not above superstition, was agitated by a prophecy that he would survive his wife only a year. His life in England had been any thing but happy. His preference had always been for Hanover. He could not acquire the English language or reconcile himself to English manners. He was essentially a foreign king, more so than James I. had been on his coming to the South, or William of Orange on his arrival from Holland.

As soon as King George was informed of the conclusion of the peace with Spain he hastened his preparations for a visit to Hanover. He departed under the apprehension of death before his return. Taking with him his minister Townshend and the Duchess of Kendal, he set out for Osnabrück, but he was destined never to reach the place of his birth. On the 10th of June, 1727, he was attacked with a fit in his carriage, and died before he could reach his castle-gate. He had attained the sixty-eighth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign.

On the next day after the intelligence of his father's death reached London, George Augustus, prince of Wales, was proclaimed as GEORGE II. He was, at the date of his accession, in the forty-fifth year of his age. In abilities he was inferior to his father, but in other respects was like that prince, particularly in the hastiness of his temper and his preference for every thing Hanoverian over every thing English. His education had been neglected and himself abused by his father in childhood. In 1705 he had taken in marriage the Princess Caroline, daughter of the Margrave of Brandenburg, whose talents and character did much to redeem the standing of the English court. In the War of the Spanish Succession, George had distinguished himself, especially in the battle of Oudenarde, where his bravery was conspicuous. Coming

with his father to England, he was proclaimed Prince of Wales, in September of 1714. Then followed the scandalous quarrels between him and the king. A proposition was made by the Earl of Berkeley to carry off Prince George to America, and to dispose of him in such a manner as would make it impossible for him ever to vex his father further; and it is said that the king heard the scheme with favor. But Walpole interfered, and after a reasonable retirement of the Prince of Wales from St. James's palace, succeeded in patching up a sort of reconciliation between vindictive father and stubborn son. During this epoch, however, the prince was much used by the opposition as a factor in the politics of the kingdom. It had been expected by the enemies of Sir Robert Walpole that the death of George I. would be the signal for the hurling of that great minister from power. The event, however, did not correspond to the expectation. The elections, after the accession of George II., showed that Walpole was more strongly intrenched than ever before in public confidence. To this should also be added the influence of the king, with whom Sir Robert became a favorite. The queen took a great pride in the statesman, and her power was added to his other elements of strength. The sight of the minister, thus surrounded as with a panoply, seemed to excite all the animosity of the opposing party, and the continuance of Walpole in power was only effected after a succession of the fiercest political struggles ever known in England. For more than fourteen years he held his grip against every storm which party rancor could evoke. He retained his office until 1742, and then retired after an unparalleled premiership of twenty-one years' duration.

The English people were greatly chagrined to find the passion for Hanover, which had so strongly marked the disposition of George I., perpetuated in his son. The king seemed to take a certain comfort in disgusting his subjects by frequent and prolonged absences in Germany. He also excited unfavorable criticism by the harsh and unfatherly treatment which he visited upon his son William Frederick, prince of Wales. It would have been supposed that the memory of his own youth would have prevented the repetition of the

course which George I. had pursued towards his successor. But not so. Even Queen Caroline, from whom better things might have been expected, joined her own dislike to that of her husband, and Prince Frederick—father of George III.—suffered all the ills consequent upon the hatred of his father's house.

The genius of Walpole never shone more conspicuously than in the treaty to which, in 1729, he induced Spain to assent in a convention of the powers at Seville. The terms obtained by this settlement were highly favorable to England. Even on the great question of the possession of Gibraltar, the existing status—which was that of English control—was allowed to stand, thus furnishing a precedent to be pleaded in subsequent treaties. In the first year after the peace the ministry was well-nigh disrupted by a quarrel between Sir Robert and Townshend, but the latter was obliged to retire, and the ascendancy of Walpole became more pronounced than ever. He used his power to undertake the reform of certain abuses in the state, but his measures were hampered by the opposition, who conceded nothing to the premier's good intentions. In 1730 an investigation was ordered of the condition of the English prisons and prison-system—a movement which led to the correction of some serious abuses, and to the colonization of Georgia. In the following year a reform was carried by which the court-procedure of the kingdom, which until now, had been in Latin, was ordered to be henceforth in English—a great gain for common sense and nationality.

In one favorite measure, however, Sir Robert was forced to recede before the Tory opposition. Finding that the sinking fund, which he had helped to provide against the national debt, was falling low under the many drains made upon it, he conceived the project of replenishing the same by means of an excise laid upon such articles as wine and tobacco. A storm of opposition was provoked by the proposed measure, and every argument which prejudice and partisan ingenuity could invent was urged against it. The majority

in the House of Commons wavered and fell from two hundred to sixty and finally to sixteen before the persistent Walpole could be induced to withdraw the bill. The king shared the mortification of his minister over the virtual defeat of the excise scheme, and both sought to comfort themselves by dismissing from office all the prominent personages who had presumed to side with the opposing party. Chief among those who were thus deprived of place for violating the principles of fealty to ministerial government was Philip Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield,



ROBERT WALPOLE.
After the mezzotint by G. White.

who afterwards played so noted a part in the world of English politics, society, and letters.

It was in the year 1733 that Europe became disturbed by the dispute respecting the Polish succession. A faction in the interest of Russia had arisen among the nobility of Poland, and when Augustus II. died, his son was, by the influence of this party, raised to the throne in place of Leszcynski, who had been deposed. The daughter of the latter had been married to Louis XV. of France, and that monarch now espoused the cause of his father-in-law against the Russian candidate. The French king began a war by a campaign be-

yond the Rhine, but the conflict was presently ended by the acknowledgment of Augustus and by the cession of Lorraine to France. The king of England was very anxious to take part in this war, but Walpole insisted upon neutrality, and George was at length won over to the views of his minister. The influence of England was thrown in favor of peace, and it was by this means that the treaty of 1735 was brought about.

Each succeeding election resulted in the return of a ministerial majority to the House of Commons, and Walpole continued to hold the reins. In 1735 the opposition made an effort to repeal the Test Act, but were beaten by a large majority. In the following year the Gin Act, by which it was sought to lessen the evils of drunkenness in the kingdom, was passed, but the effects were scarcely perceptible. It was in this year that the Prince of Wales took in marriage the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, and the question of fixing his income again fired the animosity of the opposing parties in Parliament. The anger of the king was rekindled against his son, and when presently an heir was born to the latter, the mutual hatreds of the royal house burned more fiercely than ever. Prince Frederick left Hampton Court and established himself at Norfolk House.

A year after the marriage of the prince the queen died. The king forbade the admission to court of any who visited at the house of the Prince of Wales, and every effort was made to force that personage, with his infant son, out of sight. But the forces of the opposition rallied around Frederick, and several distinguished men, among others William Pitt, attended upon the prince, to the great disgust of the king and the ministry.

The next question to disturb the politics of the kingdom was in relation to the reduction of the standing army. The measure was projected by the opponents of Walpole, but was defeated by the usual ministerial majority. In the next place the government was assailed on account of its alleged indifference to certain outrages which had been perpetrated by the Spaniards on English traders in America. The feeling against Spain became so pronounced that Walpole was constrained to make a convention with that kingdom; but

the terms agreed on were as repugnant as the outrages which they were intended to obviate. William Pitt made his first great speech against the proposed treaty, and it is not improbable that had the opposition in the House of Commons stood together in this crisis, the Walpole ministry might have been overthrown. But several members of the opposing party fell out of the ranks, and Walpole again triumphed, though with a greatly reduced majority.

After the lapse of another year war was finally declared against Spain in October of 1739. Admiral Anson was sent with one squadron to cruise in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Nor did the pennon of St. George flying at his mast-head lose any of its original luster. Admiral Vernon, in command of another fleet, besieged and took Portobello, the Spanish seaport of the United States of Colombia, and dismantled the fortress. But a similar effort at Carthagena and another at Santiago de Cuba ended in signal failure.

It was at this juncture that the premonitory agitation which led to the War of the Austrian Succession was felt in Western Europe. It will be recalled that the sonless Charles VI. had issued the celebrated *Pragmatic Sanction*, by which it was decreed that his daughter Maria Theresa should become the heiress of the Austrian monarchy. For the time—that is, during the life of Charles VI.—this settlement of the succession seemed to be accepted; but when, in 1740, the Emperor died, several claimants appeared to contest the right of Maria Theresa. The Elector of Bavaria assumed the title of archduke and received the Imperial dignity with the name of Charles II. Now it was, too, that he whose fame and distinguished part in the drama of the century have given a caption to the present Book appeared on the scene and seized the province of Silesia, at that time a part of the Bohemian dominions of Austria. A fuller account of these events is reserved for its proper place in the chapter particularly devoted to the career of Frederick the Great.

The next parliamentary election in England showed that the policy of Walpole relative to the part which the kingdom should bear in the complications of the continental powers had not been sanctioned by the nation.

An adverse majority had been returned, and the opposition at last triumphed. Walpole, after a hard contest, gave way to his political enemies; but his own grief at the reverse of fortune was not as great as that of the king, who was thus deprived of his services. Certain attempts were made by the victorious party to prosecute the overthrown minister, but the movement ended in failure. The king conferred on Sir Robert the title of Earl of Orford, and posterity has conceded to him the reputation of being the most adroit leader that ever controlled the House of Commons.

In the formation of a new ministry the first place was given to Lord Wilmington. The Tories came into power with a flourish of trumpets, but the event soon showed that their capacity to govern was in inverse ratio to their pretensions. One of the chief outeries which they had raised against the Whigs was that the latter refused to repeal the Septennial Act, by the provisions of which a Parliament might—unless sooner dissolved by the crown—continue its sessions for seven years. It now appeared that the Tories *in* office and the Tories *out* of office held different views of what constituted statesmanship, for they permitted the Septennial Act to stand, to the great disgust of their supporters.

The downfall of Walpole made it certain that England would become an active participant in the War of the Austrian Succession, which was now fairly on. The king himself was very desirous of plunging into the contest. Though Holmes has described the Second George as a

"Snuffy old drone from the German hive,"

He nevertheless had the courage to fight—and liked it. In entering the Austrian conflict he espoused the cause of Maria Theresa, thus putting himself on the side of the Pragmatic Sanction and against Charles Albert of Bavaria, who had obtained the support of France and Spain. At the first an English army was sent into Flanders, where little was effected. On the sea, however, the British

name was honored by the Mediterranean squadron, which compelled an observance of neutrality on the part of Naples. George himself fired somewhat with the noise of distant battle, and determined to enter the field in person. He took into his pay a large force of Germans—an act which again kindled the jealousy of the English nation. In June of 1743 the king joined the allied army, and a few days afterwards gave battle to the French at Dettingen. The allies were victorious, and George renewed the reputation for courage



CHARLES EDWARD, THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

which he had gained in his youth. It is not intended, however, to give in this chapter the annals of his reign beyond that point at which Frederick II., appearing on the scene, drew the attention of all Europe to himself.

The present chapter will be concluded with an account of the last effort made by the Stuarts to repossess the throne of England. The event occurred in 1745. In the previous year an invasion of England had been attempted by a French army under convoy of a fleet of twenty sail. But the movement which had been undertaken in the interest of Charles Edward, grandson of James II.,

surnamed the Young Pretender, came to naught. In June of the following year, however, the Pretender embarked in a small frigate, intending to land in Scotland and

head an insurrection. In the following month he landed in Lochaber, and was joined by a large number of Highlanders.

The time was specially opportune for such

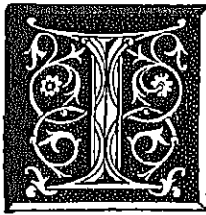


RETURN OF CHARLES EDWARD TO SCOTLAND.

a movement. George II. was in Hanover. The better part of the English army was in Flanders. Parliament was rent with factious disputes. Such was the condition of affairs in the South that consternation took possession of all minds. Hasty dispatches were sent for the king to return. Thirty thousand pounds were offered for the apprehension of the Pretender. That prince, on the 16th of September, took Edinburgh. Four days afterwards he advanced to Preston Pab., where he inflicted a total defeat on the English army under Sir John Cope. A great part of Scot-

land yielded to his authority. His forces increased, and in November he advanced on London. Meanwhile the king reached home and went forth to meet the insurgents. The issue was decided in the battle of CULLODEN, on the 16th of April, 1746, at which time the forces of Charles Edward were routed and put to flight. The Pretender made his escape to France, but his supporters in Scotland were punished with merciless severity by the Duke of Cumberland. Thus were eclipsed forever the hopes of the princes of the House of Stuart to regain the English throne.

CHAPTER CXIII.—REIGN OF LOUIS XV.



It has not often happened that a monarch about to die has given counsel to a great-grandson about to succeed him. Such a thing was witnessed in the case of Louis XIV. and the son of the Duke of Bretagne. The latter was at the time of the death of the Grand Monarch but five years of age, and it may well be granted that the advice given him by the dying king profited but little. It became at once apparent that a regency was a necessity of the situation, and for this important office two candidates appeared.

The first was Philip, duke of Orleans, nephew of the late king. Against him many things might justly be urged as disqualifying him for the position. He was reckless and profligate, indisposed, and perhaps incompetent, to impose on himself those salutary restraints which are reckoned essential in a sovereign. Besides, he was in ill favor with the French nation. He was suspected of having poisoned his wife, and the deaths of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy were also—albeit unjustly—charged to his account. The other candidate was the Duke of Maine, a natural son of Louis XIV., who, though weak in person and character and scarcely more popular than Philip of Orleans, had been elevated to a high rank, even superior to

that of most of the peers of France, by the partiality of the late king. It happened, however, that the odium excited by the candidature of the Duke of Maine at length brought on a reaction in favor of Philip, and the latter was successful.

No sooner was he established in the regency than he was obliged to face a serious complication with Spain. In that kingdom the management of affairs, after the accession of Philip V., had been intrusted to the great minister, Cardinal Alberoni, a man almost as ambitious in disposition and subtle in method as Richelieu and Mazarin. By him the Spanish king was persuaded that in case of the death of the boy sovereign of France the crown of that country should be claimed by Philip himself as the grandson of Louis XIV. As to the solemn compact to which all had agreed at the treaty of Utrecht—namely, that in case of the recognition of Philip V. as king of Spain he should renounce forever his claim to the throne of France—all that was to go for nothing. The perfidy of the thing was to be obscured in its brilliancy.

Of course this low, faith-breaking policy brought Alberoni and the Regent of France into direct antagonism. A war broke out. The Spanish minister excited insurrections in several parts of the French dominions, and sent a fleet to operate on the coast of Bretagne. In that province the partisans

of Spain took up arms, and the revolt assumed formidable proportions. It was soon found, however, that the Regent was master of the situation. He quickly sent an army into the revolted district, and the rebellion was suppressed. The Spanish squadron was driven away, and after a short struggle the French were completely victorious. Alberoni was disgraced and obliged to go into retirement. It was at this juncture that Spain was induced to accede to that quadruple alliance to which the parties were England, Holland, France, and Austria. Philip V. a second time renounced his claims to the French crown—a renunciation that was final; and the Spanish Bourbon dynasty became recognized as a distinct House among the sovereignties of Europe.

To this epoch in French history belongs the story of that celebrated financial scheme projected by John Law, and popularly known as the "Mississippi Bubble." Law was an adventurer. He was among the financiers of his times what Reynard the Fox was in the kingdom of the Beasts. By various speculations and by gambling he accumulated a fortune, and after varied experiences in Edinburgh, London, and Amsterdam, went to Paris just after the establishment of the regency. He made the acquaintance and gained the confidence of the Regent, whom he persuaded to become his patron. He established a bank under royal favor, and was authorized to discount bills of exchange and issue currency.

At this time the credit of France was at so low an ebb that the public stocks were rated at eighty per cent discount. To the astonishment of all, Law began to redeem these securities at par. The very audacity of the act removed the necessity of his doing so; for the public credit came up, or seemed to come up, at a bound, and soon a competition arose among capitalists for the purchase of government securities. It was in this feverish condition of affairs that Law proposed the organization of the Mississippi Company, the general object being to draw profit from the French possessions in North America. It was the theory of the projector that credit is every thing, and that credit, even future and merely possible profits, may be safely used as the basis of a paper currency. This view found earnest advocates. The new company

grew, expanded, absorbed the French East India Company, increased its capital stock to six hundred and twenty-four thousand shares, of five hundred and fifty livres each, and agreed to lend the government a billion six hundred million livres at three per cent.

Paris went wild with excitement under the stimulus of this scheme. The shares of stock in the Mississippi Company rose in value until they were quoted at forty times their par. Everybody seemed to grow rich. As the paper currency became inflated, all prices rose proportionally. Land was bought and sold at fabulous figures. Law was made comptroller general of the finances of the kingdom, and became by far the most important untitled personage in France. New issues of government notes were made until the aggregate reached the enormous sum of a billion nine hundred and twenty-five million livres. But all this while the specie of France was disappearing. At last the enormous fiction could be extended no further. The bubble burst, and every man looked at his neighbor in bewilderment. Perhaps no other such financial crash has ever been known. The whole scheme collapsed and tumbled into non-entity. Law became a fugitive, and the last estate of French finances was worse than the first.

Coincident with the reign of Law in Paris was the great plague at Marseilles. Though the ravages of this pestilence were not equal in extent to that of London, in 1666, yet, considering the relative size of the two cities, the plague at Marseilles in 1720-21 was fully as fatal as the one at the English metropolis. It is narrated that the gloom and horror of the smitten city were greatly alleviated by the administrations of Bishop Belzunce, who, like a true father of a flock, faced the plague from beginning to end, and left behind a memory more precious than gold.

After the regency had continued for eight years, the Duke of Orleans, whose naturally weak constitution had been prematurely enfeebled by his excesses, fell sick and died. Louis XV., then in his fourteenth year, was now declared of royal age; but it was deemed expedient, if not necessary, still further to strengthen his boyhood by the appointment of a minister capable of taking the place of

the Regent. For this office the Duke of Bourbon was selected, a man of large talents, a great-grandson of the Prince of Condé. The first matter to which he turned his attention

saw, he established himself, with his wife and daughter. The latter was finally chosen by the Duke of Bourbon as a princess suitable to become queen of France. In September



LOUIS XV.

was the selection of a suitable bride for the young king. It may be remembered that when Stanislas Leszcynski, king of Poland, was driven from the throne, he sought refuge in France. Here at Weissenburg, in Al-

of 1725 she was married to the king, who, being then at the ripe age of fifteen, seemed at first to be well pleased with the trophy which the prime minister had brought him.

Bourbon, however, remained in office only

three years. In 1726 he was succeeded by Cardinal Fleury, who remained principal adviser of the crown until 1742. His administration was marked throughout for its moderation and pacific spirit. On him was devolved the duty of extricating France from the financial ruin into which she had been plunged by the wild scheme of John Law. In this work he succeeded by strict economy and prudent management in measurably restoring the shattered credit of the state. In the realm of foreign relations, however, he was less successful; for he had little of that cunning which a low international morality has caused to be one of the principal elements in diplomacy. Nor was he possessed of that warlike enterprise and audacity which can be gratified only with aggression and conquest. From these antecedents it followed naturally that France, now for the most part controlled by the influence of Fleury, was little glorified in war during his ascendancy. It was in 1733 that an emergency arose which seemed to require an appeal to arms. In the beginning of that year Augustus II. of Poland died, whereupon the rulers of Austria and Prussia declared for his son. But the king of France, influenced perhaps by royal gallantry, took up the cause of his wife's father, and declared for Stanislas. The latter was better esteemed in Poland than was his rival. The Polish Diet declared in his favor. A Russian army, however, appeared on the scene, and Stanislas was obliged to shut himself up in the fortress of Dantzic. Here he awaited the arrival of the French army; but when the force came to hand it consisted of only fifteen hundred men. Stanislas was driven from Dantzic and compelled to seek safety in Prussia. His partisans in Poland gave up the contest, and Augustus III. was proclaimed king.

The movement in favor of Stanislas brought France into antagonism with Austria. At this time the German army on the Rhine was under command of Prince Eugene. In the latter part of 1733 the French, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, made an expedition into the Rhine provinces, and took the fortress of Kehl. In the following spring they laid siege to Philippsburg, and in July of that year compelled that place also to capitulate. At

the same time an invasion of Italy was undertaken by Marshal Villars, who, with the combined force of French and Sardinians, conducted a successful campaign. But no decisive result was reached by the marshal on account of the opposition of the king of Sardinia, whose bad faith as an ally was conspicuous.

On the other side, Don Carlos, son of the Spanish king, led an army into Naples, and in a brief campaign reduced that kingdom to submission. Thus was laid the foundation of the Bourbon dynasty in Italy; for Don Carlos, who presently acceded to the throne of Spain with the title of Charles III., was the father of Ferdinand VI. of Naples, who received the crown in 1759, and reigned for nearly sixty-five years. The desultory war in which France was thus involved by the Polish complication continued until October of 1735, when it was concluded by a treaty. By the terms of the settlement Jean Gaston, the last of the Medici princes, was superseded as grand duke of Tuscany by the Duke of Lorraine. The paternal province of the latter, together with the duchy of Bar, was given to the expelled Stanislas of Poland; and it was agreed that, after the death of this ruler, the territories which he had received should become the marriage portion of the queen of France. Naples and Sicily went to Don Carlos of Spain. Kehl and Philippsburg were resurrendered by France to Germany, and the former kingdom acknowledged the validity of that Pragmatic Sanction which had been issued by Charles VI. in favor of his daughter, Maria Theresa. It was to secure this important acknowledgment that the German Emperor conceded the valuable and important province of Lorraine to the French king, thus laying the foundation for the many claims and counter claims which, even to the present day, have disturbed the two great powers east and west of the Rhine.

Notwithstanding all of the efforts which Charles VI. put forth to secure to his daughter, Maria Theresa, an undisturbed succession, the event showed how poorly the contrivances and schemes of men accomplish the results which are intended. As soon as Emperor Charles was dead rival claimants appeared for the German crown in the persons of Charles Albert of Bavaria and Augustus III. of Po-

land. Now it was, too, that Frederick II. of Prussia, in the first flush of his success as a warrior, dashed into Silesia, and with an audacity that astonished all Europe, laid claim to that large province for himself. It soon appeared, moreover, that his claim was no piece of idle vaunting, and his enemies in a short time were fain to stand out of reach of the circle of his sword.

Cardinal Fleury exerted himself as usual in favor of peace, and failing in that, still sought to keep France aloof from the conflict. But the effort was in vain. Charles of Bavaria appealed to the French for an alliance, and though to enter into such a league was in flagrant violation of the recent treaty with Austria, the proposal of Charles Albert was accepted, and a united army of French and Bavarians began an invasion of Austria. This force proceeded as far as the heart of Bohemia. Prague was taken and the Bavarian prince was there proclaimed Emperor, with the title of Charles VII. Maria Theresa fled from Vienna into Hungary, where she was received with open arms by the powerful and patriotic nobles of that country. She convened the Hungarian Diet, and putting on a mourning garb went before that body with her infant son Joseph in her arms. She presented the babe to the chivalrous nobles, whose fiery indignation and loyalty rose with the occasion, and drawing their swords they swore with unbounded enthusiasm to defend the lawful heir of the Empire with their last drop of blood. *Moriamur pro rege nostro*, they cried, "Let us die for our sovereign!" and on every side the Hungarians flew to arms.

In Austria also the counter revolution gained great headway. The example of the

Hungarians was contagious, and Maria Theresa was soon the center of an enthusiastic revolt. An army of Croats rushed into Bavaria and laid waste the country. For a while the wave of war surged back and forth. In Silesia, Frederick of Prussia held his own, and was presently enabled to conclude a separate treaty, by which the possession of the contested



CHARLES ALEXANDER, PRINCE OF LORRAINE.

province was conceded to him. On the side of Bohemia the French were driven back, and in the battle of Dettingen were defeated by the English under George II.

At this juncture the Cardinal Fleury died. He had vainly striven to prevent or stop the war, but was doomed to die without the sight. As to France, her attention was now diverted to the conquest of the Netherlands, and the

king was induced to take the field in person. Meanwhile, however, Prince Charles Alexander of Lorraine, brother of the husband of Maria Theresa, made an invasion of Alsace, and King Louis was recalled from his project of a campaign in the Low Countries to defend his own dominions on the side of the Rhine. Nor is it certain that he would have been able to save his recently acquired province but for the reappearance of Frederick II. The latter soon perceived that the recent treaty by which he had received Silesia was a mere bagatelle, to be tossed aside as soon as such an act might seem to be demanded by the interests of the House of Austria. He therefore deemed it prudent to enter into alliance with France, to the end that his own conquest might be made permanent. He accordingly reentered the field, penetrated Bohemia, and captured Prague. The result of this startling diversion was that Charles of Lorraine was obliged to withdraw hastily from his proposed invasion of Alsace in order to save what he already possessed.

While Louis XV. was thus engaged in protecting and strengthening his eastern borders the renown of the French arms was well sustained in the Low Countries by Marshal Saxe. This able and brilliant general was a natural son of that Augustus II. who had figured as the successful competitor of Stanislas for the crown of Poland. From the first day of his command he exhibited those remarkable qualities of bravery and impetuosity, combined with penetration and prudence, which gained for him a rank with Eugene and Marlborough, among the greatest military chieftains of the century. His ascendancy dates from May of 1745, when, on the field of FONTENOY, he met and defeated with great slaughter the combined army of England, Holland, and Spain, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland.

In the course of two years from this date France gained by conquest nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands. Meanwhile, on the 20th of January, 1745, Charles Albert of Bavaria died. As his ambition went out in the shadow of death the greatest cause of the War of the Austrian Succession ceased to operate. His son, less aggressive than himself, soon concluded a peace with Austria. The

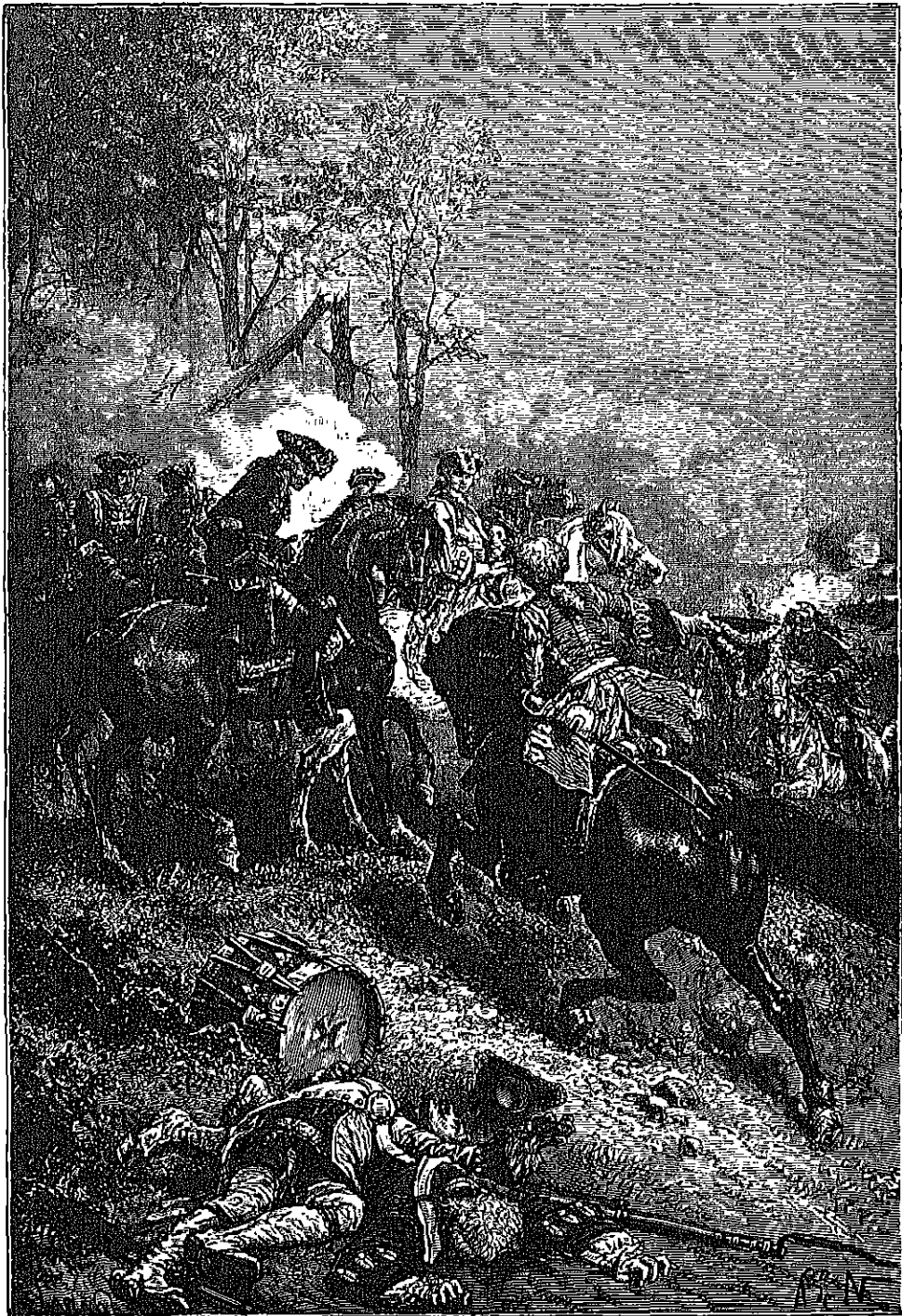
elements which had been arrayed against the Pragmatic Sanction, because thereby the German crown had been made to rest on the head of a woman, were quieted by the election of Francis, the husband of Maria Theresa, to the Imperial dignity. The death of Philip V. of Spain, in July of the following year, still further simplified the condition of European politics. His son, Ferdinand VI., quietly succeeded to the Spanish crown, but did not venture to renew his father's pretensions to the crown of France.

So many of the causes of the war had now been removed that the way to peace was easily cleared. With the beginning of 1748 negotiations were opened at Aix-la-Chapelle. By the 11th of May the work of pacification had proceeded so far as to secure a suspension of hostilities. The conference continued until the 18th of October, when a general treaty was concluded. As the first condition it was agreed by the powers that the Pragmatic Sanction should stand without further question. The settlement of the German succession was thus secured to Maria Theresa and her son, afterwards Joseph II. France gave up all her conquests in the Austrian Netherlands, and the island of Cape Breton, which England had taken three years before from the French, was restored. Thus just one hundred years from the treaty of Westphalia another peace was concluded by the leading states of Europe.

In the course of time Louis XV. tired of his Polish queen, and began to cultivate the habits of his great-grandfather. He made the acquaintance of Madame d'Etioles, and with her became so enamored that he virtually gave to her the control of both himself and the kingdom. He conferred on her the title of Marchioness de Pompadour, and loaded her with other honors numberless. From being a butcher's daughter she rose to be the most distinguished lady in Europe. She patronized the arts and sciences; beautified Paris; used Voltaire and Bernis in the establishment of those brilliant fêtes for which the French capital became so celebrated; and made herself a necessity of the state. The ministers did her bidding. Diplomates sought her favor. Political parties made and unmade their principles at her dictation. Even

Maria Theresa extended to her the favor of a correspondence. Only the satirical Frederick II. set at naught her glory and stigma-

tized her ascendancy in French politics as *La Dynastie des Cotillons!* But for this insult she amply avenged herself by bringing about that



BATTLE OF FONTENOY.
Drawn by A. de Neuville.

alliance of France and Austria against Prussia which resulted in the Seven Years' War. Indeed, the next twenty years of the reign of Louis XV. was the reign of Pompadour. At this point, however, it is proper to turn

from the affairs of France and England to those of Germany; to note more particularly the rise of Prussia, and to trace the career of Frederick the Great during his long and eventful reign.

CHAPTER CXIV.—RISE OF THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.



PERHAPS the most important dynasty in Europe to-day is the House of Hohenzollern. The name of this powerful family is derived from the castle of Hohenzollern, in Sigmaringen, on the slope of the Zollberg, a mountain of the Alps. The House is said to have been established by a certain Count Thassilo, about the beginning of the ninth century. It was not, however, until the close of the fourteenth that the princely rank of the family was recognized by the Emperor Charles IV. In 1415 Frederick VI. was made elector of Brandenburg by Sigismund, and took upon himself the title of Frederick I. From this time onward the influence of the Hohenzollerns began to be distinctly felt in the affairs of Europe. The eleventh successor of Frederick I. was that Frederick III., of whom in a preceding Chapter some account has been given as the founder of the Prussian Monarchy.

The real beginning of Prussian greatness is referable, however, to the ascendancy of Frederick William, known as the Great Elector. He was born in 1620, and died in Potsdam in 1688. He came to the electoral office at the age of twenty, and began his reign by dismissing his father's council, reclaiming all the territories which had belonged to the electorate, and concluding important treaties with the surrounding states. The peculiarity of his character was its intense nationality. He hated the French manners and methods which at that time prevailed in almost all the courts of Europe. The etiquette of Versailles, which had been copied by nearly all the rulers of the age, was un-

ceremoniously banished from Brandenburg. While neighboring princes were giving costly entertainments, and striving to make up with ostentation and flummery what they lacked in dignity and virtue, the Great Elector established at his court a rule of economy and rigid honesty that might well be cited as an example for any age or country. While the German Emperor was supporting a retinue of about forty thousand officials, Frederick was engaged in giving strict scrutiny to the receipts and expenditures, not only of the electoral treasury, but also of his own household. Though his manners were intolerably coarse, and his government arbitrary, yet there was so much virtue in his methods that his son, FREDERICK I., was able to take and retain the title of king.

From this time forth were laid the foundations of the intellectual and war-like greatness of Prussia. FREDERICK WILLIAM I., grandson of the Great Elector, saved from the expenses of his household a sufficient sum of money to establish four hundred schools among the people. It is well worth while to record that, while the German Empress was attended by several hundred maids of honor, while her parrots required two hogsheds of tokay each day, and while twelve barrels of wine were demanded for her bath, the wife of Frederick William was allowed a single waiting-woman by her inexorable lord. Such was Austria and such Prussia two hundred years ago.

In the midst of all this rigor, Frederick William I. lost no opportunity to arouse a German spirit among his people. He sought by means of high protective tariffs to build up the domestic industries of Prussia. He clad himself in garments of Prussian fabricati-

and made an edict forbidding his people to wear clothes of foreign make. He sought by every means in his power to encourage the agricultural enterprises of the Prussians; and when seventeen thousand of the Salzburger Protestants were driven from Upper Austria, Frederick opened wide his doors to receive them, gave them lands, and furnished them support until they were able to build new homes for themselves.

Meanwhile the organization of the Prussian army was intrusted to Prince Leopold of Dessau, called the Old Dessauer, a pupil of Prince Eugene. The forces of Brandenburg were gradually augmented to the number of eighty-four thousand men. One of the caprices of Frederick William I. was the organization of a body-guard of giants. The requirement was that each recruit should be seven feet in height; nor did the miserly Frederick spare expense when it came to procuring his military Goliaths. He ordered his agents to ransack Europe in the hunt for giants. In this work he forgot his national prejudices. Size was the desideratum, and not blood. He even resorted to kidnaping in order to fill his regiment of monsters. While Peter the Great was hungering for mechanics, Frederick reached out eagerly for new Titans for his body-guard. He and the Czar accordingly

exchanged products, and both were happy. On one occasion the king paid nine thousand dollars for a Russian prodigy of unusual stature.—Such was the origin of the celebrated Potsdam Guards.

Finding the cares of state more heavy than might be borne by one man, Frederick William organized what he was pleased to call his



THE GREAT ELECTOR.

After the painting by W. von Camphausen.

"Tobacco Cabinet." His ministers and generals, the foreign ambassadors, and a few citizens without rank were invited by the king to meet him in the evening in a plain room furnished with a three-legged stool for himself and wooden benches for his counselors. Every person present was furnished with a clay tobacco-pipe and a mug of beer. Each must smoke, or at least appear to do so, and drink his

quantum of beer. No formality was allowed. Frederick would permit no special mark of respect to himself, not even the rising of his guests when he entered. Around this beer-spattered council-table, under the dense cloud of smoke, hardly penetrated by the flickering light of lamps, the savage old German and his councilors discussed with foreign magnates

with the Poles. The conflict resulted in the capture of Warsaw and the abrogation of those feudal rights which Poland had until now exercised over Prussia. At this time Frederick William was undoubtedly the most far-seeing ruler east of the Rhine. He was the most dangerous foe with whom Louis XIV. had to contend on the Germanic side of

his dominions. But for the incompetency of Leopold I. of Austria, the Great Elector would doubtless have thwarted the project of the Grand Monarch to make the Rhine the eastern boundary of France. In 1673 Frederick William was at war with the French, and lost the provinces of Wesel and Rees. Soon afterwards Louis XIV. procured an invasion of Prussia by the Swedes, and a large army of that hardy soldiery was led against Berlin. The Great Elector was at this juncture at Magdeburg; but leaving that city with only six thousand cavalry, he hurried across the Elbe, and without waiting to be joined by his infantry, fell upon the Swedish army on the field of Fehrbellin. Here, on the 18th of June, 1675, he fought and won a great battle, in which the Swedes were utterly



THE OLD DESSAUER.
After the painting by Pesne.

the political affairs of Europe, of which they themselves were an important part.

In accordance with the terms of the treaty of Westphalia, the Great Elector had received the province of Pomerania, together with the island of Rügen and the county of Hohenstein. From this time forth he gave his attention to the work of organizing the Prussian army. In 1655 he made an alliance with Charles X. of Sweden, and engaged in a war

routed and hurled in disorganized masses across the borders of Brandenburg. The victory was so decisive as to end the war and to make sure the elector's claim to Pomerania.

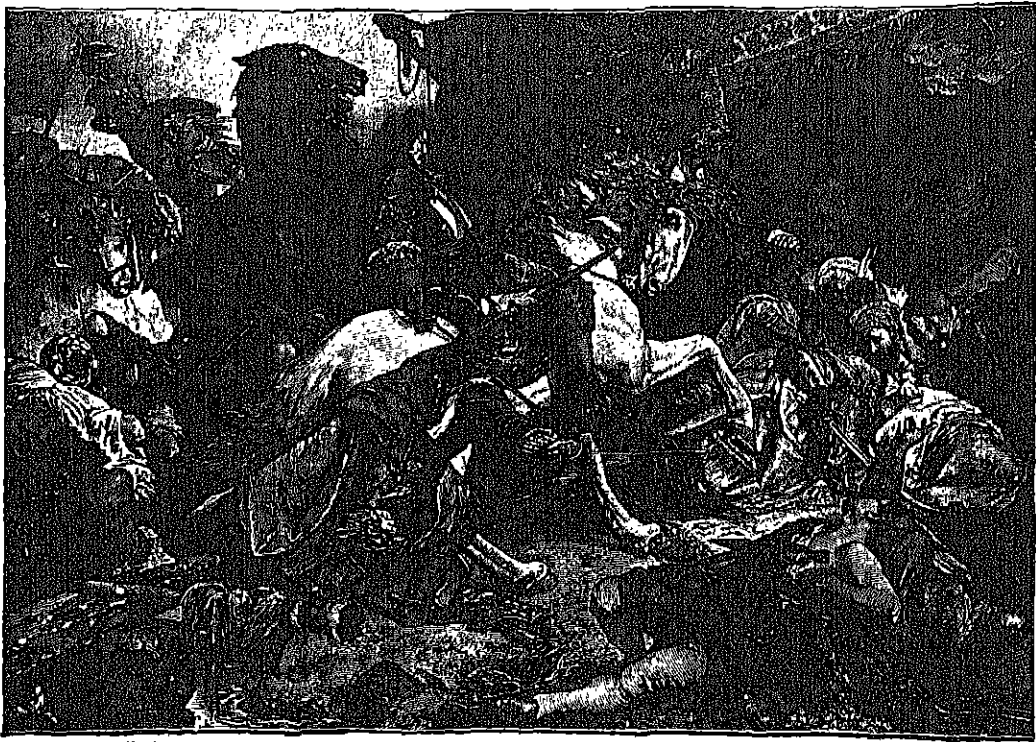
While this rude but vigorous germ of government was planted in Prussia, the Imperial power impersonated in the House of Hapsburg fell into decay. The German Empire was virtually narrowed to the limits of Austria. Bohemia and Hungary were almost independ-

THE GREAT ELECTOR IN THE BATTLE OF FENRBERG.



ent kingdoms. During the reign of Charles VI, a general paralysis seemed to fall upon both government and people. Industry languished; commerce failed; Jesuitism had its fill. It should be observed, however, that this condition of affairs in Austria was precisely such a state as was most congenial to the German nobility. For the nobles were still, after the lapse of so many centuries, essentially feudal in their manners and tastes. To them the Middle Age was the ideal state of man, and Mediæval Rome the one religious

like relation stood Hanover to England, while Saxony was virtually dominated by Poland.¹ In Würtemberg the hard government of Duke Eberhard Ludwig drove the people to such desperation that many of them in order to escape from his tyranny fled to the coast, took ship for the New World, and found refuge in the virgin wilds of Pennsylvania. In the Danubian countries there was almost constant war. Here it was that the aggressive Turks threw themselves with audacity upon the borders of the Empire. In 1688 the Bavarians



PRINCE EUGENE BEFORE BELGRADE.

Empire of the world. As a result of this preference, the nobility of Germany cherished a profound sympathy with the House of Austria, and was always found clustered around the Imperial banner.

Indeed, if at the beginning of the eighteenth century we look abroad into the "Empire Outside"—as those parts of Germany beyond the Austrian boundaries were designated—we find little but political destruction and disunion. Bavaria and the Palatinate were in a state of miserable dependency on France. So, also, were the three archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. In

carried their arms into Servia, and secured a footing on the right bank of the Danube by the capture of Belgrade. Two years later the Turks returned in overwhelming force and retook the city. The Crescent remained in the ascendant until 1717, when the veteran Prince Eugene led an Imperial army across the

¹ As illustrative of the condition of government in these countries, the case of Hanover may well be cited. After George I. became king of England, the Hanoverian government was left in the hands of a council of nobles, who, when they assembled, were wont to set up in the president's chair a portrait of Elector George, and proceed with business as though he were present in person!

Danube and began a siege of Belgrade. The Sultan, perceiving the peril of the situation, sent a tremendous army to break the investment. Eugene was pressed against the city by the foe without, but turned upon his assailants, defeated them with prodigious slaughter, and compelled Belgrade to capitulate.

The circumstances antecedent to the WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION have been already referred to in the two preceding chapters. Great was the anxiety of Charles VI. that the Imperial scepter should not depart from his House. It was this eagerness to secure the crown to a member of his own family that led to the celebrated decree known as the Pragmatic Sanction. Even after the issuance of this edict the Emperor continued to show his apprehension lest the succession should be taken from his daughter Maria Theresa and conferred on some collateral representative of the House of Hapsburg, or perhaps on one who was not a Hapsburg at all. Charles, therefore, adopted the policy of hedging against the possible infraction of his will; and the measures which he adopted acted as a bane to the project which he sought to strengthen.

Thus when, in order to secure the favor of Russia, the Emperor espoused the cause of Augustus III. of Poland against his rival, Stanislas, the movement led immediately to a league between the latter and Louis XV. of France. Charles soon awoke to the realization that he had exchanged the friendship of France for the very dubious and equivocal sympathy of the Northern Bear. Nor did the Emperor prove an equal match in the contest with French diplomacy. The Polish Diet elected Stanislas, who, reaching Warsaw in the disguise of a merchant, was duly proclaimed as king—this, too, in the face of the fact that a Russian army was at that very time entering Poland. Charles VI. was left with Augustus III. on his hands and a French war looming up out of the western horizon.

In the beginning of this preliminary conflict France was supported by Spain and Sardinia. The event soon showed that France was prepared for the war and that Austria was not. Three French armies at once took the field. The first occupied the province of Lorraine; the second crossed the Rhine and captured the fortress of Kehl; and the third,

commanded by Marshal Villars, made a successful irruption into Lombardy. Spain also bore down upon Naples and Sicily, and both countries yielded to her arms. Meanwhile the Austrians, rallying from their surprise, were led to the Rhine by the veteran Prince Eugene, now more than seventy years of age. Frederick William I., who had now acceded to the throne of Prussia, sent a contingent of ten thousand troops to aid Eugene in expelling the French from Lorraine; but the effort was unsuccessful. In the Polish campaign, however, the French were completely beaten. Stanislas disguised himself as a cattle trader, and fled from the country. He was followed by an army of ten thousand Russians, who, advancing as far as the Rhine, were joined with the forces of Austria.

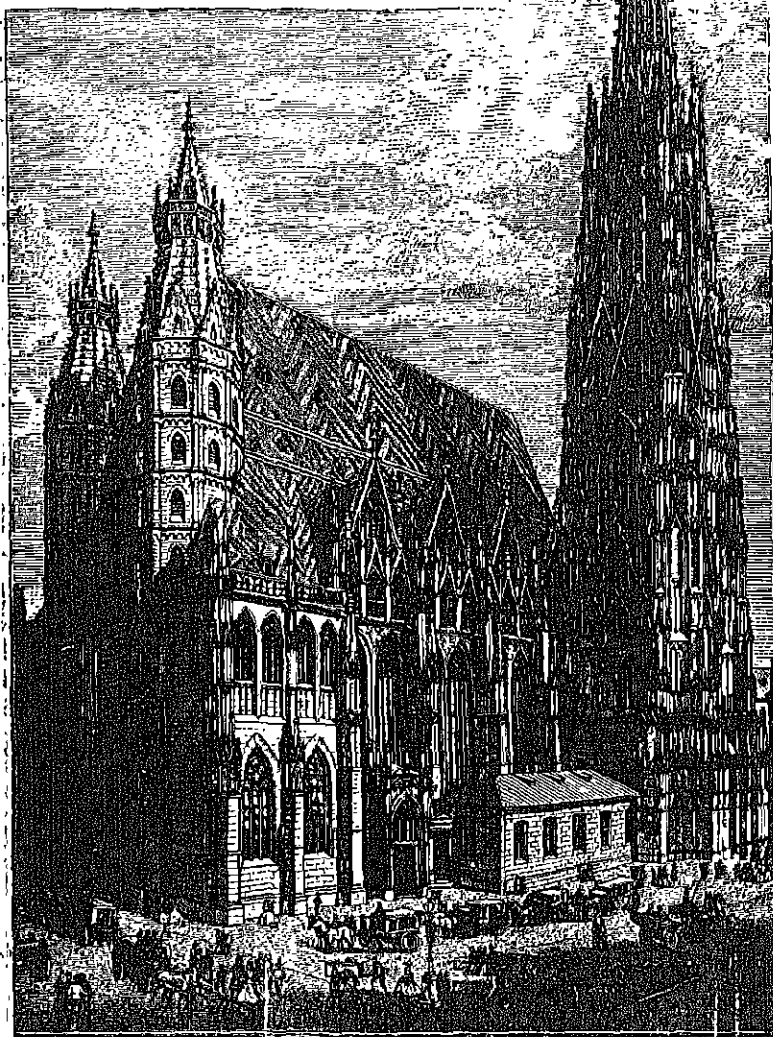
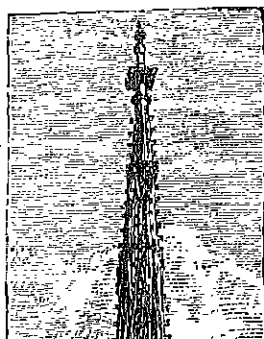
Notwithstanding the successes of the French arms in the campaigns of 1733, Louis XV. found it expedient to enter into negotiations for peace. This War of the Polish Succession was concluded in 1735 by the treaty of Vienna. The conditions of the settlement have already been narrated in the preceding chapter. It is only necessary to add that Frederick William I. of Prussia, who had expected to receive as his reward the cities of Züllich and Berg, was disappointed. So much was he exasperated by the terms which were agreed upon at Vienna that he entered into a correspondence with France, with a view to securing thereby what he had failed to gain in alliance with the Empire. These circumstances may be cited as the basis and beginning of that deep-seated political enmity which unto the present day has existed between the Houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern.

In the interval between the treaty of Vienna and the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession several events occurred worthy of record. In 1736 Prince Eugene of Savoy, whose name will ever be associated with that of Marlborough as one of the greatest generals of the century, died. In the same year Francis of Lorraine took in marriage Maria Theresa, thus paving the way for his own ultimate elevation to the Imperial dignity. In 1737 the Empress Anna of Russia induced Charles VI. to join her in a war with the Turks. It had already become the cardinal principle in Russian politics to obtain

possession of the sea of Azov, and thus ultimately to gain an entrance into the warm waters of the Mediterranean.

The Russo-Austrian alliance proved, however, to be a league most unfortunate to the Emperor. He was obliged to retire from the contest with the loss of all that he had gained twenty years previously by the treaty of Passarowitz. The death of Prince Eugene marked the still more rapid decay of the influence of Austria. The glory of her arms—if glory she ever had—departed, and after a brief contin-

uence of Belgrade and all the conquests which he had made in Servia and Wallachia.



ST. STEPHEN'S CATHEDRAL, VIENNA

In May of 1740 Frederick William I., second king of Prussia, died, being then in his fifty-third year. The policy adopted by the Great Elector, and followed by his son and grandson, had now begun to tell upon the prosperity of the new kingdom. The territory of Prussia embraced at this time somewhat more than fifty thousand square miles, and her population numbered two million five hundred thousand. The revenues of the state had increased to seven and a half million thalers annually, and the surplus in the treasury amounted to over nine millions. Several great cities had arisen. Berlin had nearly a hundred thousand inhabitants. Stettin, Magdeburg, and Memel had become among the strongest fortresses in Europe. The army well equipped and well disciplined, numbered eighty thousand men. The system of public

education was already bearing fruit, and the institutions of feudalism withered away in the light and heat of progress. Finally the early

peace by giving up to the Turks the prov-

Prussian kings set themselves against the debasing superstition which the Middle Age and the Romish Church had spawned all over Europe. The alleged crime of witchcraft, for which the benign gospel of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries had caused the execution of several hundred thousand innocent persons, was struck from the statute books of Prussia. Religious toleration was the law of the state.

Five months after the death of Frederick William, Charles VI. also died. Quite different was the condition of ancient Austria from that of the kingdom so recently established by the Hohenzollerns. The military organization of the Empire was demoralized. On every side the Imperial borders had been narrowed. Worse than physical decay was the spiritless condition into which the Austrian people had sunk under the despotic sway of the Hapsburgs. The outward splendor and inner death of the court of Vienna at the middle of the eighteenth century may well remind the thoughtful

student of the similar condition which supervened in Constantinople in the last days of the Eastern Empire.

The crown of Prussia descended after the death of Frederick William I. to his eldest son, Frederick II., better known as FREDERICK THE GREAT. On the maternal side his lineage was from the House of Hanover-Brunswick, his mother being the Princess Sophia Doro-

thea, daughter of George I. of England. At the time of his accession Frederick was in his twenty-ninth year. His early life had been peculiarly unhappy. His father had imbibed the domestic principles of the Great Elector; that is, he was a tyrant in his family. This was precisely the kind of discipline most un-



IMPERIALISTS IN BATTLE WITH THE TURKS.

sued to the disposition of young Frederick. It chanced that the boy's education was intrusted, for the most part, to certain French refugees, who, fleeing from their own country, had carried with them to Berlin the culture and refinement of Paris. From his childhood Frederick became infatuated with the literature, manners, and beliefs of France. As for classical learning, that was strictly forbidden.

by our father Frederick William. For a season the brain of the prince ran riot with a certain class of accomplishments, the contagion to the delight of *connoisseurs*; pleased himself in all particulars and gratified his father in none. The king would fain make a soldier



PRINCE FREDERICK.

of which he caught from his French teachers. He exhibited a great passion for music; became a skillful player on the flute; gave concerts at which his own compositions were rendered

of his effeminate son; but he found that "idiot and puppy" in no wise disposed to adopt the profession of arms.

At the age of sixteen the distempered

youth was taken by his severe father to Dresden and was there thrown for a season into the corrupt society which flourished around the court of Augustus the Strong. At this time it was the mother's purpose to have her unpromising son wedded to his cousin, the Princess Amelia, daughter of George II. of England. But the father hated England and his royal kinsman so heartily that the proposed marriage was broken off. Frederick was accompanied in these travels by a young officer named Von Katte, and with him he laid a plot to run away from Germany and leave the king to his reflections. Perhaps the prince did not much consider that the carrying out of his purpose would involve a desertion from the Prussian army, of which he was a member, or that the penalty for so doing was death. At any rate the plan was perfected and Frederick went on board a vessel at Frankfort with a view to escaping down the Rhine.

In the meantime, however, one of the about-to-be fugitive prince's letters, written to Katte, fell into the hands of another officer of the same name, and was by him delivered to the king. The wrath of Frederick William surpassed all bounds. He hastened in person to the vessel on which his son had embarked, discovered him, beat him with a stick until his face was covered with blood, and then hurried him to prison. Katte also was seized, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to imprisonment. But the furious king immediately annulled the sentence, and ordered the culprit to be forthwith led to execution. The

horror of the thing was increased by having the scaffold built directly before the window of the cell where Frederick was imprisoned. He was thus forced to witness the hanging of his bosom friend. He fainted at the awful spectacle, and lay so long unconscious that it was believed he would never recover.

For some time the Prince was kept in his dungeon. He was not permitted to see even



ELIZABETH CHRISTINA.

his keeper. The king insisted that he should be condemned by court-martial; but the officers who were summoned for that duty decided that they could not pass sentence on the Crown Prince of Prussia. Hereupon Frederick William took the cause into his own hands, and condemned his son to death. This action, however, created such a storm among the officers of the army that the merciless father was obliged to yield to the general demand and issue a pardon to the Prince. But

the latter was still kept in prison. At last his spirits were completely broken, and he accepted the hard condition of absolute obedience to his father. The king put him into a clerk's office in the lowest grade of the service, and he was obliged to work his way up as a common apprentice. It was not until November of 1731 that he was permitted again to appear at court. When his sister Wilhelmina was married to the Margrave of Bairenth, a slender young man, clad in a suit of gray, was seen standing among the servants. When the ceremonies were over, the king approached him, pulled him forth, and said



MONTESQUIEU.

to the queen: "Here, madam, our Fritz is back again."

In the following year Frederick was forced against his will to take in marriage the Princess Elizabeth Christina, of Brunswick-Bevern, niece of the Empress of Germany, for whom his repugnance was extreme. His father then gave him the castle of Rheinsberg, near Potsdam, where he lived for a while in a kind of independence which he had not previously enjoyed. He again gave himself up to the study of literature. He renewed his correspondence with Voltaire, became an admirer and student of Montesquieu, and made the acquaintance of many other eminent authors of France. When the War of the Polish Succession broke out, he was called into the

field and given a subordinate office under Prince Eugene. But his opportunities were not such as to evoke his military talents, and at the end of the campaign he returned to his residence at Rheinsberg. His reputation at this time was that of a poet and philosopher. The dreamers and lovers of peace looked forward to his accession as an event which would end the wars and conflicts in which Prussia had thus far been engaged, while the military element felt that the glory of the state would depart with the coming of such a king.

At length, in May of 1740, Frederick William died. The ministers of the kingdom were somewhat surprised at the speech which the supposed poet made to them when they came to take the oath of allegiance. He told them that henceforth the interests of Prussia and of the king would be regarded as identical, and that in case of any possible conflict the wishes and welfare of the ruler would have to give way to those of the state. Still greater was the surprise when from the very first the new sovereign, in manifest contempt of all ceremony and formality, began to lay about him with great vigor in correcting the abuses which existed in the government. One of his earliest acts was to abolish torture as a part of criminal procedure. He then proceeded to reform the marriage laws of Prussia. He dismissed his father's body-guard of giants and instituted improved methods in tactics and discipline. He appointed ministers for Commerce and Manufactures, and strove in every way to encourage the industrial energies of the people. In so far as adopting the pompous style of the kings of France, it was noticed that, when the new king went to his coronation at Königsberg, his whole court traveled in three carriages, and that the actual ceremony of receiving the crown was dispensed with altogether. It was evident that a new will had appeared as a directing force in the political affairs of Europe.

It was an important circumstance in the drama of the age that the deaths of Frederick William and Emperor Charles VI. were so nearly coincident. Only a few months elapsed from the accession of Frederick II. to the time when the Pragmatic Sanction was to be tested by the facts. The daughter of the late

Emperor was now left to claim and take that ancestral crown which had never before rested on woman.

It was fortunate that the princess who thus became a claimant for the crown of the German Caesar was in every way worthy of so high a distinction. MARIA THERESA was a woman born to be great. She had the strength of Elizabeth Tudor, the beauty of Aurora von Königsmark, and the magnetism and virtue of Joan of Arc. Her force of character was well understood, even before her father's death; but none had supposed that her luster and power would shine forth with such brilliancy as was displayed from the time of her coronation. The old ministers of Charles VI. flattered themselves that they would easily sway the woman who swayed the Empire; and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, would fain believe himself the real ruler of Austria. But all were as much mistaken as they were surprised. The Empress heard all counsels and received all advice with serene dignity, and then decided for herself.

Now it was that two noted rival claimants appeared to the dominions and crown of Maria Theresa. First of these was the Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria. The grandmother of this prince was a Hapsburg, and upon that somewhat slender thread of distinction his claims to the Empire were suspended. His candidature, however, was made quite formidable by the support which he received from Louis XV. of France, who, though he had repeatedly pledged himself to the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction,

was now willing to incur the guilt of perfidy if thereby he might weaken and distract the German Empire. The second claimant was Augustus III., king of Poland and Saxony, who was supported in his pretensions by the Czar of Russia. So it was that swords were drawn on every side, and the WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION was begun.

The former history of his kingdom now



MARIA THERESA, EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA.

furnished to Frederick II. a ready and plausible pretext for taking a part in the impending conflict. It had happened in former times that Brandenburg had been obliged in an emergency to surrender to the Empire four principalities which she possessed in Silesia. Perceiving that the Austrian Empress would be hard pressed by Charles Albert and Augustus III., backed as they were on the one side by France and on the other by Russia, Fred-

erick conceived the design of laying claim to the whole of Silesia, and of making the same an integral part of Prussia. With him to conceive was to act. His purpose, however, was for the time concealed in his own breast. He secretly and hastily increased his army to a hundred thousand men; and before his enemies could conjecture his design, he made a forced march into Silesia and planted himself defiantly in the territory which he meant to conquer.

As soon as the Austrians perceived the brilliant stroke of their antagonist, they sent a powerful army to drive him out. In the mean time the prudent Frederick had conciliated the Silesians, whose rights he carefully observed, enforcing strict discipline upon his soldiers, and removing all restrictions in the matter of religion. Breslau, the Silesian capital, soon opened her gates, and Frederick took peaceable possession. Several fortresses held by Austrian garrisons were captured during the winter, and in April of 1741 the Austrians were defeated in the decisive but hard-fought battle of Mollwitz. Frederick was outnumbered by the enemy, and in the beginning of the engagement the advantage was on the side of the Austrians. Even the veteran Marshal Schwerin believed that Frederick was doomed to defeat. He accordingly persuaded the king to retire from the field, and then, collecting his shattered forces, made so desperate a charge on the Austrian lines that the latter were broken and turned into a rout. The result of the victory was to place all of Lower Silesia in the hands of Frederick.

For the moment it appeared that all Europe was combined against Maria Theresa. France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony took the field. A French army crossed the Rhine, united with the Bavarians, penetrated as far as Linz, on the Danube, and there proclaimed Charles Albert king of Austria. Maria Theresa and her court escaped from Vienna and fled to Presburg, where the nobles of Hungary had already convened to reclaim from the Empire the rights of which they had been deprived by Leopold I. The queen was constrained, partly by the emergency and partly by her half-liberal disposition, to concede to them most of the things demanded. This being done, she was crowned with the crown of

St. Stephen, after which she mounted a steed and galloped up the King's Hill, waving her sword to the four quarters of the earth after the manner of the Hungarian kings on such occasions, and manifesting such Imperial grace and enthusiasm as to fire the spirits of the nobles with loyalty and delight. She afterwards clad herself in the national costume of the Hungarians, took her infant son Joseph in her arms, went before the Diet, and delivered before them an eloquent and forcible address in Latin. She depicted the dangers with which she was beset, the wrongs committed by her enemies, the manifest purpose of the powers to deprive her of the crown, and then appealed to their sympathies and patriotism for protection. Then it was that the swords of the enthusiastic nobles flashed in the air and the resounding cry of "*Moriamur pro rege nostro*" was heard on every hand. Hungary arose like a giant for the defense of her who had so inflamed their national pride. Austria, also, touched with emulation, rallied around the queen, and the combined armies of the two kingdoms planted themselves between Vienna and the advancing French. The latter were constrained to turn aside into Bohemia, whose capital they entered and then proclaimed Charles Albert king. In February of 1742 he received the Imperial crown at Frankfort and took the title of CHARLES VII.

In the mean time Frederick had so firmly established himself in Silesia that Austria was constrained to enter into a secret treaty with him, by the terms of which the greater part of his demands were granted. In a few months, however, the king discovered that in some minor points Austria had failed to keep her compact. With this pretext he at once renewed the war, and in the spring of 1742 entered Bohemia, where, on the 17th of May, he gained a great victory in the battle of Chotusitz. At this juncture England appeared as a mediator between the combatants, and Maria Theresa was induced to make peace with Prussia by ceding to that kingdom the whole of Upper and Lower Silesia, together with the principality of Glatz. The immense territory which was thus yielded up to Frederick contained a hundred and fifty cities, five

¹ "Let us die for our sovereign."

thousand villages, and a million two hundred thousand inhabitants.

Notwithstanding this great loss of territory

the interference of England proved to be of the highest advantage to Maria Theresa, whose fortunes now rapidly revived. George II.



MARIA THERESA WITH THE INFANT JOSEPH BEFORE THE DIET OF PRESBURG.

Drawn by P. Phil pteaux.

made with her an alliance, agreeing to support her against Charles Albert of Bavaria. Holland and Hanover also took sides with Austria against France. The English king entered the field in person and gained a decisive victory over the French in the battle of DETTINGEN. Saxony entered the alliance. The Landgrave of Hesse, thinking to profit by the situation, sold one body of troops to France and another to England! Of a sudden the Austrian league became so powerful as to preponderate over the opposing alliance.

Estimating at its true value the treaty by which Silesia had been gained, and divining that Austria would adhere to that compact no longer than was demanded by her interest, Frederick withdrew from the alliance and made a treaty with Louis XV. and Charles VII. In 1744 a Prussian army, numbering eighty thousand, and commanded by the king in person, invaded Bohemia and captured Prague. The Bohemians, however, did not, like the Silesians, accept the invader as a rightful ruler. On the contrary, they rose against him on every side. The Hungarians, also, again took up arms in behalf of Austria. Charles of Lorraine, who had been facing the French in Alsace, was withdrawn to confront Frederick in Bohemia. So powerful was the array suddenly brought against him that the Prussian was obliged to retreat in midwinter, losing a large number of his soldiers and many of his cannon.

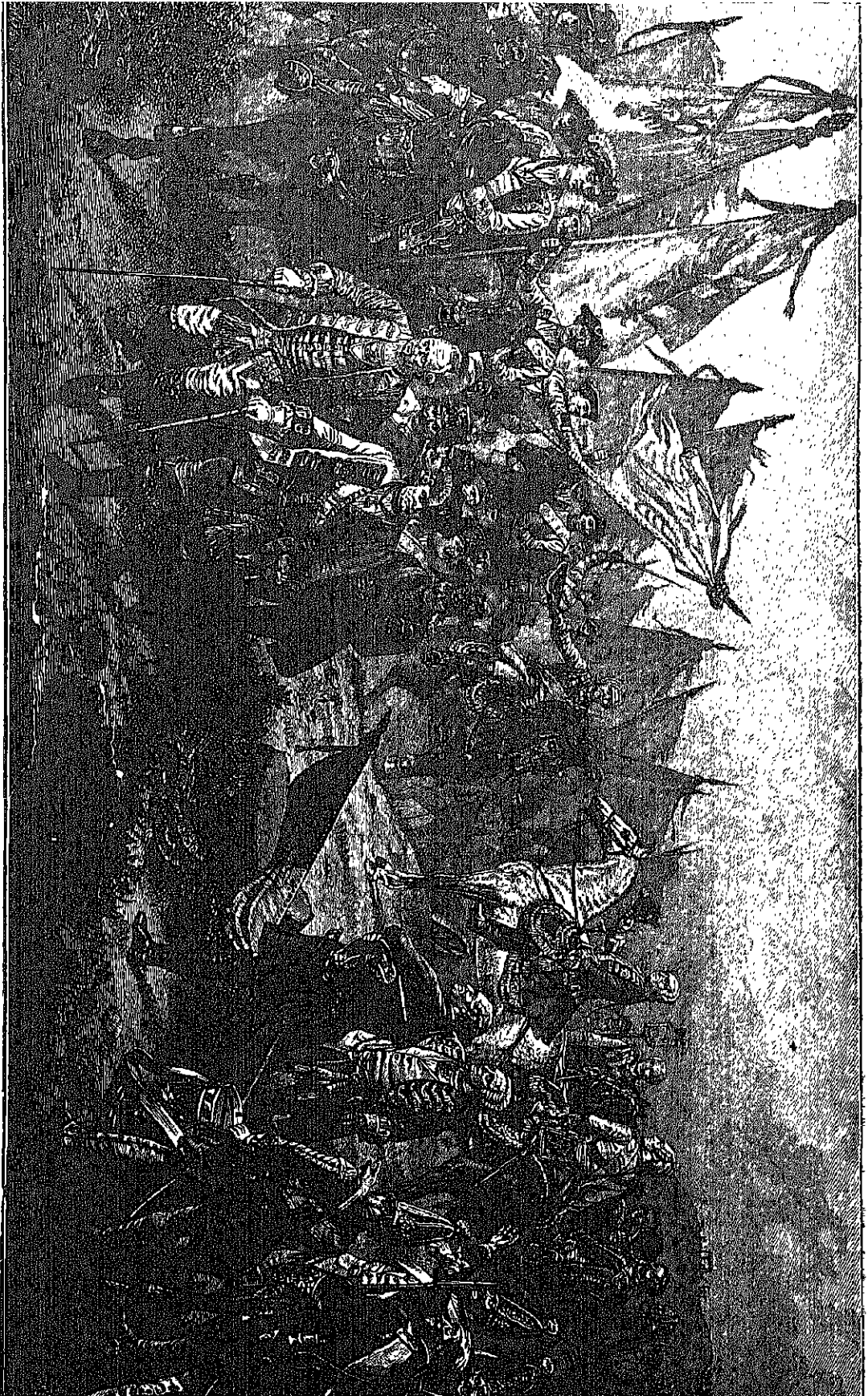
In January of 1745 an unexpected turn was given to affairs by the death of Charles VII. His unambitious son, Maximilian Joseph, at once gave up his pretensions to the Imperial crown on the simple condition that Bavaria, which had been subjugated by the Austrians, should be restored to him as sovereign. France, having no longer any Imperial candidate to support against Maria Theresa, now stood aloof from the conflict, while Frederick suddenly found himself left alone with Austria, Saxony, and Poland in actual, and England and Russia in probable, hostility against him. Never was a situation better calculated to inspire alarm. The forlorn prospects of Maria Theresa at the beginning of the conflict were not so dark as those of Frederick in the beginning of 1745.

Now it was, however, that the slumbering

genius of Frederick the Great began to shine. His figure was seen under the somber horizon, grim as a wrinkled statue of iron. His enemies made haste to crowd him to the precipice, but found that work one of the most desperate enterprises in the whole annals of war. In May of 1745 a combined army of Austrians and Saxons, numbering a hundred thousand men, poured into Silesia. Frederick, who had openly confessed that his Bohemian campaign of the preceding year had been nothing but a blunder, now appeared at his full stature. With a force greatly inferior to the enemy he marched to HOTTENFRIEDBERG, and there on the 4th of June, gave battle. In the early morning, with the Prussian cavalry he swept down like a whirlwind on the Austrians, and by nine o'clock achieved one of the great victories of the century. Sixty-six of the Austrian and Saxon standards were taken. The allied army was turned into an utter rout. Five thousand dead and wounded strewed the field, and seven thousand prisoners remained in Frederick's hand. All Europe was agitated with the news of the battle; for it was evident that the sentimental stripling of Hohenzollern, who had spent his youth in playing the flute and reading French novels, was now come as a conqueror, making the tragic stage of war tremble as he strode.

In this condition of affairs England again sought to mediate between the powers of war. Frederick readily declared that his only purpose was to gain and to keep Silesia. That he would do at every hazard. Maria Theresa fairly flamed with indignation. She chafed like an angry lioness as she strode about the palace of Vienna, and answered to England's proposal that sooner would she have her royal robes torn off, and her Imperial body exposed to the vulgar winds, than give up one foot of Silesia to the perfidious, unkingly scoundrel, Frederick. The case was made up, and further debate was useless.

In his next campaign Frederick, with a division of eighteen thousand of his men, made a dash into Bohemia, and posted himself at the village of Sorr. Here, on the 30th of September, he was attacked by an army of forty thousand Austrians. Notwithstanding the disparity in numbers, he came out of the battle victorious. Soon afterwards the news



CAPTURE OF THE AUSTRIANS BY FREDERICK'S DRAGOONS AT HOHENFELDBERG.

was brought to him that the Saxons were making ready for an invasion of Prussia. The king at once established garrisons in the passes between Bohemia and Silesia, turned about and hastened into Saxony. Leipzig was taken, and on the 15th of December a great victory was gained over the Saxons in the battle of KESSERSDORF, the Prussians being commanded by Prince Leopold. Frederick now entered Dresden, and within ten days Austria consented to make peace by confirming Silesia and Glatz to Prussia. The king, on his part, acknowledged as Emperor Francis of Lorraine, who had already received the Imperial crown at Frankfort. Prussia thus emerged from the Second Silesian War with every circumstance of honor, and Frederick, on his return to Berlin, was received with all the enthusiasm of which the German nature is capable.

In other parts of Europe the war was continued for three years longer. In Flanders Marshal Saxe led the French to many victories. Before the close of 1747 nearly all of the so-called Austrian Netherlands had been transferred to France. In Northern Italy, however, the arms of Austria were generally successful, and the authority of the Empire was restored. At this time the Empress Elizabeth of Russia was induced by Maria Theresa and her husband to enter into an alliance and to furnish an army of forty thousand men. On looking about him Louis XV. found an exhausted treasury and a discouraged people. Such were the circumstances which led to the opening of negotiations at Aix-la-Chapelle, and finally to the conclusion at that place, in October of 1748, of the treaty of peace by which the War of the Austrian Succession was ended on the terms already defined in the preceding chapter.

Thus closed the first great struggle in which the strength of Prussia and the valor of her king were fully displayed. Frederick now threw his whole energies into the work of healing the wounds and bruises of his people. Never was a more vigorous and salutary activity displayed by the ruler of a state. He toiled incessantly at his official duties, giving himself barely time to sleep and eat until the work of restoration should be accomplished. He required that all the affairs of state, pro-

posed modifications in the methods of government, and infractions of the laws should be submitted to himself for approval or rejection. In all things he was absolute, assuming the responsibility for the measures which he proposed, and accepting with equanimity the blame of miscarriage and failure.

In his personal habits the king was studious and industrious to the last degree. He rose before daybreak, and went at once to his tasks. Every petition and complaint he read carefully, and sat brooding for hours over the tedious and troublesome complications which were referred to him for solution. The papers which he passed upon are still in existence, with his own indorsements of approval or disapproval; and nowhere does the character of Frederick more clearly appear than in these notes upon the backs of documents which came before him. A certain merchant named Simon of Stettin petitioned to be allowed to invest forty thousand thalers in a piece of real estate. The king's indorsement ran thus: "Forty thousand thalers invested in commerce will yield eight per cent, in landed property only four per cent; so this man does not understand his own business!" So, when the city of Frankfort-on-Order remonstrated against the quartering of troops upon her citizens, Frederick wrote upon the document: "Why, it can not be otherwise. Do they think I can put the regiment into my pocket? But the barracks shall be rebuilt." In like manner, on the petition of the Chamberlain, Baron Müller, who prayed for leave of absence to visit the baths at Aix-la-Chapelle, this indorsement was entered: "What would he do there? He would gamble away the little money he has left, and come back like a beggar." In this intensely practical and peculiarly German method of governing one may well discover the natural result of the style adopted by old Frederick Barbarossa, who, on his way to the Crusades, was wont to hang up his shield by his tent-door with this proclamation: "Ho, every one who has suffered injustice! Come hither and you shall find a king who will avenge you on the wrong-doer."

In matters of religion Frederick adopted the maxims of freedom and toleration. He declared his purpose in these words: "I mean that every man in my kingdom shall have the



FREDERICK THE GREAT AT THE COFFIN OF THE GREAT ELECTOR.

After the Painting by A. Montzel.

right to be saved in his own way." And he kept his word against every influence which bigots and simpletons could bring forward to induce him to change. He aimed at being in all respects the exemplar of his people. He reduced the expenses of his court to a minimum, and saved the rest to pay off the debt of the state. It is said that during the seven years of peace which followed the treaty of 1748 the king's expenditure in the administration of the state did not exceed a hundred thousand dollars a year—this, too, when every petty prince around him, with not a tenth part of his vast responsibilities, was squandering many times that sum in the maintenance of a court after the manner of great kings.

A volume might well be filled with stories and reminiscences of the manners and methods of Frederick's government. For an hour or two each evening, after his day's work was done, he was accustomed to walk abroad among the people, conversing with them familiarly and ordering their affairs after the manner of a father. He gave public superintendence to the works of the city, and, indeed, of the whole kingdom. In one or two matters, however, his conduct was subject to severe criticism. In general he was indifferent to the education of the masses; nor did he give to science that encouragement which might have been expected of one of his temper and attainments. Instead of patronizing the Academy of Berlin, he neglected that institution, giving his favor to another, in which the French language and philosophy had been substituted for those of Germany. The king even issued an interdict forbidding the students of Prussia to attend foreign universities.

But in the midst of this general disfavor of learning, Frederick was ever zealous in promoting the industrial interests of the kingdom. Agriculture was the favored pursuit. He bent his whole energies to the reclaiming of the marsh-lands in which Prussia abounded and the conversion of the same into farms. Due regard was had for the internal improvements of the state. Canals and roads were constructed; bridges built; public buildings erected; and commercial facilities in every way improved.

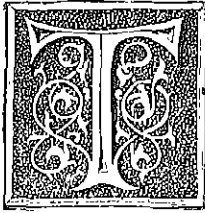
All through life Frederick continued to cherish the example and fame of his grand-

father, the Great Elector. It is evident that the work of that distinguished personage made an early and lasting impression on the mind of his erratic grandson. Frederick never tired of praising the deeds and heroism of Frederick William. He made him in many things his example in both peace and war, and omitted no mark of respect and esteem which he could render to the Great Elector's memory.¹

The people could but see and appreciate the many advantages diffused by the king in his personal and administrative capacity. As a matter of fact, they could very well afford to bear the heavy taxes which Frederick imposed upon them, as the same were a necessary part of his system of government. First of all, it was a clear necessity that the Prussian army should, in the existing condition of Europe, be kept at a maximum of strength and efficiency. Frederick was astute enough to perceive that the lull which followed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would soon be broken, and that he must be prepared at a moment's warning to face the most powerful combination which the neighboring powers could bring against him. To meet the expected emergency he was constantly on the alert. Nor was it long until the peace of Europe was broken in a way to test to the utmost the endurance and heroism of Prussia and her king. The many enemies whom Frederick's words and deeds and purposes had raised in the neighboring kingdoms were still alive, and but awaited the opportunity and pretext of again renewing the contest by which they hoped to humble, if not to ruin, the House of Hohenzollern.

¹ It happened that in January of 1750, when a new cathedral was finished in Berlin, the ancestral bones of the Hohenzollerns had to be moved from the vaults of the old edifice to the crypt of the new. Frederick took great interest in the occasion, and gave personal supervision to the transfer. When the workmen came to the sarcophagus of the Great Elector, the king ordered them to open the casket, that he might gaze on the illustrious dead. He looked long and intently upon his great-grandfather's face. He seized the crumbling hands in his own, and turning with a look of inspiration to his companions, said in French: *Ah, Messieurs, celui-ci a fait de grandes choses*—"Ah, gentlemen, this is the one who did the great works."

CHAPTER CXV.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.



THE great conflict, upon the history of which we are now to enter, originated in disputes and quarrels between the colonies of France and England in the New World.

Hostilities began in America and there continued for two years, attended with much animosity and bloodshed, before war was declared in Europe. A chronological order would require that an account be first given of the outbreak between the French and English colonists on this side of the Atlantic; but the unity of the narrative will be best preserved by recounting first the course of the war in Europe and afterwards the American phase of the conflict.

Deep-seated and lasting was the hatred of Maria Theresa and her minister, Baron Kaunitz, for Frederick II. Her anger had in it the indignation of the Empress and the pique of the woman. Her methods were drawn from both the fountains of her hostility. So, when the news was borne to Europe that the colonies of France and England had gone to war in America; when it was known that George II. would back his American frontiersmen, and Louis XV. his; when Hanover, at that time an appanage of the crown of England and drawn along with that country into the war with France, appealed to Austria for an alliance; and when the Empress and her minister came to weigh the advantages and the disadvantages of such a league—Maria Theresa, having ever in her memory the loss of Silesia, and ever before her mind's eye the ungallant apparition of him by whom she had been despoiled, conceived that her real interest would be better subserved by a French al-

liance than by a union with England. She accordingly rejected the proposal of Hanover, wrote a flattering epistle to Madame de Pompadour, at that time all-powerful at the court of France, and solicited the influence of that lady in securing a Franco-Austrian league against England. All the while her covert purpose was to gain the aid of France, when the opportunity should arrive, for re-



MARQUISE POMPADOUR.

After the painting by M. Q. de la Tour.

newing the war with Prussia. Another woman now appeared on the scene—Elizabeth of Russia. She, too, was mortally offended at Frederick on account of certain disparaging comments which he had offered respecting her person and character. Here, then,

was a complication indeed. Frederick had stigmatized Pompadour's influence at the French court as *la dynastie des cotillons*.¹ He had robbed Maria Theresa of a great province—a very real and tangible offense. He had said of Elizabeth, daughter of the Great

As to the Czarina, she hesitated not at all to accept the proposals of Maria Theresa; but Pompadour could not at first succeed in bringing Louis to her wishes. At length, however, the Austrian Empress offered him as the price of his support that portion of the Netherlands

which had belonged to the Empire. This bait was sufficient. The negotiations at Vienna, Paris, and St. Petersburg were quietly completed, and every thing was arranged to begin the war on Prussia in the spring of 1757.

It was one of the tacit maxims of Frederick the Great not to be caught asleep. He was the catcher of slumberers rather than the caught. One of his rules was to keep himself informed of all that happened in the courts and councils of neighboring rulers. In St. Petersburg he had at this time as his agent no less a personage than the Crown Prince Peter himself, who had conceived for Frederick an ardent friendship, and was willing to serve him against the machinations of the Czarina.

Having thus thoroughly acquainted himself with the designs of his enemies, and perceiving his inability to break up their coalition by any diplomatic measures which he might propose, he resolved—indeed, could but resolve—to take the alternative of war, even if all Europe should combine against him. For



ELIZABETH I. OF RUSSIA.

Peter, that "she was too fat and orthodox," and that "she did not have an ounce of nun in her composition." True, these strictures had been offered twenty years ago, but the time had arrived when the sarcasm should cost him dearly—him and his subjects also.

¹That is, the "Petticoat Dynasty."

a moment he scanned the horizon to see if any friendly power might be discovered, and in the search his eye naturally rested on England. Since she was already at war with France, and since Frederick was about to draw the sword against the same power, it was almost inevitable that an Anglo-Prussian alliance should be formed. Frederick's overtures were accepted by Parliament, and in January of 1756 a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the two kingdoms. The little principalities of Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and Saxe-Gotha were drawn by their affiliation with Hanover into the same compact. But all of the assistance and promise of assistance which Frederick thus obtained abroad was as nothing in comparison with the powerful array which human passion and the statecraft of Europe had brought against him.

As soon as the king had thoroughly informed himself of the plans of Austria, France, and Russia, he adopted his usual policy of anticipating the movements of his enemies. Having carefully organized his forces and set his house in order, he began THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR by entering Saxony. In the beginning of September, 1756, he took Dresden, and soon afterwards laid siege to a Saxon army of seventeen thousand men in a fortified camp on the Elbe. One division of the Prussians was at the same time sent forward to occupy Bohemia.

Maria Theresa now quickly collected her forces to the number of seventy thousand, and sent them to confront Frederick in the field. The latter was in no wise disposed to decline the challenge to battle. Within less than a month after his entrance into Dresden he met the Austrians on the field of LOBOSITZ. He was able to bring into the fight only twenty thousand men, being less than one-third of the force of the enemy. But the battle resulted in a complete victory. Frederick had good reason to boast, in a letter to General Schwerin, of the splendid valor and discipline of his Prussians, by whose invincible heroism he had triumphed over such fearful odds.

The effect of the battle of Lobositz was to give Frederick a breathing-time during the winter of 1756-57. Never did a ruler and his

people more need a respite. It was evident that the allies were merely stunned by the blow which they had received, and that on recovering from the initial shock of the conflict they would renew the fight with all their banded powers. It showed some discernment on their part that they used the interval to secure additional alliances. Sweden was persuaded to become a member of the league, and the Imperial Diet was evoked from the shadows to declare war against Prussia.

By the opening of spring, 1757, it was estimated that the armies ready to take the field against Frederick numbered four hun-



COUNT SCHWERIN.

dred and thirty thousand men. To oppose this tremendous force the king could succeed in raising an army of not quite two hundred thousand. The English Parliament sent him the Duke of Cumberland and voted him a subsidy; but the latter was small, and the former would better have been kept at home.

In beginning the campaign, Frederick at the head of one division pressed forward through Bohemia, and on the 6th of May met the Austrians before the walls of Prague. Here, after a hard-fought battle he won the second victory of the war; but the triumph was purchased with the lives of thousands, among whom was the veteran General

Schwerin, an irreparable loss to Frederick and the Prussian people.¹

Following up his success, Frederick immediately laid siege to Prague, which in the course of five weeks he reduced to the point of capitulation. But before this result could be reached the king received information that Marshal Daun was coming with another Austrian army of fifty-four thousand men to rescue the city. It was at this point that Fred-

Daun, and on the 18th of June, met him at KOLLIN, on the Elbe. The Prussians were about thirty-one thousand strong; the Austrians nearly twice that number. In conjunction with General Zieten who, after Schwerin's death, became Frederick's chief reliance, the king formed a careful plan of battle, and then—lost his wits.¹ In beginning the fight he threw away his plan and adopted another. Then, when this change, the merit of which

consisted in its caprice, began to portend defeat, Frederick strove by personal exposure and unwonted audacity to retrieve his error. He led his soldiers in the very face of the Austrian batteries, and beat against them until he had lost fourteen thousand men. Maria Theresa might have looked with complacency on the scene.

But it was also in the genius of Frederick to recover from madness. On the evening after the battle he was found sitting alone, drawing figures with his cane in the sand. It was a new battle-plan. He wept bitterly on being told that his best guardsmen had been slain. Then he sat a long time silent, and then



DEATH OF SCHWERIN.

erick's genius for striking a superior enemy in detail began to be conspicuous. Hastily raising the siege of Prague, he set out to confront

¹ With good reason was the king greatly grieved on account of Schwerin's death. Frederick withal was not incapable of sincere and lasting friendships. He was especially attached to his generals, and among these Schwerin and Father Seidlitz were his favorites. After the death of the former the king omitted no mark of respect which might be rendered to his memory. The body of the great general was laid in state, and Frederick, in profound grief paid in person the last honors

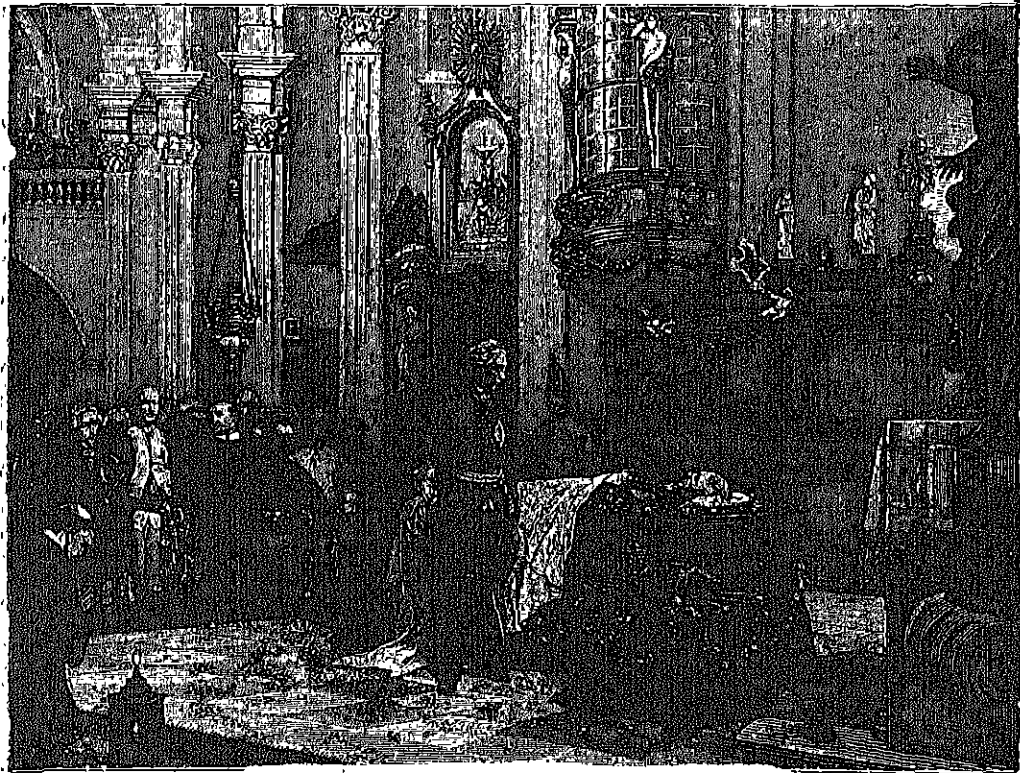
said: "It is a day of sorrow for us, my children; but have patience, and all will yet be well." The flute-player of Potsdam was ready to renew the strife.

which might be given to him who had been his right arm in battle.

¹ It was one of the peculiarities of Frederick the Great that occasionally—even in a crisis—he would lose all sense of the thing to be done, and beat about him like a madman. In this respect he was unlike Napoleon, whom no excitement, disaster, or very excess of ruin could for a moment disturb or bewilder.

The king clearly perceived that he must now give up his campaign in Bohemia, and limit his present exertions to the defense of Prussia. On falling back into his own kingdom, he was met with the disheartening intelligence that the other division of his army, under General Lehwald, whom on his own departure into Bohemia he had sent forward to hold in check the Russians and the Swedes, had also been defeated; and to this was added another grief, in this, that the Duke of Cumberland, to whom the defense of Hanover had

Germans—the latter gathered for the most part from the provinces along the Rhine—was now advancing under Marshal Soubise, and was ready to break the Prussian borders on the west. The force was splendidly equipped, full of confidence, ably commanded, and numbered sixty thousand men. It was the boast of Soubise that he would soon take up his winter quarters in Berlin; nor did it well appear how any force which Frederick was able to muster would be able to prevent such a catastrophe. After the utmost exertion the



FREDERICK THE GREAT AT THE COFFIN OF SCHWERIN.

been assigned, had utterly failed in his part of the work, and had given up that electorate to the French.

A slight compensation for these multiplied disasters was found in the facts that the Russians, after their victory over Lehwald, had retreated instead of pressing forward into Prussia, and that the Prussians, rallying from their discomfiture, had inflicted a defeat on the Swedes.

The exigency which demanded Frederick's presence in his own kingdom was indeed most urgent. For a combined army of French and

king was able to rally only twenty-two thousand men; and when the French learned that this was the army with which they had to contend, they laughed the matter to scorn and made a mock of Frederick's preparations. It would have been better for them, however, to restrain their mirth until, according to their programme, they had comfortably established themselves in the Prussian capital. It was not the habit of Frederick to permit a foreign army to celebrate a fête in his dominions. For a while he maneuvered in order to gain some possible advantage of position, and

inally posted himself at the village of ROSS-BACH, near Naumburg. Here, on the 5th of November, 1757, the French army came in sight.

Scanning the Prussian camp, Marshal Sou-

infantry, striking his tents as if to begin a retreat, took position behind a range of low hills, and awaited the onset of the enemy. The French, believing that Frederick had not dared to give battle, pressed forward to the



FREDERICK THE GREAT ON THE NIGHT AFTER KOLLIN.

After the painting by J. Schröder.

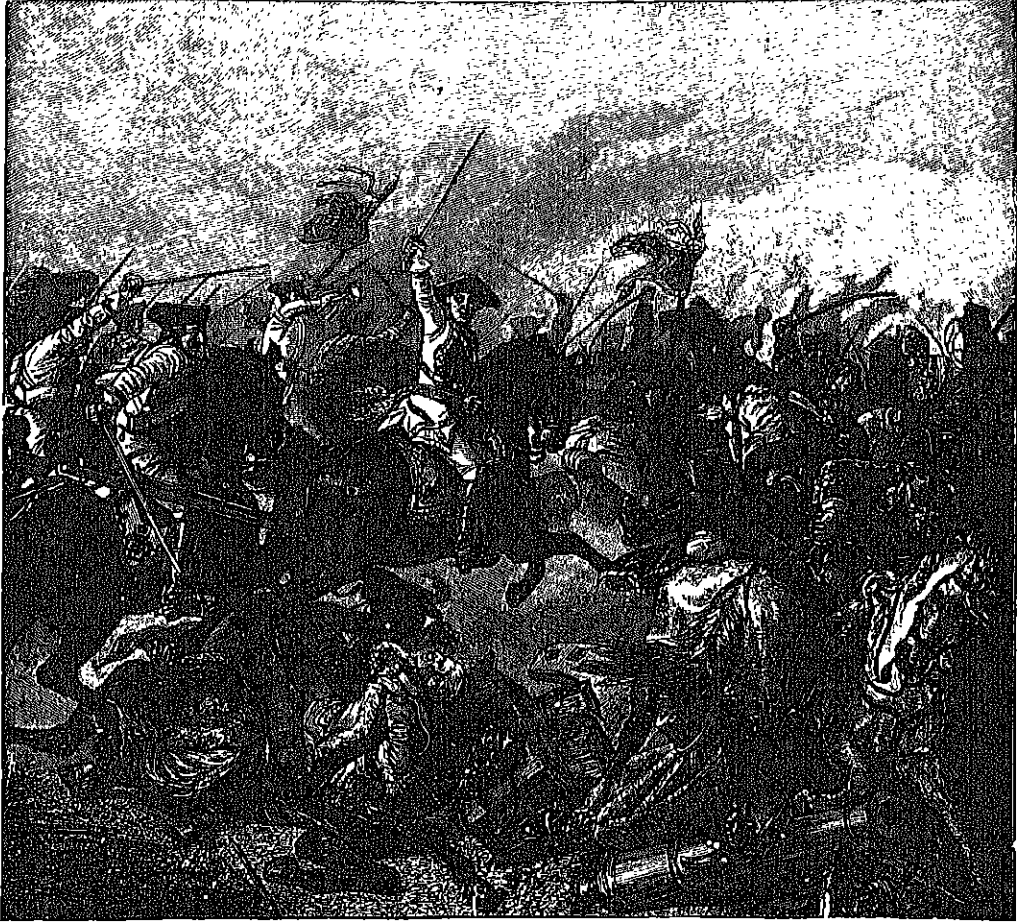
nise declared to his officers that the routing of such a force would be but a breakfast-spell. The command of the Prussian cavalry, eight thousand strong, was given to General Seidlitz, with orders to charge the enemy; while Frederick, with his fourteen thousand

sound of martial music, imagining themselves already victorious over a flying foe. Presently a solid phalanx of eight thousand Prussian horsemen, with Seidlitz at the head of the column, sprang into the very faces of the oncoming legions. At the same moment

Frederick's infantry rose from behind the hills, seized the crests, opened the batteries, and began to pour their horizontal hail of death into the astonished ranks of the French. There was a sudden halt of the advancing host; then a shudder along the lines; then a recoil; then rout and ruin. For the army of Frederick in perfect order sprang forward upon the heavy masses of the enemy, and

more complete and overwhelming. So shattered was the French army that no halt was made by the disorganized masses until they reached the Rhine. Even then there was no thought of attempting to recover by a second invasion the prestige which they had lost on the field of Rossbach.

Frederick made good use of the opportunity thus gained in the West to turn



SEIDLITZ AT THE BATTLE OF ROSSBACH.

turned defeat into a panic. The French fled from the field in wild dismay, leaving every thing behind them. Nine generals, three hundred and twenty subordinate officers, and seven thousand of the rank and file were taken prisoners. All of the artillery and most of the small arms and army stores were captured. And this astonishing result was achieved with a loss to the Prussians of only ninety-one killed and two hundred and seventy-four wounded. Never was a victory

again into Silesia. During his absence from that country the territory had been, and was now, held by a large army under command of Charles of Lorraine. By him the Prussians to whom Frederick had intrusted the defense of the province had been driven back and forced across the border. By rapid advances the king succeeded in three weeks in joining his own forces, fresh from victory at Rossbach, with those of his general, fresh from defeat before Breslau. He was thus en-

abled to muster a combined army of thirty two thousand men.

In the mean, however, time, Marshal Daun had united his division of Austrians with that of Charles of Lorraine, by which the allied forces were augmented to fully eighty thousand. In the face of such disparity, it seemed little less than the extreme of foolhardiness for Frederick to hazard a battle. But the general conditions were such that nothing remained for him but to fight and

Breslau, that the two armies met and deployed for battle. Before beginning the engagement Frederick called his officers around him and said: "Against all the rules of military science I am going to engage an army nearly three times greater than my own. We must beat the enemy or all together make for ourselves graves before his batteries. This I mean and thus will I act; remember that you are Prussians. If one among you fears to share the last danger with me, he may resign



GENERAL HANS JOACHIM VON ZIETEN.

fight, as long as he could muster a regiment. He fully realized, however, the gravity of the situation. He perceived that the enemy was learning wisdom by defeat. Besides, of all his antagonists in the field, he had most cause to be apprehensive of Marshal Daun, whose courage and skill as a commander were of the highest order. Him, with his disciplined host of four score thousand men, the king had now to face and vanquish, or else himself be trampled down by the Austrian legions.

It was on the 5th of December, 1757, at the little village of Leuthen, ten miles from

now without hearing a word of reproof from me." But no one stirred except to hurrah for the king. All had set their fate on the cast of the die.

Frederick well knew the peril. Calling General Zieten aside, he said to him: "I am going to expose myself more than usual to-day. Should I fall cover my body with your cloak, and say nothing to any one. The fight must go on, and the enemy must be beaten." As for the soldiers, they caught the fire of battle. They shouted "Rossbach!" and then, recalling the date of that victory, they cried,

"It is the 5th again!" and so began the conflict.

The king adopted the same plan as at Rossbach. Placing his infantry behind some hills, he lay concealed until the Austrians were close upon him. Then he rose against them with such fury that their left wing was driven back. On his own left Zieten, with the cavalry, was also successful in throwing

ceiving that victory had flown to the Prussian standard, broke into confusion, and fled from the field, leaving twenty thousand of their number in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Prussian loss was nearly five thousand, showing Frederick that he might not hope to purchase any more victories on such terms as he had obtained the almost bloodless triumph of Rossbach.



FREDERICK IN THE BATTLE OF LEUTHEN.

the enemy into disorder by the impetuosity of his charge. Nevertheless, the veteran Daun held the field with great tenacity, and several hours of desperate fighting were required before Frederick could break his adversary's lines. But the Austrians could never recover from the shock of the first onset, or regain the ground which they had lost by the initial charge of the Prussians. It became evident to Daun that the struggle was hopeless. His officers and men, also, per-

The distress after the battle of Leuthen was very great. The weather was bitterly cold, and the wounded and dying lay on the field moaning in anguish. It is narrated that the cries of suffering were drowned by a hymn which the Prussian soldiers took up and sang during a good part of the night. The overthrow of the Austrians was sufficiently decisive, and they were unable to renew the conflict until the opening of spring. The year 1757 thus closed with increased honor and

renown to the Prussian arms. In a few days after the battle Frederick entered Breslau in triumph, making prisoners of the seventeen thousand men who composed the garrison. In all Silesia there now remained only the fortress of Schweidnitz in the hands of the enemy.

Great was the chagrin of the Austrian court. Maria Theresa was angered, mortified, enraged. She at once began to make preparations to renew the conflict on a grander scale than ever. She also made passionate appeals to Russia and France to rally with all their power and crush the audacious parvenu who was marring the time-honored map of Europe with his sword. It could but be evident that the war was only begun, and Frederick knew well that many another bloody field lay between him and an honorable peace.

By this time the attention of all the powers of Europe was fixed upon the struggle which was raging around Prussia. The heroism and ability which Frederick had shown, and the magnificent fighting of his Prussians, began to draw to him the interest and sympathy of foreign states. Especially in England did he become a popular hero. Parliament, always in some measure swayed by the national sentiment, voted him an annual subsidy of four millions of thalers. An act was also passed empowering him to appoint a commander of his own choice for the continental forces of England. He accordingly selected as general of the Hanoverians the skillful and soldierly Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, who, during the campaign of 1758, materially aided the king in expelling the French from Northern Germany.

With the first opening of spring Frederick again took the field. He began the work of the year by besieging and capturing the fortress of Schweidnitz—this, too, before the Austrians were well aware of his movements. This success again placed the whole of Silesia in his power. He next made an unwise advance into Moravia, where he laid siege to Olmütz. By this movement he exposed his line of communications. Perceiving the error, the Austrian general, Laudon, threw himself between Frederick and his base of supplies, compelling him to fall back into Silesia, and

to take a defensive position in a camp at Landshut.

In the meantime the Russians at last appeared upon the scene. They invaded Pomerania in great force, swept every thing before them, devastated the country, and came near the Oder. On learning the movements of his new enemy, Frederick left a division of his forces under Marshal Keith in the camp at Landshut, and with the remainder, mostly new recruits and numbering thirty-two thousand, set out to check the progress of the Russians. On the 25th of August, 1758, he met the enemy at the village of ZORNDORF, in Pomerania. The battle lasted all day and until far into the night, being one of the fiercest in which Frederick had ever yet engaged. On the Prussian side the honors belonged rather to General Seidlitz than to the king, who did not appear to his best advantage. Several times when the Prussian lines were wavering or broken Seidlitz succeeded in restoring order and renewing the onset. In the very crisis of the fight, late in the evening, he found himself in a condition where he must violate the king's command in order to succeed. He did so without hesitation. "Say to Seidlitz that he shall answer for his disobedience with his head," cried the furious Frederick. "Tell the king," said the old general in reply, "that he can have my head when the battle is over, but until then I must use it in his service." The movement of Seidlitz proved completely successful. The Russians everywhere broke into disorder and fled from the field, leaving twenty thousand dead. When the battle was fairly won, Frederick hurried to his disobedient general, threw his arms around him, and exclaimed: "Seidlitz, I owe the victory to you!"

Thus had the French at Rossbach, the Austrians at Leuthen, and the Russians at Zorndorf gone down successively before the Prussians and the sword of Hohenzollern. The resources of Austria, however, were ample, and Maria Theresa still believed in her ability to bring Frederick II. to his knees. She still, with good reason, confided in Marshal Daun, and him she now sent into Saxony to operate against Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, to whom the maintenance of Prussian supremacy in that country had been intrusted.

The prince was presently besieged by Daun in a fortified camp which the former had established, and a hurried appeal was sent to the king to come to his brother's rescue. Frederick at once set out on this mission, and advanced as far as HOCHKIRCH, where, on the 13th of October, he pitched his camp for the night. It appears that he had become overconfident and careless. But for the fact that General Zieten was on the alert it is probable that Frederick's army would have been utterly ruined. As it was, the disaster was enough.

For the veteran Daun, learning of the approach of his adversary, adopted Frederick's own policy by quitting the siege in which he was engaged and going forth to meet the king before the latter could join his brother. So, while Frederick and his soldiers—all except Zieten and his vigilant hussars—went quietly to sleep in their camp at Hochkirch, Daun stole upon them with the whole Austrian army, fired the village, and burst in tremendous force into the Prussian camp. Zieten interposed and fought with desperate valor while the king and his army sprang to arms. But no kind of courage and discipline could withstand such a shock. The Prussian batteries were taken. Marshal Keith and Francis of Brunswick were killed. Maurice of Dessau was borne to the rear severely wounded. All night long and until nine o'clock on the following morning the Prussians fought for their camp, and were then obliged to retreat. It was the first time in nearly three years of war that the Austrians had seen their enemies' backs in battle. Frederick was humiliated by the loss of all his artillery, tents, and equipage. The campaign of 1758 which had begun so gloriously after Leuthen closed most gloomily for the Prussian cause after the disaster of Hochkirch.

Such was the condition of affairs with the opening of the following year that Frederick might well have despaired and given up the contest. But the fate of his country was involved in the struggle. He knew well that if he yielded the rising nationality of Prussia would be extinguished. He understood thoroughly the purpose of Austria, Russia, and France to divide his dominions among them. There was for him no middle ground. He must conquer or perish. But how could he

conquer? His army was wasted even by his victories. The loss of a thousand men had been to him as fatal as the slaughter of ten thousand of his foes had been to them. His best regiments were decimated. The French had rallied, defeated the Duke of Brunswick, and recovered Hanover. Austria and Russia were able to make levies of hundreds of thousands, and still not feel the drain. In his distress Frederick attempted negotiations; but his overtures were met with scorn. He must renew the struggle and fight to the last.

In beginning the dolorous work of 1759, the king found it necessary to divide his reduced army in order to confront both Russians and Austrians, and, if possible, to prevent their union. For it had been arranged between Marshal Daun and the Russian general, Fermor, to join their forces in Silesia for the invasion of Prussia. Frederick accordingly gave the command of one division to General Wedell, with orders to hold the Russians back, while he himself, with the other division, marched against Daun. But Wedell was defeated, and the Russian and Austrian armies united against Frederick. The combined forces of the enemy, numbering fully seventy-five thousand, planted themselves at KUNERSDORF, opposite to the city of Frankfort-on-Oder. By extraordinary exertions Frederick was able to collect an army of forty-eight thousand; but few of these were veterans, and most had never witnessed even a skirmish. But this force, such as it was, was all that the king could plant between the opposing host and what seemed to be the inevitable ruin of Prussia.

It was the 12th of August, 1759, when Frederick staked his fate on the issue of another struggle. He had just been revived by the good news that the Duke of Brunswick had won a victory over the French at Minden. The battle was begun with a furious attack made by Frederick on the Russian left, which, after an engagement of six hours' duration, gave way before the Prussian infantry. The enemy's right wing, however, was held by Marshal Daun with the Austrians, whose position had been chosen with great care, and was believed by Seidlitz, who commanded the Prussian cavalry on the left, to be impregnable. But the king, with his wonted head-

strong zeal, was determined that the impossible should be done. He twice ordered Seidlitz to make the charge, and that veteran twice refused to obey. At last he went to the onset and to—destruction. The Austrian position could not be carried. Seidlitz fell terribly wounded, and his regiments of cavalry were torn to pieces. Frederick came to the rescue and charged the enemy's batteries with the fury of a madman. Time and again he flung himself and his heroic Prussians upon the immovable lines of Daun, until twenty thousand of his soldiers were stretched on the field. The counter-charge of the Austrians swept



MARSHAL DAUN.

away the remnant of resistance, and Frederick's bugles, on the retreat, could scarcely call together three thousand men of all who remained alive.

At no time in his career was the courage of the king more nearly broken than after Kunersdorf. For a while he was in a condition bordering on despair. He knew full well his inability to prevent the victorious enemy from pouring into Prussia, capturing Berlin, dividing the kingdom, and settling the conditions of peace without reference to himself. He knew, too, that all appeals would be in vain. He was at the mercy of Maria Theresa, Elizabeth, and Pompadour. At length, however, he was touched with a

new spark of life; for the news came that Marshal Daun and General Soltikoff, who had succeeded Fermor in command of the Russians, had quarreled. Blessed quarrel for Prussia! Daun insisted that the victorious army should at once press forward to Berlin and end the business. But Soltikoff would retire into Silesia, rest and recruit his army, and finish the work next year. Such has always been the difference between genius and incompetency! Daun could not constrain his ally; the latter took his own course, and the Austrian turned into Saxony.

But this circumstance merely palliated for a brief season the hard fate of Prussia. Daun marched straight to Dresden, took the city, and made prisoners of the twelve thousand men who constituted the garrison. The narrowing and darkened horizon of December closed around the landscape, and it was hard for the most hopeful to discover a single star in the sullen sky that was stretched over Frederick and his kingdom.

The winter of 1759-60 was spent by all parties in preparations for a renewal of the conflict. In his distress Frederick called aloud to Spain; but she heeded not. Then he appealed to the Turks; but all in vain. He learned the hard lesson that a king shaken over the precipice finds it more difficult to make alliances than when his foot is planted on the necks of his enemies. Nothing was left for him but to drain exhausted Prussia of her last man and her last dollar, and again face the foe. This he did, and by incredible exertions during the winter months succeeded in raising a new army of ninety thousand men. The Hanoverians, also, were rallied to the number of about seventy-five thousand under the Duke of Brunswick. But though the forces thus recruited by Frederick and his ally for the work of 1760 were by no means to be despised, yet they were but as a handful in comparison with the tremendous armies sent forth by the enemies of Prussia. At the beginning of the year the combined forces of Austria, the Empire, Russia, Sweden, and France numbered three hundred and ninety-five thousand. The Russians, now satisfied with their winter's rest, agreed to Daun's plan of the campaign, which was the same as before, namely a combined advance of the two

armies on Berlin. Frederick again undertook to prevent the junction of his enemies. He sent forward his brother and General Fouqué into Silesia, intending to follow as soon as he should have taken Dresden. He began a bombardment of that city, now held by Marshal Daun, and pressed the siege with great vigor until the news came that Fouqué had been defeated and taken with seven thousand men in an engagement near Landshut.

Exasperated at this intelligence, the king at once raised the siege and marched towards Silesia, closely followed by Daun. By this time the Austrians under Marshal Laudon had overrun all Silesia except Breslau, which still held out for Frederick. Laudon and Daun effected a junction in spite of the efforts of the king, and thus swelled their forces to ninety-five thousand. Frederick's army numbered but thirty-five thousand; but he hesitated not to give battle. The opposing hosts met at LIEGNITZ on the 15th of September. Frederick displayed all of his usual valor, and more than his usual discretion. After a terrible conflict, and notwithstanding the fearful odds against him, he won a complete victory. The shattered hosts of Austria were driven out of Silesia and the disputed province again held by the Prussians. Frederick had succeeded to this extent that he had compelled the Austrians to fight him before the arrival of the Russians. The latter, on hearing of Daun's defeat, fell back, and for the time acted on the defensive.

It was the peculiarity of these tremendous struggles of the Seven Years' War that Frederick's victories never gained him more than a temporary respite from the conflict. After each success, aye, and after each defeat as well, he had to make immediate preparations to fight again. So it was after the battle of Liegnitz. The Austrians and Russians soon united their forces, and while Frederick was engaged in restoring order in Silesia and in putting the contested country in a condition of defense against the next invasion, the combined armies succeeded in passing him and made all haste for Berlin. The Saxons came in from Lusatia and joined the avalanche. On the 9th of October the Prussian capital was taken. The royal palace at Charlottenburg was plundered, and a contribution

of a million seven hundred thousand thalers levied on the city. For four days the victorious Austrian and Russian walked hand in hand about the high places of Berlin.

But their triumph was short-lived. Frederick, leaving Silesia, came with all speed to expel the enemy from his capital. So wholesome was the dread of his coming that the invaders hastily left the city, and the king found opportunity to complete his Silesian campaign. Returning to the field which he had lately left he encountered the Austrian army, under Daun, on the 3d of November, at TORGAU. Here was fought one of the fiercest and bloodiest battles of the century. The Prussians were led by General Zieten and by the king in person. The latter charged the Austrian lines in front and fought with an audacity rarely equaled, never surpassed. Before making the onset he ordered Zieten to charge the enemy's flank. The latter movement was somewhat delayed, and the impatient Frederick, *thinking* that he saw his general's signal to begin, made the charge before Zieten was in position. For the greater part of the day and until nightfall he beat against the Austrian front, tearing at the almost immovable lines like mad until ten thousand of his soldiers were stretched upon the field. After darkness had settled over the scene he went into the village church, where he remained until morning, drawing new battle-plans and preparing for the final struggle; but just at daybreak old Zieten dashed up and announced that he had crushed the Austrian flank and that the enemy was in full retreat. Then turning to the soldiers the veteran exclaimed with more devotion than truth, "Boys, hurrah for our king! He has won another victory!" The soldiers, knowing well how it had fared with them, but true to the occasion, responded: "Hurrah for our King Fritz! and hurrah for Father Zieten!" Frederick indeed had the field, but it had cost him thirteen thousand men against a loss of twenty thousand on the side of the enemy.

On the whole, Frederick had more than held his own during the year 1760. Prussia, however, had sustained enormous losses, and was again panting from exhaustion. Her armies had been almost destroyed; her resources were well-nigh gone; the Austrians

held the two important points of Dresden and Glatz; the king could make no alliances, even with the Turks or Cossacks. Another discouragement arose in this: George II. of England died in October of this year, and the accession of his grandson, George III., was attended with a change of ministry unfriendly to the cause of Prussia. The majority in Parliament cut off the annual subsidy which for three years had been voted to Frederick. Meanwhile the French army, under Soubise and Broglie, operating against the Hanoverians, had penetrated the country as far as Cassel and Göttingen, and there established their winter quarters. All around the clouds were dark, and the future seemed to bode no good for Prussia.

With the opening of spring the Duke of Brunswick was first in the field. By a rapid and successful movement he forced the French from their position at Cassel and Göttingen, and drove them before him almost to the Rhine. Soon afterwards Prince Henry, with one division of the Prussian army, planted himself in the way of Daun in Saxony, and succeeded in checking his progress. At the same time the allied forces were expelled from Thuringia, while Frederick himself assumed the offensive in Silesia. Here he had to face a large army of Austrians, and to these were presently added another overwhelming force of Russians, who, coming by way of Poland, joined themselves with their allies, swelling their aggregate to a hundred and forty thousand men. To oppose this tremendous force the king was able, by the greatest exertions, to rally a force of fifty-five thousand.

At first he attempted to prevent the union of his enemies, and it was not until late in the summer that they were able to unite. Then he took the defensive, fortified himself in a camp near Schweidnitz, and bade the foe defiance. Fortunately for him, the Russian and Austrian generals again quarreled, and after a brief period Marshal Buturlin, commanding the Russians, drew off into Pomerania. When this occurred Frederick sought to give battle to the Austrians, but the latter, under Laudon, carried Schweidnitz by storm, and planted themselves in so strong a position that Frederick durst not hazard an assault. Thus the summer passed without decisive re-

sults in Silesia. But, in the mean time, a combined army of Swedes and Russians penetrated Pomerania, and on the 16th of December took the important fortress of Colberg. In the same autumn the Austrians rallied in Saxony, and Prince Henry was nearly driven to the wall. The Duke of Brunswick, also, to whom the work of holding the French in check had been intrusted, was worsted in the conflict. Even in Silesia, Frederick was obliged, in the latter part of the campaign, to hold himself on the defensive, and more than half the province was regained by the Austrians. Indeed, it is considered by military critics that the close of the year 1761 found Frederick's cause in a more desperate condition than ever before. He had no longer either resources in his own kingdom or friends abroad to whom he could appeal. It seemed impossible for him to recruit another army, or to support one even if it had been furnished to his hand. At this time about one-half of his territory was held by the enemy. The allied armies hovered in heavy masses all around the horizon, and behind these there were in the aggregate populations in the hostile states amounting to eighty millions. To oppose these the Prussian people numbered but four millions, and these were unable longer to pay their taxes or bear the necessary burdens of war. Only the will of Frederick, obdurate as ever, bound by a stern necessity to conquer or die, stood out like a hostile specter menacing the armies of Europe.

In the very beginning of 1762 an event occurred which suddenly made a rift in the clouds and let in the sunlight. The Czarina Elizabeth, one of the *causæ terribiles belli*—she whose personal pique against Frederick for saying that she was too fat and orthodox, and had not one ounce of nun in her body—fell sick and died. She was succeeded on the Russian throne by that same Crown Prince Peter, whose friendship and admiration for the Prussian king have already been mentioned. It thus happened that Russia was all at once wheeled out of rank with the powers opposed to Prussia, and put into an attitude of friendliness. As soon as Peter was seated on the throne he declared an armistice. He sent back to Frederick, without ransom, all the Prussian prisoners who had been taken during

the war. He then concluded a peace and entered into an alliance with Prussia, and soon ordered the Russian troops in Silesia and Pomerania to be placed at Frederick's disposal. Not only this, but Sweden followed in the wake of Russia. She, too, concluded peace, and it soon appeared that Maria Theresa and Madame Pompadour would be left to conclude the war alone.

So the beginnings of the work of 1762 were especially auspicious for Prussia. Frederick reëntered the conflict with great energy. In proportion as his own spirits rose, those of his enemies subsided. He turned every circumstance to the best account. The patriotism of the Prussians was rekindled in every hamlet. The first months of the year passed with the continual—though not very decided—successes of the Prussian arms. Great, therefore, was the revulsion when in midsummer the intelligence came that the friendly and sentimental

Czar Peter III. had been murdered in a conspiracy headed by his loving queen, the celebrated Catharine II., who, on her husband's death, took the throne for herself.

This tragedy produced a counter-revolution in Russian politics. The alliance with Prussia was at once broken off. For the moment it

appeared that all the advantages which Frederick had gained by the death of his bitter enemy, Elizabeth, would now be reversed by the accession of this new and powerful member to the *Dynastie des Cotillons*. Could he



FREDERICK THE GREAT.—After the painting by Pesne.

manage Catharine? He would try. By adroit and persistent efforts he succeeded in inducing her to keep the peace. Though she would not uphold the alliance which Peter had made, she would refrain from hostility.

This was sufficient. Nor did Frederick fail, by the aid of the Russian forces whom the

late Czar had put under his command, to attack and defeat the Austrians under Daun, at Burkensdorf, *before* the new Czarina could forbid such a use of her soldiers. At the same time Prince Henry was successful over the enemy at Frieberg. Such was the rapid transformation of the political and the military landscapes that France determined to withdraw from the conflict and conclude a peace.

All of these circumstances bore heavily on Austria. Maria Theresa became discouraged and gloomy. The Austrian generals, no longer energized by her zeal and vindictive warmth, grew cold in the cause, while the Prussians, animated by the defiant Frederick, rallied from every quarter. On the 9th of October the king took the fortress of Schweidnitz by storm. On the 1st of November the Duke of Brunswick expelled the French garrison from Cassel. Frederick, having completed the conquest of Silesia, turned into Saxony and marched on Dresden. Other divisions of the Prussian army were sent into Bohemia and Franconia; nor were the forces of Maria Theresa able to prevent their depredations.

All things now tended to peace. In the West, France and England had fought it out, and were already negotiating a settlement. On the 3d of November, 1762, preliminary articles between these two powers were signed by the English and French ambassadors at Fontainebleau. The former, under the direction of the ministry of George III., were very anxious to exclude Prussia from the benefits of the treaty; but this movement was checked by the sentiment of the English nation and by the disposition of France. Consequent upon this initial settlement, the French army was withdrawn from Germany. The Imperial

Diet next took the alarm, and assembling at Ratisbon in December, concluded an armistice with Frederick. At last Maria Theresa stood alone—exposed to the animosity of him whom she had so long tried to destroy. She bowed to the inevitable. With indescribable mortification she was obliged to purchase peace of her inexorable foe *by ceding to him the province of Silesia!* To her bitterness of spirit there was little palliation; to her humiliation, none. But she was great and queenly even in her overthrow.

On the 15th of February, 1763, the treaty, already concluded at Paris between France and England, supplemented as the same had been by the Diet of the Empire at Ratisbon, was completed by Frederick and the Austrian ambassadors at Hubertsburg, near Leipsic. It was agreed that the former geographical and political condition of the states at war should be restored and maintained, *except* that Silesia should be henceforth incorporated with Prussia. By this agreement—enforced, as it was, by the renown which Prussia had achieved under the Hohenzollerns, and notably under Frederick II. in the recent hard-fought war—the kingdom was promoted from the ambiguous rank which it had hitherto held to that of one of the Five Great Powers of Europe—a rank which it has ever since easily maintained. Thus, in the early part of 1763, the Seven Years' War in Europe was ended. Austria found opportunity to brood over her calamities, and Frederick to begin again the kingly and fatherly work of binding up the wounds of his people.—It is now appropriate to take our stand for a brief space in the New World, and to note there the beginning and the progress of that struggle, the European phase of which has occupied our attention through the present chapter.

CHAPTER CXVI.—INTER-COLONIAL CONFLICT IN AMERICA.



As already stated in the beginning of the preceding chapter, that great conflict known in General History as the Seven Years' War originated in local difficulties between the English and the French colonies in America. The circumstances attending the outbreak of hostilities are of peculiar interest—especially to those who are curious to understand the beginnings of American civilization—and may, for that reason, be appropriately narrated at some length.

Let, then, a map of Central North America be laid before the reader. Let him observe the position of the Alleghany mountains and of the rivers St. Lawrence, Ohio, and Mississippi, and of the Great Lakes of the North. Here are vast unoccupied fields which the various races, religions, and political systems of Europe may contend for. It might well be apprehended, *a priori*, that France and England, occupying the hither verge of Europe, and inhabited by energetic and aggressive peoples, would be most interested in the colonization and possession of these vast regions, stretching from our Northern lakes to our Southern gulf. And the event corresponded to the expectation.

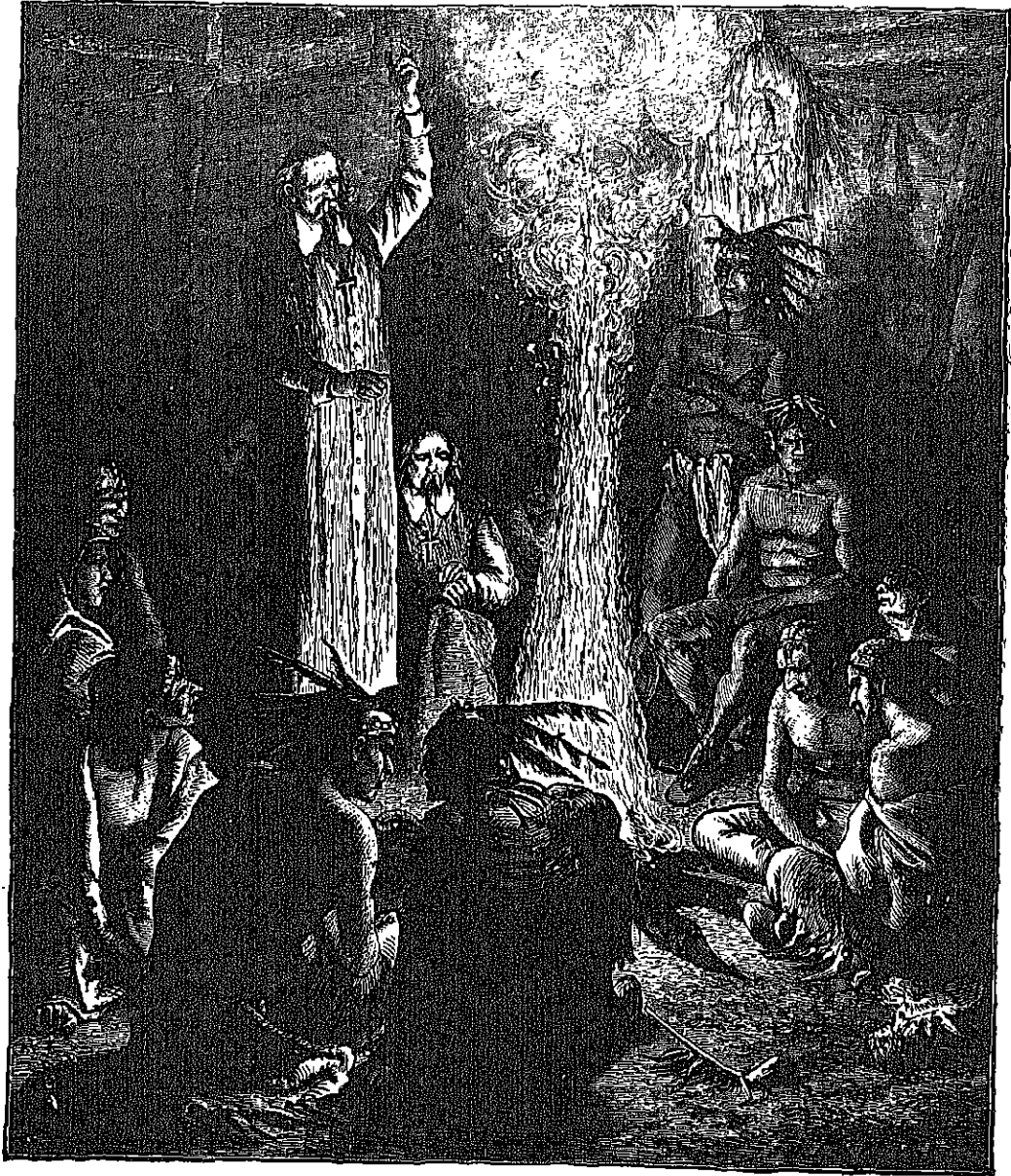
It will be remembered that after the vicissitudes of two centuries of voyage, discovery, and precarious settlement the English succeeded in establishing their colonies and institutions on the Atlantic slope of the present United States. In the same interval the French fixed their settlements in Canada. Partly by chance and partly by design, different policies were adopted by the two peoples respecting their colonial enterprises. England chose to colonize the sea-coast; France, the interior of the continent. From Maine to Florida the Atlantic shore was spread with English colonies; but there were no inland settlements. The great towns were on the ocean's edge.

But the territorial claims of England reached far beyond her colonies. Based on the discoveries of the Cabots, and not limited by actual occupation, those claims extended westward to the Pacific. In making grants of territory the English kings had always proceeded upon the theory that the voyage of Sebastian Cabot had given to England a lawful right to the country from one ocean to the other. Far different, however, were the claims of France; the French had first colonized the valley of the St. Lawrence. Montreal, one of the earliest settlements, is more than five hundred miles from the sea. If the French colonies had been limited to the St. Lawrence and its tributaries, there would have been little danger of a conflict about territorial dominion. But in the latter half of the seventeenth century the French began to push their way westward and southward; first along the shores of the great lakes, then to the headwaters of the Wabash, the Illinois, the Wisconsin, and the St. Croix; then down these streams to the Mississippi, and then to the Gulf of Mexico. The purpose of the French, as manifested in these movements, was no less than to divide the American continent and to take the larger portion; to possess the land for France and for Catholicism. For it was the work of the Jesuit missionaries.

In 1641 Charles Raymbault, the first of these explorers, passed through the northern straits of Lake Huron and entered Lake Superior. In the thirty years that followed the Jesuits continued their explorations with prodigious activity. Missions were established at various points north of the lakes, and in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette passed from the headwaters of Fox River over the watershed to the upper tributaries of the Wisconsin, and thence down that river in a seven days' voyage to the Mississippi. For a full month the canoe of the daring adventurers carried them on toward the sea. They passed the mouth of Arkansas

River, and reached the limit of their voyage at the thirty-third parallel of latitude. Turning their boat up stream, they entered the mouth of the Illinois and returned by the site

first ship above Niagara Falls. He sailed westward through Lake Erie and Lake Huron, anchored in Green Bay, crossed Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph, as-



JESUIT MISSIONARIES AMONG THE INDIANS.

Drawn by Wm. L. Shepard.

of Chicago into Lake Michigan, and thence to Detroit.

It still remained for ROBERT DE LA SALLE, most illustrious of the French explorers, to trace the Mississippi to its mouth. This indomitable adventurer built and launched the

cended that stream with a few companions, traversed the country to the upper Kankakee, and dropped down with the current into the Illinois. Here disasters overtook the expedition, and La Salle was obliged to return on foot to Fort Frontenac, a distance of nearly

a thousand miles. During his absence Father Hennepin, a member of the company, traversed Illinois and explored the Mississippi as high as the Falls of St. Anthony.

In 1681 La Salle sailed down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and afterwards made his way back to Quebec. He then went to France, where vast plans were made for colonizing the valley of the Mississippi. In July of 1684 four ships, bearing two hundred and eighty emigrants, left France. Beaujeu commanded the fleet, and La Salle was leader of the colony. The plan was to enter the Gulf, ascend the river, and plant settlements on its banks and tributaries. But Beaujeu was a bad and headstrong captain, and against La Salle's entreaties the squadron was carried out of its course, beyond the mouths of the Mississippi, and into the bay of Matagorda. Here a landing was effected, but the store-ship, with all its precious freightage, was dashed to pieces in a storm. Nevertheless a colony was established, and Texas became a part of Louisiana.

La Salle made many unsuccessful efforts to rediscover the Mississippi. One misfortune after another followed fast, but the leader's resolute spirit remained tranquil through all calamities. At last, with sixteen companions, he set out to cross the continent to Canada. The march began in January of 1687, and continued for sixty days. The wanderers were already in the basin of the Colorado. Here, on the 20th of March, while La Salle was at some distance from the camp, two conspirators of the company, hiding in the prairie grass, took a deadly aim at the famous explorer, and shot him dead in his tracks. Only seven of the adventurers succeeded in reaching a French settlement on the Mississippi.

France was not slow to occupy the vast country revealed to her by the activity of the Jesuits. As early as 1688 military posts had been established at Frontenac, at Niagara, at the Straits of Mackinaw, and on the Illinois River. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, permanent settlements had been made by the French on the Maumee, at Detroit, at the mouth of the river St. Joseph, at Green Bay, at Vincennes, on the Lower Wabash, on the Mississippi at the mouth of the

Kaskaskia, at Fort Rosalie, the present site of Natchez, and on the Gulf of Mexico.

A second cause of war existed in the long-standing *national animosity of France and England*. Rivalry prevailed on land and sea. When, at the close of the seventeenth century, it was seen that the people of the English colonies outnumbered those of Canada by nearly twenty to one, France was filled with envy. When, by the enterprise of the Jesuit missionaries, the French began to dot the basin of the Mississippi with fortresses, and to monopolize the fur-trade of the Indians, England could not conceal her wrath. It was only a question of time when this unreasonable jealousy would bring on a colonial war.

The third and immediate cause of hostilities was a *conflict between the frontiersmen of the two nations* in attempting to colonize the Ohio valley. The year 1749 witnessed the beginning of difficulties. For some time the strolling traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania had frequented the Indian towns on the upper tributaries of the Ohio. Now the traders of Canada began to visit the same villages, and to compete with the English in the purchase of furs. Virginia, under her ancient charters, claimed the whole country lying between her western borders and the southern shores of Lake Erie. The French fur-gatherers in this district were regarded as intruders not to be tolerated. In order to prevent further encroachment, a number of prominent Virginians joined themselves together in a body called THE OHIO COMPANY, with a view to the immediate occupation of the disputed territory. Robert Dinwiddie, governor of the State, Lawrence and Augustus Washington, and Thomas Lee, president of the Virginia council, were the leading members of the corporation. In March of 1749 the company received from George II. an extensive land-grant covering a tract of five hundred thousand acres, to be located between the Kanawha and the Monongahela, or on the northern bank of the Ohio. But before the company could send out a colony, the governor of Canada dispatched three hundred men to occupy the valley of the Ohio. In the next year, however, the Ohio Company sent out an exploring party under Christopher Gist, who

traversed the country and returned to Virginia in 1751.

This expedition was followed by vigorous movements of the French. They built a fort called *Le Boeuf*, on French Creek, and another named *Venango*, on the Alleghany. About the same time the country south of the Ohio was again explored by Christopher Gist and

Pennsylvania, and made a treaty with the English.

Before proceeding to actual war, Governor Dinwiddie determined to try a final remonstrance with the French. A paper was drawn up setting forth the nature of the English claim to the valley of the Ohio, and warning the authorities of France against further in-



MURDER OF LA SALLE.

Drawn by Wm. L. Shepard.

a party of armed surveyors. In 1753 the English opened a road from Wills's Creek through the mountains, and a small colony was planted on the Youghioghny.

The Indians were greatly alarmed at the prospect. They rather favored the English cause, but their allegiance was uncertain. In the spring of 1753 the Miami tribes, under the leadership of a chieftain called the Half-King, met Benjamin Franklin at Carlisle,

trusion. A young surveyor named GEORGE WASHINGTON was called upon to carry this paper from Williamsburg to General St. Pierre, at Presque Isle, on Lake Erie.

On the last day of October, 1753, Washington set out on his journey. He was attended by four comrades, besides an interpreter and Christopher Gist, the guide. The party reached the Youghioghny, and passed down that stream to the site of Pittsburgh.

At Logstown Washington held a council with the Indians, and then pressed on to Venango. From this place he traversed the forest to Fort le Boeuf. Here the conference was held with St. Pierre. Washington was received with courtesy, but the general of the French refused to enter into any discussion. He was acting, he said, under military instructions, and would eject every Englishman from the valley of the Ohio.

Washington soon took leave of the French, and returned to Venango. Then, with Gist as his sole companion, he left the river and struck into the woods. Clad in the robe of an Indian; sleeping with frozen clothes on a bed of pine-brush; guided at night by the North Star; fired at by a prowling savage from his covert; lodging on an island in the Alleghany until the river was frozen over; plunging again into the forest; reaching Gist's settlement, and then the Potomac—the strong-limbed young ambassador came back without wound or scar to the capital of Virginia. The defiant dispatch of St. Pierre was laid before Governor Dinwiddie, and the first public service of Washington was accomplished.

It was in March of 1754 that a party, led by an explorer named Trent, reached the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, and built the first rude stockade on the site of Pittsburgh. After all the threats and boasting of the French, the English had beaten them, and seized the key to the Ohio valley.

But it was a short-lived triumph. As soon as the approaching spring broke the ice-gorges in the Alleghany, the French fleet of boats, already prepared at Venango, came sweeping down the river. It was in vain for Trent, with his handful of men, to offer resistance. Washington had now been commissioned as lieutenant-colonel, and was stationed at Alexandria to enlist recruits for the Ohio. A regiment of a hundred and fifty men had been enrolled; but it was impossible to bring succor to Trent in time to save the post. On the 17th of April the little band of Englishmen at the head of the Ohio surrendered to the enemy and withdrew from the country. The French immediately occupied the place, felled the forest-trees, built barracks, and laid the foundations of **FORT DU QUESNE**. To re-

capture this place by force of arms, Colonel Washington set out from Wills's Creek in the latter part of April, 1754. Negotiations had failed; remonstrance had been tried in vain; the possession of the disputed territory was now to be determined by the harsher methods of war.

It was thus that fully two years before the formal outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe the French and English colonies in America became involved in that conflict which has generally been called **THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR**. The work was begun by Colonel George Washington, acting under the authority of the governor of Virginia. He was commissioned to proceed with a little army of frontier soldiers, like himself, to build a fort at the source of the Ohio, and to repel all who interrupted the English settlements in that country. In April the young commander left Wills's Creek, but the march was toilsome. The men were obliged to drag their cannons. The roads were miserable; rivers were bridgeless; provisions insufficient.

On the 26th of May the English reached the Great Meadows. Here Washington was informed that the French were on the march to attack him. A stockade was immediately erected and named **Fort Necessity**. Washington, after conference with the Mingo chiefs, determined to strike the first blow. Two Indians followed the trail of the enemy, and discovered their hiding-place. The French were on the alert and flew to arms. "Fire!" was the command of Washington, and the first volley of a great war went flying through the forest. The engagement was brief and decisive. Jumonville, the leader of the French, and ten of his party were killed, and twenty-one were made prisoners.

Washington returned to **Fort Necessity** and waited for reinforcements. Only one company of volunteers arrived. Washington spent the time in cutting a road for twenty miles in the direction of **Fort du Quesne**. The Indians who had been expected to join him from the Muskingum and the Miami did not arrive. His whole force scarcely numbered four hundred. Learning that the French general **De Villiers** was approaching, Washington deemed it prudent to fall back to **Fort Necessity**.

Scarcely were Washington's forces safe

within the stockade, when, on the 3d of July, the regiment of De Villiers came in sight, and surrounded the fort. The French stationed themselves on the eminence, about sixty yards distant from the stockade. From this position they could fire down upon the English with fatal effect. Many of the Indians climbed into the tree-tops, where they were concealed by the thick foliage. For nine hours, during a rain-storm, the assailants poured an incessant shower of balls upon the heroic band in the fort. Thirty of Washington's men were killed, but his tranquil presence encouraged the rest, and the fire of the French was returned with unabated vigor. At length De Villiers, fearing that his ammunition would be exhausted, proposed a parley. Washington, seeing that it would be impossible to hold out much longer, accepted the honorable terms of capitulation which were offered by the French general. On the 4th of July the English garrison, retaining all its accouterments, marched out of the little fort, so bravely defended, and withdrew from the country.

Meanwhile, a congress of the American colonies had assembled at Albany. The objects had in view were two-fold: first, to renew the treaty with the Iroquois confederacy; and secondly, to stir up the colonial authorities to some sort of concerted action against the French. The Iroquois had wavered from the beginning of the war; the recent reverses of the English had not strengthened the loyalty of the Red men. As to the French aggressions, something must be done speedily, or the flag of England could never be borne into the vast country west of the Alleghanies. The congress was not wanting in abilities of the highest order. No such venerable and dignified body of men had ever before assembled on the American continent. There were Hutchinson of Massachusetts, Hopkins of Rhode Island, Franklin of Pennsylvania, and others scarcely less distinguished. After a few days' consultation, the Iroquois, but half satisfied, renewed their treaty, and departed.

The convention next took up the important question of uniting the colonies in a common government. On the 10th of July, Benjamin Franklin laid before the commissioners the draft of a federal constitution.

His vast and comprehensive mind had realized the true condition and wants of the country; the critical situation of the colonies demanded a central government. How else could revenues be raised, an army be organized, and the common welfare be provided for? According to the proposed plan of union, Philadelphia, a central city, was to be the capital. It was urged in behalf of this clause that the delegates of New Hampshire and Georgia, the colonies most remote, could reach the seat of government *in fifteen or twenty days!* Slow-going old patriots! The chief executive of the new confederation was to be a governor-general appointed and supported by the king. The legislative authority was vested in a congress composed of delegates to be chosen triennially by the general assemblies of the respective provinces. Each colony should be represented in proportion to its contributions to the general government, but no colony should have less than two or more than seven representatives in congress. With the governor was lodged the power of appointing all military officers and of vetoing objectionable laws. The appointment of civil officers, the raising of troops, the levying of taxes, the superintendence of Indian affairs, the regulation of commerce, and all the general duties of government, belonged to congress. This body was to convene once a year, to choose its own officers, and to remain in session not longer than six weeks.

Copies of the proposed constitution were at once transmitted to the several colonial capitals, and were everywhere received with disfavor; in Connecticut, rejected; in Massachusetts, opposed; in New York, adopted with indifference. The chief objection urged against the instrument was the power of veto given to the governor-general. Nor did the new constitution fare better in the mother country. The English board of trade rejected it with disdain, saying that the froward Americans were trying to make a government of their own.

It was now determined to send a British army to America, to accept the service of such provincial troops as the colonies might furnish, and to protect the frontier against the aggressions of France. As yet there had been no declaration of war. The ministers

of the two nations kept assuring each other of peaceable intentions; but Louis XV. took care to send three thousand soldiers to Canada, and the British government ordered General Edward Braddock to proceed to America with two regiments of regulars. The latter, having arrived in the colonies, met the governors in a convention at Alexandria, and the plans of the campaign were determined. On the last of May, 1755, Braddock set out from Fort Cumberland to retake Fort du Quesne from the French.

By the 8th of July the advance had reached a point within twelve miles of the position of the enemy. On the following day the English proceeded along the Monongahela, and at noon crossed to the northern bank, just beyond the confluence of Turtle Creek. Still there was no sign of an enemy. Colonel Thomas Gage was leading forward a detachment of three hundred and fifty men. The road was but twelve feet wide; the country uneven and woody. There was a dense undergrowth on either hand; rocks and ravines; a hill on the right and a dry hollow on the left. A few guides were in the advance, and some feeble flanking parties; in the rear came the general with the main division of the army, the artillery and the baggage. All at once a quick and heavy fire was heard in the front. For the French and Indians, believing themselves unable to hold the fort, had determined to go forth and lay an ambuscade for the English. This was done, and the place selected in a woody ravine was well adapted to protect those who were concealed in ambush, and to entrap the approaching army. The unsuspecting British marched directly into the net.

The battle began with a panic. The men fired constantly, but could see no enemy. Braddock rushed to the front and rallied his men; but it was all in vain. They stood huddled together like sheep. The forest was strewn with the dead. Out of eighty-two officers, twenty-six were killed. Only Washington remained to distribute orders. Of the privates, seven hundred and fourteen had fallen. Braddock himself was mortally wounded. A retreat began at once, and Washington, with the Virginians, covered the flight of the army.

On the next day the Indians returned to Fort du Quesne, clad in the laced coats of the British officers. The dying Braddock was borne in the train of the fugitives. On the evening of the fourth day he died. When the fugitives reached Dunbar's camp, the confusion was greater than ever. The artillery, baggage, and public stores were destroyed. Then followed a hasty retreat to Fort Cumberland, and finally to Philadelphia.

By the treaty of Utrecht, made in 1713, the province of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was ceded by France to England. During the following fifty years the colony remained under the dominion of Great Britain, and was ruled by English officers. But the great majority of the people were French, and the English government amounted only to a military occupation of the peninsula. The British colors, floating over Louisburg and Annapolis, and the presence of British garrisons here and there, were the only tokens that this, the oldest French colony in America, had passed under the control of foreigners.

When Braddock and the colonial governors convened at Alexandria, it was urged that something must be done to overawe the French and strengthen the English authority in Acadia. The enterprise of reducing the French peasants to complete humiliation was intrusted to Lawrence, the deputy governor, who was to be assisted by a British fleet under Colonel Monckton. On the 20th of May, 1755, the squadron, with three thousand troops, sailed from Boston for the Bay of Fundy.

The French had but two fortified posts in the province; both of these were on the isthmus which divides Nova Scotia from New Brunswick. The first and most important fortress, named Beau-Sejour, was situated near the mouth of Messagouche Creek, at the head of Chignecto Bay. The other fort, a mere stockade called Gasperenau, was on the north side of the isthmus, at Bay Verte. De Vergor, the French commandant, had no intimation of approaching danger till the English fleet sailed fearlessly into the bay and anchored before the walls of Beau-Sejour. There was no preparation for defense. On the 3d of June the English forces landed, and on the next day forced their way across the Messagouche. A vigorous siege of four days

followed. Fear and confusion reigned among the garrison; no successful resistance could be offered. On the 16th of the month Beau-Sejour capitulated, received an English garrison, and took the name of Fort Cumberland.

allegiance and the surrender of all firearms and boats. The British vessels were then made ready to carry the people into exile. The country about the isthmus was now laid waste, and the peasants driven into the larger towns



FALL OF BRADDOCK.

Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

The other French posts were taken by the English, and the whole of Nova Scotia brought under their authority.

The French inhabitants still outnumbered the English, and Governor Lawrence determined to drive them into banishment. The English officers first demanded an oath of

Wherever a sufficient number could be gotten together, they were compelled to go on ship-board. At the village of Grand Pré more than nineteen hundred people were driven into the boats at the point of the bayonet. Wives and children, old men and mothers, the sick and the infirm, all shared the com-

mon fate. More than three thousand of the Acadians were carried away by the British squadron, and scattered, helpless and half-starved, among the English colonies.

The third campaign planned by Braddock was to be conducted by Governor Shirley against Fort Niagara. Early in August, he set out from Albany with two thousand men. Four weeks were spent at Oswego in preparing boats. Then tempests prevailed, and sickness broke out in the camp. The Indians deserted the standard of the English, and on the 24th of October the provincial forces, led by Shirley, marched homeward.

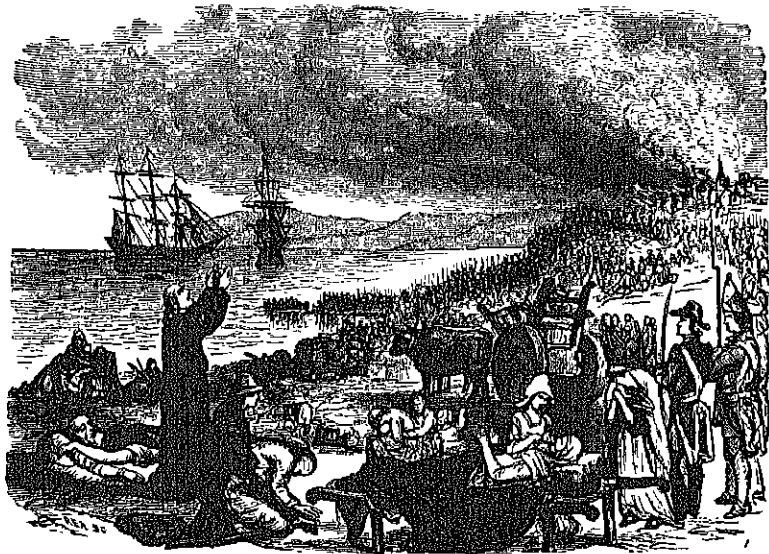
The fourth expedition was intrusted to General William Johnson. The object was to capture Crown Point, and to drive the French from Lake Champlain. Early in August the army proceeded to the Hudson above Albany, and built Fort Edward. Thence Johnson proceeded to Lake George and laid out a camp. A week was then spent in bringing forward the artillery and the stores.

In the mean time Dieskau, the French commandant at Crown Point, advanced with fourteen hundred French, Canadians, and Indians, to capture Fort Edward. General Johnson sent Colonel Williams and Hendrick, the chief of the Mohawks, with twelve hundred men, to relieve the fort. On the morning of the 8th of September, Colonel Williams's regiment and the Mohawks were ambushed by Dieskau's forces and driven back to Johnson's camp.

The Canadians and French regulars, unsupported by the Indians, then attacked the English position. For five hours the battle was incessant. Nearly all of Dieskau's men were killed. At last the English troops charged across the field, and completed the rout. Dieskau was mortally wounded. Two hun-

dred and sixteen of the English were killed. General Johnson now constructed on the site of his camp Fort William Henry. Meanwhile, the French had fortified Ticonderoga.—Such was the condition of affairs at the close of 1755.

In the beginning of the next year, the command of the English forces was given to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts. Washington, at the head of the Virginia provincials, repelled the French and Indians in the valley of the Shenandoah. The Pennsylvania volunteers, choosing Franklin for their colonel, built a fort on the Lehigh, and made a successful campaign. The expeditions which



THE EXILE OF THE ACADIANS.

were planned for the year embraced the conquest of Quebec and the capture of Forts Frontenac, Toronto, Niagara, and Du Quesne.

The Earl of Loudoun now received the appointment of commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. General Abercrombie was second in rank. In the last of April the latter, with two battalions of regulars, sailed for New York. On the 17th of May, Great Britain, after nearly two years of actual hostilities, made a declaration of war against France.

In July, Lord Loudoun assumed the command of the colonial army. The French meanwhile, led by the Marquis of Montcalm, who had succeeded Dieskau, besieged and captured Oswego. Six vessels of war, three

hundred boats, a hundred and twenty cannon, and three chests of money were the fruits of the victory. During this summer the Delawares in Western Pennsylvania rose in war, and killed or captured more than a thousand people. In August Colonel Armstrong, with three hundred volunteers, marched against the Indian town of Kittanning, and on the 8th of September defeated the savages with great losses. The village was burned, and the spirit of the Indians completely broken.

On the 20th of June, 1757, Lord Loudoun sailed from New York with an army of six thousand regulars to capture Louisburg. At Halifax he was joined by Admiral Holbourn, with a fleet of sixteen men-of-war. There were on board five thousand troops, fresh from the armies of England. But Loudoun, instead of proceeding to Cape Breton, tarried awhile at Halifax, and then sailed back to New York without striking a blow.

Meanwhile the daring Montcalm, with more than seven thousand French, Canadians, and Indians, advanced against Fort William Henry. The place was defended by five hundred men, under Colonel Monro. For six days the French pressed the siege with vigor. The ammunition of the garrison was exhausted, and nothing remained but to surrender. Honorable terms were granted by the French. On the 9th of August they took possession of the fortress. Unfortunately, the Indians procured a quantity of spirits from the English camp. In spite of the utmost exertions of Montcalm, the savages fell upon the prisoners and massacred thirty of them in cold blood.

Such had been the successes of France during the year that the English had not a single hamlet left in the whole basin of the St. Lawrence. Every cabin where English was spoken had been swept out of the Ohio valley. At the close of the year 1757 France possessed twenty times as much American territory as England, and five times as much as England and Spain together.

But a revolution in the condition of affairs was now at hand. In 1757 a change occurred in English politics, and William Pitt was placed at the head of the British ministry. A new spirit was at once diffused in the management and conduct of the war. Loudoun

was deposed from the American army. General Abercrombie was appointed to succeed him; but the main reliance was placed on an efficient corps of subordinate officers. Admiral Boscawen was put in command of the fleet. General Amherst was to lead a division. Young Lord Howe was next in rank to Abercrombie. James Wolfe led a brigade; and Colonel Richard Montgomery was at the head of a regiment.

Three expeditions were planned for 1758: one to capture Louisburg, a second to reduce Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and the third to retake Fort du Quesne from the French. On the 28th of May, Amherst, with ten thousand men, reached Halifax. In six days more the fleet was anchored before Louisburg. On the 21st of July three French vessels were burned in the harbor. The town was reduced to a heap of ruins. On the 28th of the month Louisburg capitulated. Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island were surrendered to Great Britain. The garrison, numbering six thousand men, became prisoners of war.

On the 5th of July, General Abercrombie, with an army of fifteen thousand men, moved against Ticonderoga. The country about the French fortress was unfavorable for military operations. On the morning of the 6th the English fell in with the picket line of the French. A severe skirmish ensued; the French were overwhelmed, but Lord Howe was killed in the onset.

On the morning of the 8th the English divisions were arranged to carry Ticonderoga by assault. A desperate battle of more than four hours followed, until at six o'clock in the evening the English were finally repulsed. The loss on the side of the assailants amounted in killed and wounded to nineteen hundred and sixteen. In no battle of the Revolution did the British have so large a force engaged or meet so terrible a loss.

The English now retreated to Fort George. Soon afterwards three thousand men, under Colonel Bradstreet, were sent against Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario. The place was feebly defended, and after a siege of two days compelled to capitulate. The fortress was demolished. Bradstreet's success more than counterbalanced the failure of the English at Ticonderoga.

Late in the summer General Forbes, with nine thousand men, advanced against Fort du Quesne. Washington led the Virginia provincials. The main body moved slowly, but Major Grant, with the advance, pressed on to within a few miles of Du Quesne. Advancing carelessly, he was ambuscaded, and lost a third of his forces. On the 24th of November Washington was within ten miles of Du Quesne. During that night the garrison took the alarm, burned the fortress, and floated down the Ohio. On the 25th the victorious army marched in, raised the English flag, and named the place *PITTSBURGH*.

General Amherst was now promoted to the chief command of the American forces. By the beginning of summer, 1759, the British and colonial armies numbered nearly fifty thousand men. The entire French army scarcely exceeded seven thousand. Three campaigns were planned for the year. General Prideaux was to conduct an expedition against Niagara. Amherst was to lead the main division against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. General Wolfe was to proceed up the St. Lawrence and capture Quebec.

On the 10th of July, Niagara was invested by Prideaux. The French general, D'Aubry, with twelve hundred men, marched to the relief of the fort. On the 15th General Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a mortar. Sir William Johnson succeeded to the command, and disposed his forces so as to intercept the approaching French. On the morning of the 24th D'Aubry's army came in sight. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the French were completely routed. On the next day Niagara capitulated, and the French forces, to the number of six hundred, became prisoners of war.

At the same time Amherst was marching with an army of eleven thousand men against Ticonderoga. On the 22d of July the English forces were disembarked where Abercrombie had formerly landed. The French did not dare to stand against them. On the 26th the garrison, having partly destroyed the fortifications, abandoned Ticonderoga and retreated to Crown Point. Five days afterwards they deserted this place, also, and intrenched themselves on Isle-aux-Noix, in the river Sorel.

It remained for General Wolfe to achieve the final victory. Early in the spring he began the ascent of the St. Lawrence. His force consisted of nearly eight thousand men, assisted by a fleet of forty-four vessels. On the 27th of June the armament arrived at the Isle of Orleans, four miles below Quebec. The English camp was pitched at the upper end of the island. Wolfe's vessels gave him command of the river, and the southern bank was undefended. On the night of the 29th General Monckton was sent to seize Point Levi. From this position the Lower Town



GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

was soon reduced to ruins, and the Upper Town much injured; but the fortress held out.

On the 9th of July General Wolfe crossed the north channel and encamped on the east bank of the Montmorenci. This stream was fordable at low water. On the 31st of the month, a severe battle was fought at the fords of the river, and the English were repulsed with heavy losses. Wolfe, after losing nearly five hundred men, withdrew to his camp.

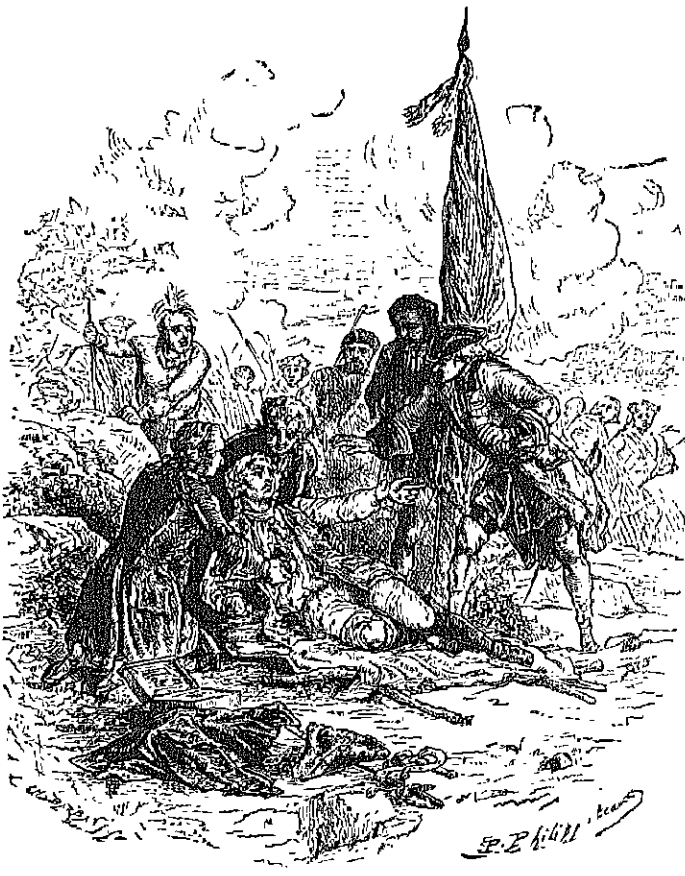
Exposure and fatigue threw the English general into a fever, and for many days he was confined to his tent. A council of officers was called, and the indomitable leader proposed a second assault. But the proposition

was overruled. It was decided to ascend the St. Lawrence, and gain the Plains of Abraham, in the rear of the city. The lower camp was broken up, and on the 6th of September the troops were conveyed to Point Levi. Wolfe then transferred his army to a point several miles up the river. He then busied himself with an examination of the northern bank, in the hope of finding some

up the precipice; the Canadian guard on the summit was dispersed; and in the dawn of morning Wolfe marshaled his army for battle. Montcalm was in amazement when he heard the news. With great haste the French were brought from the trenches on the Montmorenci, and thrown between Quebec and the English.

The battle began with an hour's cannonade; then Montcalm attempted to turn the English flank, but was beaten back. The Canadians and Indians were routed. The French regulars wavered and were thrown into confusion. Wolfe, leading the charge, was wounded in the wrist. Again he was struck, but pressed on. At the moment of victory a third ball pierced his breast, and he sank to the earth. "They run, they run!" said the attendant who bent over him. "Who run?" was the response. "The French are flying everywhere," replied the officer. "Do they run already? Then I die happy," said the expiring hero.

Montcalm, attempting to rally his regiments, was struck with a ball and mortally wounded. "Shall I survive?" said he to his surgeon. "But a few hours at most," answered the attendant. "So much the



DEATH OF WOLFE.

Drawn by P. Phillips.

pathway up the steep cliffs to the plains in the rear of Quebec.

On the night of the 12th of September, the English entered their boats and dropped down the river to a place called Wolfe's Cove.¹ With great difficulty the soldiers clambered

¹It is narrated that, while the English fleet on this memorable night were silently gliding down the river, under the dark shadows of the overhanging banks, the brave and imaginative Wolfe, standing in the bow of his boat, and discovering with the keen instincts of a prophet the probabilities of his fate, repeated over and

better," replied the heroic Frenchman; "I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec."

Five days after the battle Quebec was surrendered, and an English garrison took possession of the citadel. In the following spring France made an effort to recover her losses.

over to his comrades the stanza from Gray's *Elegy*, which had been published only a few years before:

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,

And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour

The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

A severe battle was fought a few miles west of Quebec, and the English were driven into the city. But reinforcements came, and the French were beaten back. On the 8th of September Montreal, the last important post of France in the valley of the St. Lawrence, was surrendered to General Amherst. Canada had passed under the dominion of England.

For three years after the fall of Quebec and Montreal, the war between France and England lingered on the ocean. The English fleets were everywhere victorious. On the 10th of February, 1763, a treaty of peace was, as already narrated, made at PARIS. All the French possessions in North America eastward of the Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and thence through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the Gulf of

Mexico, were surrendered to Great Britain. At the same time Spain, with whom England had been at war, ceded East and West Florida to the English Crown. As reciprocal with this provision, France was obliged to make a cession to Spain of all that vast territory west of the Mississippi, known as the Province of Louisiana. By the sweeping provisions of this treaty, the French king *lost his entire possessions in the New World.*—Thus closed the French and Indian War, one of the most important in the history of mankind. By this conflict, it was decided that the decaying institutions of the Middle Ages should not prevail in the West; and that the powerful language, laws, and liberties of the English race should be planted forever in the vast domains of the New World.

CHAPTER CXVII.—LAST YEARS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.



THE brief period between the Seven Years' War and the beginning of the Revolutionary Era—first in America and then in Europe—was an important epoch in most of the countries whose annals are worthy of a place in General History. In our own country it was the time at which the American colonies became, so to speak, self-conscious. Hitherto their dependency upon the Mother Country had been so complete that, like children still under tutelage, they thought only the thoughts of the parent. The French and Indian War was the shock which aroused them from the unconscious state, and made them capable at least of *thinking* independence. But many things still lay between them and the act.

In England this period was the epoch when the pendulum of arbitrary—personal—kingly rule, which, from its height in the age of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, swung down to the lowest point of the curve in the iconoclastic era of the Commonwealth, now rose again on the ascending arc of reaction to its highest

reach in the times of George III. In fact, the pretensions of the Third George were, as it related to all questions of government, almost of the same manner and tone with those of the Tudors and the first Stuarts.

In France the last years of Louis XV. marked the time when the stilted methods and bombastic style of government, which had reached the very climax of factitious grandeur in the age of Louis XIV., sank to the lowest ebb; when the *government*, as such, became decrepit, senile, contemptible; and when the young French *Nation* began to shake the dew from its locks; to stretch its tremendous limbs; to survey the landscape; to dream of an Age of Gold; to speak—albeit in whispers at first—of a coming emancipation.

In Germany this was the Age of Resuscitation. Prussia had purchased freedom—greatness—with her blood. Now she must rest and recover her wasted powers. Her condition was much like that of the American colonies on their emergence, in 1783, from their revolutionary struggle with Great Britain. This was also the age in which Austria, having long sown her seed in the marshes and fens

of Jesuitism, reaped ergot and blasted corn. As Prussia rose, she sunk away. There is scarcely any thing in history more melancholy than the spectacle of this ancient and powerful kingdom, smitten with the rust of priestcraft, fallen under the despotic sway of the Hapsburgs, remanded to the category of non-entities, along with Spain and Italy.

In Russia this was the epoch when the court, under the auspices of Catharine II., was assimilated in fashion and manners to those of Western Europe. That illustrious and vicious lady was well pleased with the work of introducing into her government the methods and magnificence with which she had been familiarized in her girlhood, and a liking for which she had imbibed along with her Western education. Her baptism in the Russian snows was never sufficient to cool the ardor and passion of her nature, which was a strange mixture of French facility and German strength. More than usually in such cases did the qualities of this sublime and immoral Czarina diffuse themselves among the Russian court and people; and the date of this new influence in the frozen North is coincident with that of the times which we are now to consider.

The reign of George II. of England ended with his life on the 25th of October, 1760. His son Frederick, prince of Wales, had already preceded him, and the crown now descended to the late king's grandson, the Prince George, at this time in his twenty-second year. Up to the time of his accession, the new ruler of England had resided with his mother, the Princess dowager of Wales. It will be remembered that for that lady George II. had cherished a deep-seated antipathy, and the feeling had been cordially reciprocated by her. By this circumstance Prince George had been excluded from the court of his grandfather, and a worse calamity than this came in the neglect of his education. His seclusion had left him in comparative ignorance of the political condition of the kingdom; and in general he had little familiarity with those questions in which young princes are supposed to find most interest. In addition to this his disposition was arbitrary and crafty, and the methods which he adopted recall those of the Stuarts.

At the first the new reign was extremely popular. The last two kings had been born in Hanover, and had always shown their foreign birth and preferences. George III. was a native of England and to the manner born. In this fact he took a patriotic pride, which was enthusiastically shared by his subjects. In his first speech to Parliament he referred to his English birth in such terms as won for him the plaudits of the nation. His unfamiliarity with affairs and awkward manners were forgotten in the furor which his sentiments had excited.

Early in 1761 the new king sought in marriage the Lady Sarah Lennox, mother of Sir Charles James Napier; but for some reason his suit was declined. In September of the same year he took the Princess Charlotte Sophia, sister of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and with her he lived and reigned for fifty-seven years. She bore him fifteen children, of whom thirteen lived to maturity.

GEORGE III. became early possessed of the notion that the kings of England, since the times of the Revolution, had declined in dignity and lost their prerogatives until the office was little more than a name. He conceived it his duty to be a sovereign in fact; and with this end in view, he and his Tory supporters deemed it expedient that the Seven Years' War should be speedily brought to a close. This was the true secret of that change of policy by which Frederick the Great, as already narrated, lost his annual subsidy of four millions of thalers. Strenuous efforts to bring about a peace were put forth by the king and by the Earl of Bute, whom he introduced into the ministry. For a while William Pitt, then minister of war and at the height of his power, resisted the wishes and plans of the king; but the tide gradually turned, and a majority which Pitt had been able to command in the House of Commons fell away. In October of 1761 he was obliged to resign his office. Before doing so he had endeavored to induce the government to anticipate the movements of Spain by declaring war against that kingdom. After his resignation it presently transpired that his advice had been most prudent. For Spain, having entered into what was called the Family Compact with France, pursued such a course that England was obliged,

by a proper regard for her own honor, to go to war. A declaration was accordingly made on the 4th January, 1762. During the year the English fleet achieved a series of successes which brought additional renown to the navy. Havana and a large part of Cuba were wrested from the Spaniards. The Philippines were taken and a number of treasure-ships captured with immense quantities of the precious metals and other booty.

It was a strange spectacle to see both political parties in England using these successes as an argument; the Whigs, as a plea for the prosecution of the war, and the Tories, under Lord Bute, as a reason for concluding peace. The latter being in the majority and strongly supported by the king, at length prevailed—such were the antecedents operating from the side of England which led to the negotiations begun in the autumn of 1762, and consummated by the treaty of Paris in February of the following year.

After this event a reaction set in in favor of Pitt and the Whigs. The terms of the treaty were declared to be less favorable than England might well have exacted. The more radical of the opposition denounced the settlement as disgraceful, treacherous, mercenary. The king suddenly lost his popularity, and Lord Bute was obliged to resign. He was succeeded in office by Sir George Grenville, who, at the very beginning of his administration, was involved in a contest with the celebrated John Wilkes, a prominent politician, member of Parliament, and editor of the newspaper known as the *North Briton*. It was the last relation which brought on the conflict with the government. Wilkes in his newspaper devoted his whole energy to attacks on Lord Bute and his administration.

After the fall of that ministry the same policy was pursued with reference to the Grenville ministry. When, at the close of Parliament in 1763, the king in his speech claimed for Great Britain the honor of having brought to a close the Seven Years' War, the next number of the *North Briton* declared that the monarch's statement was a falsehood. For this, Wilkes was arrested and imprisoned in

the Tower. But a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued, and the prisoner was discharged on the plea of his privilege as a member of Parliament. When the House again convened, however, the paper containing the charge against the king was declared to be a seditious libel, and orders were issued that it be publicly burned; but when it came to carry out the sentence, the populace rose in a riot and the movement became so portentous as to alarm the ministry. Wilkes next instituted suit against the under-secretary of state for the seizure of his papers, and the court



WILLIAM PITT.

After the painting by Wm. Hoare.

awarded him a judgment of a thousand pounds in damages.

In January of 1764 the House of Commons returned to the charge, and Wilkes was expelled from that body. The House of Lords next took up the prosecution, and found Wilkes guilty of having written an obscene poem, entitled "An Essay on Woman." The culprit, being outlawed, fled to France. After four years, however, he returned, and was reelected to Parliament from the county of Middlesex. He gave himself up to the court of king's bench, but that tribunal refused to take further cognizance of his alleged crimes. He was, however, rearrested, but was rescued

from the officers by a mob. He then went into voluntary confinement until the day of the opening of Parliament, when a great crowd assembled before his prison door to conduct him to the House. The military interfered, and several of the people were shot. At length the sentence of outlawry against Wilkes was reversed in the court of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield; but at the same time the prisoner was condemned to pay two fines each of a thousand pounds, the charges being libel. He was also to be punished with imprisonment for twenty-two months. The *North Briton* now denounced the action of the military in firing upon the people who had assembled to conduct him to Parliament as a "horrid massacre." For this he was again expelled from the House of Commons, and a new election was ordered for Middlesex. Wilkes was reelected without opposition! The House hereupon declared him incapable of sitting. Three times writs were issued for a new election, and three times Wilkes was returned, either unanimously or by overwhelming majorities. In the last of these elections, however, the Commons declared that Colonel Luttrell, the Tory candidate, who had received a scattering vote, was elected—this on the ground that the votes cast for Wilkes were void.

By this time the prisoner had become the most popular man in England. The people had come to regard him as their champion, as the defender of the freedom of the press, as a sufferer for his defense of the rights of Englishmen. In November of 1769 he brought suit against Lord Halifax for false imprisonment, and obtained a judgment for four thousand pounds. In April of the following year he was liberated, and soon afterwards elected an alderman of London. He was twice summoned by the House of Commons to appear before the bar and answer for his conduct, but on each occasion refused to answer except as a member of Parliament. The body was obliged at last to accept his interpretation, and he was called to appear on the 8th of April. Then the House avoided facing its own issue by an adjournment to the 9th. In 1771 Wilkes became sheriff of London, and in the next year was elected Lord Mayor. A little later he was again chosen to Parliament,

and this time he *took his seat!* Such in brief is the story of one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of English politics.

The conclusion of peace in 1763 gave to George III. the coveted opportunity for the development of those political plans which he had cherished since the days of his accession. These plans involved in a word the subversion of those very principles upon which the Hanoverian succession in England had been founded. The political maxims of the king were identical with those of the Stuarts, and their adoption as the policy of the kingdom amounted to an absolute reversal of the verdict rendered by the English nation in the Revolution of 1688. In his purposes the king was faithfully seconded by Lord Grenville and the Tory ministry. The literature of the times was steeped in absolutism. Many Englishmen of letters vied with one another in upholding the principles of arbitrary rule. Even Dr. Samuel Johnson with all his sterling virtues was not above the prevailing vice, but prostituted his tremendous pen to the service of the king by contributing to the cause of despotism a fallacious pamphlet entitled *Taxation no Tyranny*. It was under these auspices that in the year 1765 the celebrated Stamp Act, which fired the American colonies to resistance, was passed by Parliament—first of that long series of aggressions and follies which kindled first in the New World and afterwards in Europe the beacon fires of that political and social emancipation which have become, and perhaps will ever remain, the cardinal virtues of the New Civilization of mankind.

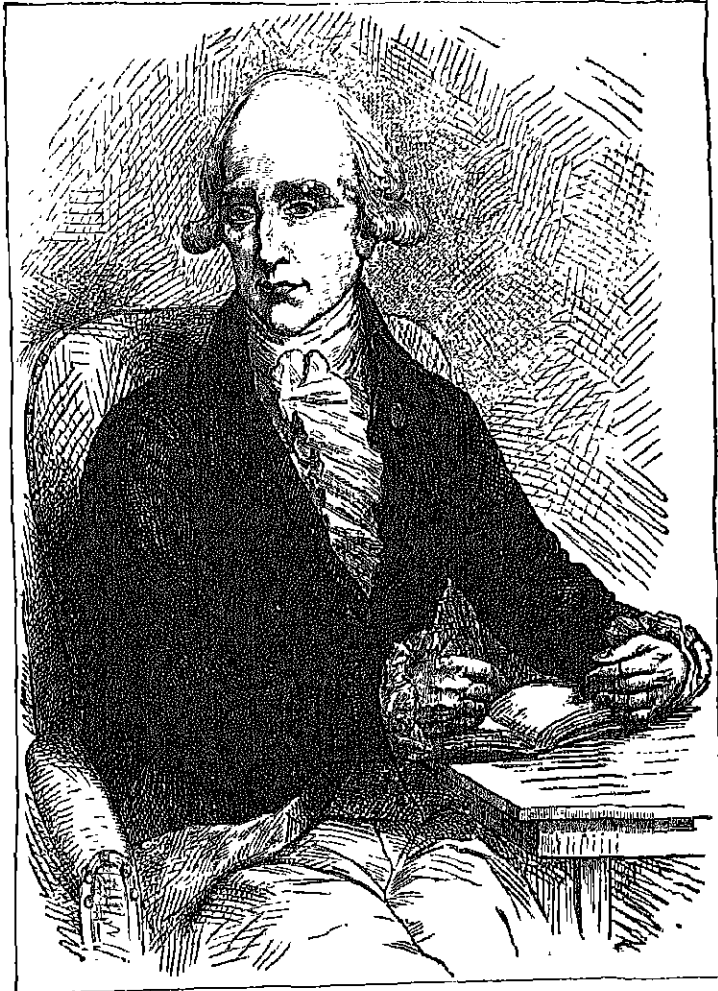
The period under consideration is also notable for the extension of British authority in the East. Such was the political constitution of India that the English authorities in that country were able to take advantage of the wars which were constantly breaking out between the native princes. It was by this means that the native government of Bengal was revolutionized in 1760, and Meer Jaffier raised to the throne of that province. The new ruler gave to the English a great district of territory, large sums of money, and freedom to expel the French from their trading posts and factories. These concessions soon brought on a war with the Emperor of Delhi

and the Governor of Oude, a struggle in which the native sovereigns were soon obliged to purchase peace by the cession of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and the Northern Circars to Great Britain.¹ The sovereign of the Circars fought bravely, and finally induced the English to join him in a war with Hyder Ali, sovereign of Mysore.

Such was the condition of affairs when, in 1772, Warren Hastings was appointed to the presidency of the Supreme Council of Bengal. He had already resided in India for fourteen years. He had studied with great care the history, language, and literature of the native races. He was first brought into public notice by Lord Clive, who sent him on a commercial and diplomatic mission to England. In 1769 Hastings returned to India, was given a second place in the council, and three years afterwards promoted to the presidency. In 1774 his power was enlarged by act of Parliament, and he became Governor-general of the British Empire in the East.

It soon appeared that Hastings was a man of arbitrary disposition. His rule over the native princes of India was as tyrannical—and as successful—as could have been desired even by the British East India Company. Such was the measure of his

audacity that at last the cry of the oppressed reached not only the people of England, but even the board of directors. Then came the great impeachment, one of the most remarkable trials known in history. Rumors of the princely despotism of Hastings, and of his devastation of India, became at length the subject of inquiry in Parliament. In 1786 Ed-



WARREN HASTINGS.

mund Burke presented to that body articles of impeachment, charging Hastings with almost every species of corruption and crime.

¹ The thoughtful reader will not fail to discover in these events, extending from 1760 to 1770, the remote and yet direct antecedents of the American Revolution. Great Britain must have a market for the immense merchandise with which she had laden her ships by conquest in the East. She must sell her tea! She must provide such

duties and taxes on her exportations as would fill her coffers to overflowing. "Perhaps," saith she, "these American colonies of mine will buy my cargoes of Indian merchandise, and pay a liberal duty for the privilege." Now the colonies met the Stamp Act and the tax on tea will be seen in the sequel. (See Book Twentieth, pp. 591, 592.)

The trial which ensued, and which began in Westminster Hall on the 13th of February, 1788, continued for a hundred and forty-eight days, and brought into strong relief the tremendous legal and parliamentary abilities of

choly spectacle. At the same time the French Nation grew great. In the eleven remaining years of the reign of Louis XV., only a few events occurred worthy of record. In 1769 the island of Corsica passed under the con-



RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN.

Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, Francis, and other statesmen of less reputation. The prosecution failed to convict, but the abuses of the East Indian administration were brought to light, and made impossible for the future.

After the close of the Seven Years' War, the government of France presented a melan-

trol of France. The Corsicans, who had become dissatisfied with the style of government to which they had been subjected by Genoa, threw off her yoke, and attempted to gain their independence. For a while it appeared that the revolt would prove successful; but the Genoese at length sold their claim to the

island to the French king, who sent to Corsica an army sufficiently powerful to enforce submission. The patriots, led by Pascal Paoli, held out for a season, but were at length compelled to yield, and the island became henceforth a French dependency. Two months after the completion of the conquest, the child NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born in Ajaccio. The father had been an adherent of Paoli, and the mother had accompanied her husband in the patriot camp until near the time which witnessed the birth of the Man of Destiny.

In the French court the ascendancy of Madame de Pompadour continued, with slight interruptions, until her death in 1764. She was succeeded in the king's favor by Marie de Vaubernier, countess of Barry, who, transferred to the court from a milliner's shop in Paris, gained the mastery over the king's alleged affections, and held the reins until his death. In 1770 she secured the banishment of the Duke de Choiseul, chief of Louis's ministers, a measure of serious consequences to the kingdom. For the duke had strenuously insisted on building up a French navy of such proportions and equipments as might secure an equal contest with England on the sea. He appears to have been a man of genius, able to forecast the future. Among other things, he perceived with delight the coming break between England and her American colonies; and it was a part of his policy to add fuel to the fires which were just then kindling on this side of the Atlantic. It is not impossible that, but for the removal of De Choiseul from office and the consequent defeat of his plans and policy, the future course of French history might have been materially changed.

In the mean time a difficulty had arisen with the Jesuits, which led to their suppression in France. It appears that the two father confessors of Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour refused to grant them absolution unless the latter should be dismissed from the court. Hereupon Pompadour and De Choiseul, who had no liking for the Order, united their influence to drive the Brother-

hood out of the kingdom. The French Parliament was won over to the same policy, and the people at large, long wearied with the subtle methods and casuistry of the Brotherhood, joined their voice in demanding the suppression of the Order. Another circumstance, which added to the mountain of discontent which was heaped upon the Society, was the fact that the Superior Lavalette had recently engaged in some speculations in Martinique, by which many had suffered losses. Some merchants in Marseilles brought suit against the Order for the action of the Superior, and judgment was rendered by the courts against the Brotherhood. They were con-



SAMUEL JOHNSON.

demned to pay a fine of two millions of livres, together with the costs of the trials. At first Louis XV. attempted to save the Society from destruction. Instead of proceeding against them, he demanded that a reform be begun in the Order. It is said that to this demand the General Ricci replied—speaking of the Jesuits—"Let them be as they are, or else not be!"

This audacious reply sealed the fate of the Society in France. In 1764 a formal edict was issued for its suppression. The line of policy thus adopted by the French government was extended into other countries. Three years afterwards the Spanish minister, Aranda, secured the overthrow of the Brother-

hood in Spain. A like course was taken in Naples, Parma, and Malta. In 1768 all the branches of the Bourbon dynasty united in demanding of the Pope that the Society of Jesus be forever put beyond the pale of Catholicism. While this appeal was pending, Clement XIII. died, and Clement XIV. was elected by the influence of the anti-Jesuit party. The new pontiff was pledged to suppress the odious fraternity; but for five years he procrastinated and temporized, dreading to do, and dreading still more not to do, the thing which was demanded. Finally the celebrated decree, known by its opening line of *Dominus ac Redemptor Noster*, was issued, July 21, 1773. By this the suppression of the Order throughout christendom was commanded, and the confiscation of their property permitted; nor was a bull of formal restoration issued until August of 1814.

As it respected the relations of the king to Parliament, nearly all the reign of Louis XV. was spent in a struggle to extend and confirm the king's prerogatives at the expense of free institutions. Unfortunately for France, the effort was too successful. The French Parliament became more and more a thing of form, so weak and inefficient as to excite the pity of patriotism. Though the institution of monarchy, so much glorified in the age of Louis XIV., still strutted in its magnificent robes, and would fain make the world believe that it was as young and grand and vigorous as ever, it was in truth in its decrepitude, and only awaited a blow to fall prostrate and perish.

Meanwhile in France had arisen the greatest fact in civilization—freedom of thought. While decaying Bourbonism sat in its chair of state, clad in the regalia of fictitious grandeur, the human mind began to display its energies with an audacity never before witnessed in the history of the world. It awoke as if from a slumber, and said "Ha, ha!" as it looked into the faces of the mediæval institutions which still cumbered society. It belongs to the next rather than to the present Book to note the work of the French philosophers, headed by Voltaire and Rousseau, by whom the work of transforming society was begun in intellectual France, to be completed by the edicts of the Republic and the sword of Bonaparte.

For the present we pass on to sketch briefly the condition of affairs in Germany after the subsidence of the Seven Years' War.

Frederick the Great now showed himself to be a true father to his people. If any thing could reconcile mankind to the rule of absolute kings, it would be the spectacle of this stern and uncompromising man, strange mixture of wit and warrior, bending all his energies to the task of raising his country from the deplorable condition in which she had been left by her long, bloody, and exhausting struggle. In this work he again made himself the exemplar as well as the ruler of the Prussian people. He took the supplies of corn which had been hoarded up for the support of the army, and distributed it among the farmers, to be used for seed and for food. The artillery and cavalry horses were used in the same way. All that the king could save from the public revenues was expended in re-suscitating the regions which had been most devastated by the war. While this work of restoration was going steadily forward Frederick by no means overlooked those other measures which were necessary to the safety of the state. He not only kept the army on a war footing, but actually doubled its strength in numbers and resources. If the people were disposed to complain of the enormous burden thus imposed upon them, the king was ever ready to point to the fact that he himself had saved five-sixths of his income and devoted the same to the support of the kingdom and its defenses.

In all this work Frederick was as arbitrary as he was great. He made no effort whatever—even opposed all efforts—to make the Prussian people a factor in the government of the state. He required that every thing should be conceded to his own will and judgment. As to his justice, none could deny it. As to his sincere devotion to the interests of the people, it was known and read of all men. As to his indefatigable works of generosity and patriotism, they were so conspicuous and unselfish as to be cited for an example to all succeeding times. So he ruled as he would, and the people bore with his false theory and arbitrary practices because of the essential goodness of the man and the unchallenged greatness of the king. When,

in the eventide, he walked abroad for a brief respite among the people of the streets, glancing with his fierce eyes from under his cocked hat and stopping occasionally to perform an actual flagellation of some luckless recreant, his course could but be approved by those who knew that the beating was well deserved and the benter always just.

In this style of old-fashioned kingship, many things would necessarily occur at which history may well find a moment's amusement. It is narrated that, on one occasion, as he walked, after his manner, along one of the streets of Potsdam, he fell in with a company of schoolboys, whom, believing to be truant, he addressed thus: "Boys, what are you doing here? Begone to school with you this instant!" One of the German lads sent back at his majesty this answer: "Oh, you are the king, you are, and don't know that this is a holiday!" Frederick accepted the situation, joined heartily in the laugh at his own expense, and gave to the boys some coins from his pockets. On another occasion, he concluded to enlarge his park at Potsdam, and for this purpose desired to purchase the grounds of a certain miller. But the miller did not wish to sell. Frederick would give a liberal price, but the owner set himself to keep his windmill. The king might take the property, but that would be unjust and without warrant of law. So he was obliged to yield; and more than a century afterwards the mill remained to bear witness that the greatest of the Prussian kings knew how to keep the law.

Notwithstanding the drain which war had made, the population of Prussia rose, before the death of Frederick, to six millions. The army was increased to two hundred thousand men. The debt of the state was paid, and a surplus of more than seventy millions of thalers left in the treasury. It is doubtful whether any other ruler of christendom can show such a record. The flute-player of Rheinsberg, the reader of French novels, he who, when he should become king, was going to sign himself, "By the grace of God King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, possessor of Voltaire," had set such an example of honesty, integrity, disinterested devotion to his people, as well as warlike heroism, as can hardly be paralleled in the history of the great.

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Frederick II. lived till the 17th of August, 1786. He lived to see his country firmly established in the first rank of European sovereignties. He lived to see the decadence of the Hapsburgs, the decline and decrepitude of Austria. He lived to send his sword as a present to George Washington, placing upon the gift this inscription: "From the oldest general in Europe to the greatest general in the world." He lived to witness the Independence of America, a measure with which he had always sympathized, and to rejoice at the discomfiture of his kinsman, George III. of England. He was, in a word, the last great typical ruler of the ancient régime; and the splendor of the disk of the old monarchical system of Europe, now hastening to its setting, looked broad and lustrous as it sank out of sight because of the splendid deeds and heroic character of him who gave to Hohenzollern its high place among the royal Houses of Europe.

Turning to Austria, we note briefly the events of the last years of Maria Theresa. Her greatness of character and ambition seemed to deserve a better fate than to witness the humiliation of her country. For the last two centuries Austria had had no other ruler as great and liberal as she. It was her misfortune to have been educated by the Jesuits and to have imbibed from them all of the principles of her religion and most of the maxims of her civil polity. Considering her intellectual antecedents, her liberality and wisdom, her justice, candor, and magnanimity are matters of surprise. Nor can it be said that in her long struggle with Frederick the Great, there was more of the irate and insulted woman than of the wronged and indignant queen.

In many things Maria Theresa imitated the measures and policy of him whom she fought. She was quick to perceive the sources of his strength, and was grieved to the heart when she was unable to produce in Austria the same vigor and patriotism which she beheld in the kingdom of her rival. Like Frederick, she adopted in her administration the principle of the division of labor, establishing the special departments of justice, industry, and commerce in the government. She also made a wholesome revision of the

Austrian criminal code, abolishing torture and other mediæval cruelties, and instituting courts where the laws were administered according to a more humane usage. When, in 1765, her husband, Francis I., died, the Imperial crown passed to her son, JOSEPH II., whom as a child she had held aloft in her arms before the Hungarian Diet twenty-three years before. Though he now received the title of Emperor, the real power continued to rest in the hands of the Imperial mother. Four years after his accession Joseph had an interview with Frederick in Silesia, and the project of the partition of Poland was discussed by them. In the following year another meeting was held, and the terms upon which the Polish dominions were to be parceled out were agreed upon. It is narrated that when the articles of the agreement were brought before Maria Theresa for her signature, her sense of violated justice cried out against the proposed iniquity. "Long after I am dead," said she, "the effects of this violation of all which has hitherto been considered right and holy will be made manifest." The queen had become a prophetess.

In the year 1777, the elector, Max Joseph of Bavaria, last of the House of Wittelsbach in direct descent, died, and the electorate was claimed by the next heir, Charles Theodore, of the Palatinate. This prince, in order to secure the Bavarian succession, bought the support of Joseph II. by promising to cede to him about one-half of the dominion which he had inherited. The Emperor eagerly embraced the opportunity of widening the Austrian territories, and sent an army to occupy the district to be ceded by Elector Charles. Hereupon the other German states, and notably Prussia, took the alarm at the proposed enlargement of Austria. Another candidate for the Bavarian electorate, namely, Duke Charles of Zweibrücken, was brought forward and supported by Frederick the Great and several other princes. Even Maria Theresa entered her protest against the ambitious project of her son; but Joseph pressed on his willful purpose, and Frederick sent two Prussian armies to the field. For the moment war seemed inevitable, but at the very crisis France and Russia came forward as mediators and the difficulty was settled without blood-

shed. Charles Theodore received the electoral crown of Bavaria, and a strip of territory containing about nine hundred square miles was annexed to Austria.

In her last years Maria Theresa was afflicted with dropsy. She gradually sank under this malady until the 29th of November, 1780, when she died, being then in the sixty-fourth year of her age. A few days before her death she was struck with the same whim which had moved Charles V. to witness his own obsequies. She had herself let down by ropes and pulleys into the vault where the body of her husband, Francis I., had been placed fifteen years before. Having inspected her future abode, she ordered herself to be taken up. One of the ropes broke. "He," said she, referring to her husband, "wishes me to keep him company. I shall come soon." She wrote in her prayer-book certain interesting memoranda respecting her wishes and opinions, and also relative to the principles by which she had been guided during her reign. She declared, among other things, that she had always been swayed by a sense of justice and by her judgment of what the interests of her people demanded; but she also confessed that in making war she had been stirred by pride and anger and had failed to cherish for others that charity with which her own sinfulness must be covered. "Maria Theresa is dead," said Frederick the Great; "now there will be a new order of things in Europe." For he believed that the ambitious Joseph II. would undertake the aggrandizement of Austria at the expense of neighboring kingdoms.

The part taken by Russia in the Seven-Years' War was a sufficient notification that the empire of the czars had become one of the leading powers of Europe. Now it was that the system of Imperial administration which had been established by Peter the Great began to show forth all the virtues and vices of that type of government. Peter had been a great reformer. Under his sway the spirit of nationality had set up a standard in the vast steppes of the north. After his death, in 1725, his policy was ably supported by his great minister, Alexander Menshikoff. Though temporarily obscured during the last years of Peter's reign he emerged at full stature during the reign of Catharine I. It

was, indeed, chiefly by his agency that that princess was made Czarina. On the accession of young Peter II., Menshikoff became still more powerful, until the latter part of 1727, when he was, by the influence of Dolgoruki, overthrown and banished to Siberia. Then came the reign of the Empress Anna, who during the war of the Polish succession had taken sides with Augustus III., and whose government at home had been chiefly conducted by the Prince Biron, duke of Courland. In 1740 she was succeeded by her grand-nephew, the boy Ivan, who in the following year was dethroned by Elizabeth I. Of the reign of this princess; the accession of Peter III.; the consequent change in the Russian policy respecting the Seven Years' War; the conspiracy against Peter and his murder, and the accession of CATHARINE II., surnamed the Great, mention has already been made in connection with the history of the struggle between Prussia and Austria. A volume might well be written on the life, character, criminal deeds, and splendid reign of the German princess who was thus called to be Czarina of all the Russians. Catharine was born in the fortress of Stettin on the 2d of May, 1729.

Her father was Christian August, formerly a military officer, now governor of Stettin, and afterwards Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst. Her mother was a princess of Holstein-Gottorp. While still in her girlhood, Sophia Augusta—for by that name was Catharine called at first—was, at the suggestion of Frederick the Great, chosen by the Empress Elizabeth to be the wife of her nephew and successor, Peter. She was accordingly taken to St.

Petersburg. Her name was changed to Catharine Alexievna; her creed, to that of the Greek Church; and in 1745 she was married to the Grand Duke, who in 1762 became Czar, with the title of PETER III.

The marriage of Catharine was one of those unions the only merit of which consists in their legality. The Czar to-be was ugly, repulsive, ignorant. He had most of the vices



PRINCE MENSHIKOFF.

After the steel print in the the library of St. Petersburg.

and few of the virtues of his coarse countrymen. The lively temper and half-French enthusiasm of Catharine were completely chilled by her surroundings. Peter was disloyal and unsympathetic. At this time not a few distinguished personages from abroad, having the manners and refinement of the West, frequented the Russian court in the character of ambassadors; and, besides these, not a few of the native noblemen, chiefly those who,

under the policy of Peter the Great, had in their youth visited the Western capitals, were now the leading men of the Empire—generals, ministers, and statesmen. With such Catharine became acquainted, and forgetting any duties which she owed to the stupid Peter, she launched herself without restraint on the boisterous wave of society. Her wit, intelligence, and learning made her a favorite; nor was it long until she foreran the unscrupulous Russians in her violation of social and domestic laws. She had for her first favorite General Soltikoff, whom the envy of the court soon succeeded in burying in a foreign embassy. Then she solaced herself by taking in his place the accomplished Poniatowski, the Polish ambassador. When he was recalled, Gregory Orloff became the favorite; and it was with him and his brother Alexius, assisted by Count Panin, the Princess Dashkoff, and the hetman Razumovski, that the conspiracy was made to depose Peter and put him out of the way. On the night of the 8th of July, 1762, Catharine came with all haste from Peterhof to St. Petersburg, and presenting herself to the guards, whose officers had already been won over, was hailed as Empress. Peter was seized and imprisoned. At first the conspirators had intended to have the proclamation made in favor of Catharine's son Paul; but in the last hour the programme was changed, and it was determined to give the crown to Catharine herself, and to be all or nothing. This scheme was carried out. Peter was strangled in prison. The Empress was crowned at Moscow, and the conspiracy triumphed and flourished.

The first measures of the Czarina were directed to the work of obliterating the memory of the methods by which she gained the throne and of popularizing her government. She showed a great zeal for the national religion and showered favors on the priests. This had the desired effect, and they washed her character white as snow. She adopted the policy of Peter the Great, and bent all her energies to the physical development of the Empire. She encouraged commerce; built a navy; reformed the Imperial code, and made her salutary influence felt in every department of the government. Even in neighboring states the fact was soon recognized that a new Semiramis

of the North had come, the shadow of whose scepter was soon to fall beyond her own dominions. In Poland, after the death of Augustus III., in 1763—though that event occurred in the second year of her reign—her influence was already sufficient to secure the election of her former favorite, Poniatowski, to the throne. Albeit her plan, as it respected this personage, whose somewhat effeminate character and affection for herself she properly estimated, was to use him in carrying out her scheme of Polish annexation.

All this manifestation of energy and promise of greatness, however, could not for the time remove from the minds of the Russians the memory of the murder of Peter III. and the ever-recurring fact that Catharine was a foreign usurper. Plots not a few were made at Moscow and elsewhere to undo the status which had been established by crime. There still survived one heir of the House of Romanoff who might justly claim the throne of the Czars. This was the Prince Ivan, son of Anna Carlovna, and great-grand nephew of Peter the Great. Ivan, in virtue of his birth had been for twenty-four years a prisoner of state, and was at this time confined in the castle of Schlüsselburg. It was contrived that the unfortunate youth should, for *greater security*, be removed to the basement of the prison. Forsooth those who managed the business did not know that the Gulf of Finland with each recurring tide rushed in and filled the apartment to which Ivan was assigned. That night he was drowned by—*accident*!

Thus, in the year 1764, Catharine's way was cleared of the last competitor. The malcontents gave up their schemes, and the Czarina was left to the enjoyment of her ambition and passions. During her reign, which extended to 1796, Russia rose to a leading position among the great powers of Europe. Her voice and influence became decisive in international affairs. Though Catharine was by nature a warlike princess, and would fain have gratified her ambition by battle and conquest, her understanding was such that for the sake of developing and consolidating her vast dominions she chose the policy of peace. It was for this reason, rather than for any liking which she may have had for Prussia or the House of Hohenzollern, that led her,

shortly after her accession, to withdraw the Russian armies which had been engaged in the Seven Years' War. After the manner of Elizabeth of England, she filled her court

aspire to become her lovers, Catharine chose for her associates in the government those who had been, were, or were to be her favorites. The annals of the intrigues, plots, and



CATHARINE II.

with great and brilliant statesmen—Gallitzin, Rumiantzeff, Panin, the Orloffs, Soltikoff, Suvaroff, Tchernitchew, Repnin, and Potemkin; but unlike Elizabeth, who was prudent enough to take her councilors from the great middle class of Englishmen, who could not well

scandals which filled and disgraced the Russian court during the last quarter of the eighteenth century can not—may not—be here recounted. Of this extraordinary episode Catharine was always the central figure. But in the midst of it all her greatness as Czarina

of all the Russias could never be questioned. She reigned with an imperial sway. During her occupancy of the throne the Russian territories were enlarged by a quarter of a million of square miles. The internal progress of the empire was equally astonishing. Fifty thousand industrious and skillful artisans were induced to take up their abode in Southern Russia. Education received an impulse such as had never before quickened the barbarous mind of that far North. Commerce, navigation, and general industry sprang forward with accelerated strides, and Russia, under the auspices of this half glorious and wholly wicked woman, passed within the pale of civilization.

The present Book will be concluded with a sketch of the condition of the American colonies in the times immediately preceding the Revolution. The scene presented is in happy contrast with the story of European affairs through which the thread of royal intrigue and princely perfidy is traced in every part. It is the true glory of America that even from the times long anterior to our struggle for independence the *People*, and not the *Ruler* of the people, were, and have ever been, the fact of prime importance.

Before the outbreak of the Revolution our Colonies had increased to the number of thirteen. Four of them were in New England—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire; four Middle Colonies—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware; five Southern—Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia. All had grown and prospered. The elements of power were everywhere present. A willful, patriotic, and vigorous race of democrats had taken possession of the New World. Institutions unknown in Europe, peculiar to the West, made necessary by the condition and surroundings of the colonies, had sprung up and were taking deep root in American soil.

According to estimates made for the year 1760, the population of the colonies amounted to a million six hundred and ninety-five thousand souls. Of these about three hundred and ten thousand were blacks. Massachusetts was at this period perhaps the strongest colony, having more than two hundred thousand people of European ancestry within her borders.

True, Virginia was the most populous, having an aggregate of two hundred and eighty-four thousand inhabitants, but of these one hundred and sixteen thousand were Africans—slaves. Next in strength stood Pennsylvania, with a population of nearly two hundred thousand; next Connecticut, with her hundred and thirty thousand people; next Maryland, with a hundred and four thousand; then New York, with eighty-five thousand; New Jersey not quite as many; then South Carolina, and so through the feebler colonies to Georgia, in whose borders were less than five thousand inhabitants, including the negroes.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the people of the American colonies had to a certain extent assumed a national character; but they were still strongly marked with the peculiarities which their ancestors had brought from Europe. In New England, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the principles and practices of Puritanism still held universal sway. On the banks of the Hudson the language, manners, and customs of Holland were almost as prevalent as they had been a hundred years before. By the Delaware the Quakers were gathered in such numbers as to control all legislation, and to prevent serious innovations upon the simple methods of civil and social organization introduced by Penn. On the northern bank of the Potomac, the youthful Frederick, the sixth Lord Baltimore, a frivolous and dissolute governor, ruled a people who still conformed to the order of things established a hundred and thirty years previously by Sirs George and Cecil Calvert. In Virginia, mother of states and statesmen, the people had all their old peculiarities; a somewhat haughty demeanor; pride of ancestry; fondness for aristocratic sports; hospitality; love of freedom. The North Carolinians were at this epoch the same rugged and insubordinate race of hunters that they had always been. The legislative assembly, in its controversies with Governor Dobbs, manifested all the intractable stubbornness which characterized that body in the days of Seth Sothel. In South Carolina whose pompous constitution, contributed by the philosopher, John Locke, as the great political curiosity of the seventeenth century,

had long since given place to a simple republican instrument framed by the people for themselves there was much prosperity and happiness. But there, too, popular liberty had been enlarged by the constant encroachment of the legislature upon the royal prerogative. The people, mostly of French descent, were hot-blooded and jealous of their rights. Of all the American colonies, Georgia had at this time least strength and spirit. The commonwealth had languished. Not until 1754, when Governor Reynolds assumed control of the colony, did the affairs of the people on the Savannah begin to flourish. Even afterwards, something of the indigence and want of thrift which had marked the followers of Oglethorpe still prevailed in Georgia.

In matters of education New England took the lead. Her system of free schools extended everywhere from the Hudson to the Penobscot. Every village furnished facilities for the acquirement of knowledge. So complete and universal were the means of instruction that in the times preceding the Revolution *there was not to be found in all New England an adult, born in the country, who could not read and write!* Splendid achievement of Puritanism. In the Middle Colonies education was not so general; but in Pennsylvania there was much intelligent activity among the people. Especially in Philadelphia did the illustrious Franklin scatter the light of learning. South of the Potomac educational facilities were irregular and generally designed for the benefit of the wealthier classes. But in some localities the means of enlightenment were well provided; institutions of learning sprang up scarcely inferior to those of the Eastern provinces, or even of Europe. Nor should the private schools of the colonial times be forgotten. Many Scottish reformers, Irish liberals, and French Patriots fled for refuge to the New World, and taught the lore of books and the lesson of liberty to the rugged boys of the American wilderness. Among the Southern colonies Virginia led the van in matters of education; while Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia lagged behind. Previous to the Revolution, nine colleges worthy of the name had been established in the colonies. These were Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, King's (now Columbia), Brown,

Queen's (afterwards Rutgers), Dartmouth, and Hampden and Sydney. In 1764 the first medical college was founded at Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, the more progressive and spiritual elements of Protestantism had combined with the intellectual forces of the colonies to give a distinctive character to the new American people. The evangelists of religion kept abreast with the teachers and statesmen of the New World. The colonies proved to be an inviting field for the daring missionaries who sowed the seeds of the Gospel among the scattered populations. Most conspicuous of the religious reformers in the epoch just preceding the Revolution were the followers of the Wesleys and Whitefield. The movement which had been originated by John Wesley in England—begun with no intention of a separation from the Established Church—spread into the American colonies before the middle of the century, and became the primary force of American Methodism.¹ The first purely Methodist society in the colonies was formed in New York City, in 1766, by Barbara Heck and Philip Embury. Three years afterwards two Wesleyan preachers were sent to America, and the first church was established in New York. During the next decade, the work of disseminating the nascent Methodism was carried forward with great zeal. Francis Asbury came to America in 1771. Two years afterwards the first formal "Conference" of Wesleyan ministers was held, and the religious revival was continued without abatement until the work was disturbed by the Revolution.

Emerging from that conflict, the American Methodists, still largely influenced and directed by Wesley, made haste to become organic. In the next year after the treaty of peace with Great Britain, Thomas Coke, who had been President of the Irish Conference, was ordained by Wesley as Superintendent and Bishop of the Methodist Church in America. Coming to the United States, he convened a General Conference of the preachers at Baltimore. In that city, on the eve of Christmas, 1784, the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH was organized. Francis Asbury was elected bishop by the Conference, and was ordained by Coke. The general polity which had been outlined by Wesley for the direction of his

¹See *ante* p. 372.

followers in England was adopted by the American Methodists; and, though henceforth the two divisions of Wesleyans moved on different lines of action, the plan and spirit of both—contemplating no less a work than the evangelization of the world—were one in sympathy, one in motive, and one in hope. Such were the beginnings of that great and progressive Church which in numbers has become the first, and in religious zeal not the second, among the Protestant peoples of the world.

Of the printing-press, that swift agent and great forerunner of civilization, the work was already effective. As early as 1704 the *Boston News-Letter*, first of periodicals in the New World, was published in the city of the Puritans. In 1721 the *New England Courant*, a little sheet devoted to free thought and the extinction of rascality, was established at Boston by the two Franklins, James and Benjamin. In 1740 New York had but one periodical, Virginia one, and South Carolina one; and at the close of the French and Indian War there were no more than ten newspapers published in the colonies. The chief obstacles to such publications were the absence of great cities and the difficulty of communication between distant sections of the country. Boston and Philadelphia had each no more than eighteen thousand inhabitants; New York but twelve thousand. In all Virginia there was not one important town, while as far south as Georgia there was scarcely a considerable village. Books were few and of little value. Some dry volumes of history, theology, and politics were the only stock and store. On the latter subject the publications were sometimes full of pith and spirit. Nevertheless, it was no unusual thing to find at the foot of the Virginia mountains, by the banks of the Hudson, or in the valleys of New England, a man of great and solid learning. Such a man was Thomas Jefferson; such were Franklin and Livingston and the Adamses—profound, witty, and eloquent.

Nothing impeded the progress of the colonies more than the want of thoroughfares. No general system of post-offices or post-roads had as yet been established. No common sentiments could be expressed—no common enthusiasm be kindled in the country—by the slow-going mails and packets. The sea-coast

towns and cities found a readier intercourse. Until the Revolution the people lived apart—dependent upon their own resources. When, in 1766, an express wagon made the trip from New York to Philadelphia in two days, it was considered a marvel of rapidity. Six years later the first stage-coach began to run between Boston and Providence.

Before the Revolution the Americans were for the most part an agricultural people. In Virginia the planters devoted themselves almost exclusively to the cultivation of tobacco. Further inland the products were more various: wheat, maize, potatoes; upland cotton, hemp, and flax. In the Carolinas and Georgia the rice crop was most important; after that, indigo, cotton, and some silk; tar and turpentine. New York, Philadelphia, and Boston were then, as now, the great centers of trade. Ship-building was one of the most important colonial interests. In 1738 forty-one sailing vessels were built at the ship-yards of Boston. New England was the seat of the manufacturing interest. But all enterprise in this direction was checked and impeded by the British Board of Trade. No sooner would some enterprising company of New England men begin the building of a factory than this board would interfere in such a way as to make success impossible. So jealous was the English ministry.

Such were the American colonies—such the people whose budding nationality was now to be exposed to the blasts of war. These people had become the rightful proprietors of the New World. They had fairly won it from savage man and savage nature. They owned it by all the claims of actual possession; by toil and trial; by the ordeal of suffering; by peril, privation, and hardship. No wonder that patriotism was the child of such discipline! No wonder that the men who, from mountain and sky and river, had drunk in the spirit of Liberty, were now ready, when the iron heel of oppression was set upon their cherished rights, to draw the sword even against the venerable monarchy of England!

¹It is remarkable to note how tardily the attention of a people will be turned to the building of roads. Thus, for instance, in so old a country as Scotland there were no great thoroughfares constructed until after the Scotch Rebellion of 1745.



Book Twentieth.

THE AGE OF REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER CXVIII.—WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.



If the historian be asked to select from the annals of the world that period in which Man has appeared to the best advantage, he must, with little hesitation, name the last quarter of the eighteenth century. At no other epoch in the history of mankind has the human race emerged so rapidly from its old condition. It was an age in which tradition suffered, ancient tyrannies were startled from the throne, and the fallow ground, long soaked with the cold drippings of the Middle Ages, was torn up and turned to the sun and air with the terrible plowshare of radicalism. Long strides were made in the direction of the emancipation of mankind from the thralldom of the past. The time at last came when men perceived that it was better to fight and die than to endure any longer the domination of other men no better, no wiser, than themselves. That artificial reverence—that half-worship—which prostrate man and society had shown to the powers by which they were governed, was replaced by a manly courage, a dignity, a defiance which went far to redeem

the race from bondage, and to make future slavery impossible.

This was an epoch in which institutions were transformed. Old things passed away. A new man and a new society, the one more free and the other more generous than the world had yet permitted to exist, were born out of the fruitful anarchy of the age. Revolution put his bugle to his lips and blew a blast which echoed to the corners of the earth, resounding against

"castle walls
And snowy summits old in story."

In general terms, the civil and social revolt which constituted the bottom fact in the closing history of the eighteenth century was directed against the institution of Monarchy and its various pillars of support. In order to understand the true nature of the great conflict upon the narrative of which we are now to enter, it will be appropriate, in the first place, to sketch briefly the physiognomy and general character of that monarchical system against which, first in America and then in Europe, the sword of freedom was unsheathed. If, then, we scrutinize the system upon which man, armed with a sense of his inherent

rights, was about to make war, we find our inquiry leading us to the following results :

1. The institution of Monarchy, such as it was in Europe in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, was still a colossal edition of feudal chieftainship. The king was simply a suzerain on a gigantic scale. Whatever of arrogance and pride, and self-will the baronial warrior of the eleventh century felt in his castle halls, that the typical European king of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries assumed in grander style in his palace and court. It implied a prince lifted immeasurably above his subjects. It implied a people without political rights, dependent for life and liberty upon the pleasure of the king—peasants and serfs whose property might be taken at will, whose lives might be exposed in lawless wars, whose bodies might be used or abused, whose minds might be rightfully kept in the clouds of perpetual night.

2. Monarchy was the embodiment of ecclesiastical domination over secular society. The king was either the head of the Church or its obedient servant. The bishops, for their own good, told the monarch that his right to be king came down out of the skies; that he was by the will of heaven born a prince; that his authority was by the grace of God, and that his person was sacred both by the fact of his royal birth and by the manipulation of the priest on the day of coronation. Thus was the arrogance of the feudal baron bound up with the presumption of the ecclesiastical bigot in the person of the king.

3. As a necessary prop and stay of the system stood a graduated order of nobility: dukes who could touch the hem of the royal garment; marquises who could touch the hem of the duke; knights who could touch the hem of the marquis; lords who could touch the hem of the knight; esquires who could touch the hem of his lordship.

4. As a necessary prop and stay of the graduated nobility stood the principle of primogeniture. For it was manifest that the splendors and virtues of royalty and its dependent orders could never be maintained if the blood in which its glory dwelt was allowed, according to nature's plan, to diffuse and spread into a multitude of vulgar kinsmen.

5. As a necessary prop and stay of the

law of primogeniture was the doctrine of entails, by which landed estates and all similar properties should tend to concentrate in certain lines of descent, and thereby be maintained in perpetual solidarity. Not only should the first-born receive the titles and nobility of the father, but he should in like manner inherit the estates to the exclusion of collateral heirs.

6. As to the methods of government, the king should not be hampered by constitutional limitations. Ministers and parliaments were not needed except to carry out the sovereign's mandates; and popular assemblies, in addition to being the hot-beds of sedition, were an impediment to government and a menace to civil authority.

7. The people existed for the king's pleasure. Society was the king's institution. The state was in some sense the king's property. The world was made for the king to act in, and history was designed for his eulogium.¹

It was, then, against this system of monstrous pretensions and despotic rule—against its principles, its spirit, its tendencies, its sham methods and bad essence—that our Revolutionary fathers of 1776 raised the arm of rebellion. After they had been successful in their revolt, thrown off the dominion of the Mother Country, and marked out for themselves a new and shining pathway among the nations of the world, the struggle was transferred to France, where the battle was fought on a grander scale. Out of her example of heroism and victory most of the other European kingdoms caught the inspiration of liberty, and challenged their rulers to combat. It is now our purpose to give an account of the varying vicissitudes of this conflict, first in our own country and then in Europe. The period to be considered extends from the rebellion of our Thirteen Colonies, in 1776, to the downfall of Napoleon and Treaty of Vienna, in 1815.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION was one of the most heroic events in the history of mankind. It was not lacking in any element of glory. Whether considered with reference to the general causes which produced it, or viewed

¹The preceding seven paragraphs on the general character of European monarchy are transcribed from the Author's *Alexander Hamilton*.



FLAGS, UNIFORMS, CURRENCY AND ARMS OF THE REVOLUTION



FLAGS, UNIFORMS, CURRENCY AND ARMS OF THE REVOLUTION

with respect to the personal agency by which it was accomplished, the struggle of our fathers for liberty suffers not by comparison with the grandest conflicts of ancient or modern times. The motives which those great men might justly plead for breaking their allegiance to the British crown and organizing a rebellion; the patient self-restraint with which they bore for fifteen years a series of aggressions and outrages which they knew to be utterly subversive of the liberties of Englishmen; the calmness with which they proceeded from step to step in the attempted maintenance of their rights by reason; the readiness with which they opened their hearts to entertain the new angels of liberty; the backward look which they cast through sighs and tears at their abandoned loyalty to England; the fiery zeal and brave resolve with which at last they drew their swords, trampled in mire and blood the banner of St. George, and raised a new flag in the sight of the nations; the personal character and genius of the men who did it—their loyal devotion to principle, their fidelity, their courage, their lofty purpose and unsullied patriotism—all conspire to stamp the struggle with the impress of imperishable grandeur.

In entering upon the story of our War for Independence, it is appropriate to examine briefly the causes of the conflict. The first and most general of these was *the claim and exercise of the right of arbitrary government* by Great Britain, which right was denied and resisted by the colonies. So long as this claim was asserted by England only as a theory, the conflict was postponed; when the English government began to enforce the principle in practice, the colonies resisted. The question began to be openly discussed about the time of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; and from that period until the beginning of hostilities, in 1775, each year witnessed a renewal of the agitation. But there were also many subordinate causes tending to bring on a conflict.

First of these was *the influence of France*, which was constantly exerted so as to incite a spirit of resistance in the colonies. The French king would never have agreed to the treaty of 1763—by which Canada was ceded to Great Britain—had it not been with the hope of securing American independence. It

was the theory of France that by giving up Canada on the north the English colonies would become so strong as to renounce their allegiance to the crown. England feared such a result. More than once it was proposed in Parliament to re-cede Canada to France in order to check the growth of the American States. "There, now!" said the French statesman, Vergennes, when the treaty of 1763 was signed; "we have arranged matters for an American rebellion in which England will lose her empire in the West."

Another cause leading to the Revolution was found in *the natural disposition and inherited character of the colonists*. They were, for the most part, republicans in politics and dissenters in religion. The people of England were monarchists and High Churchmen. The colonists had never seen a king. The Atlantic lay between them and the British ministry. Their dealings with the royal officers had been such as to engender a dislike for monarchical institutions. The people of America had not forgotten—could not well forget—the circumstances under which their ancestors had come to the New World. For six generations the colonists had managed their own affairs; and their methods of government were necessarily republican. The experiences of the French and Indian War had shown that Americans were fully able to defend themselves and their country.

The growth of public opinion in the colonies tended to independence. The more advanced thinkers came to believe that a complete separation from England was not only possible, but desirable. As early as 1755, John Adams, then a young school-teacher in Connecticut, wrote in his diary: "In another century all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." Such opinions were at first expressed only in private, then by hints in pamphlets and newspapers, and at last publicly and everywhere. The mass of the people, however, were slow to accept an idea which seemed so radical and dangerous. Not until the war had actually begun did the majority declare for independence.

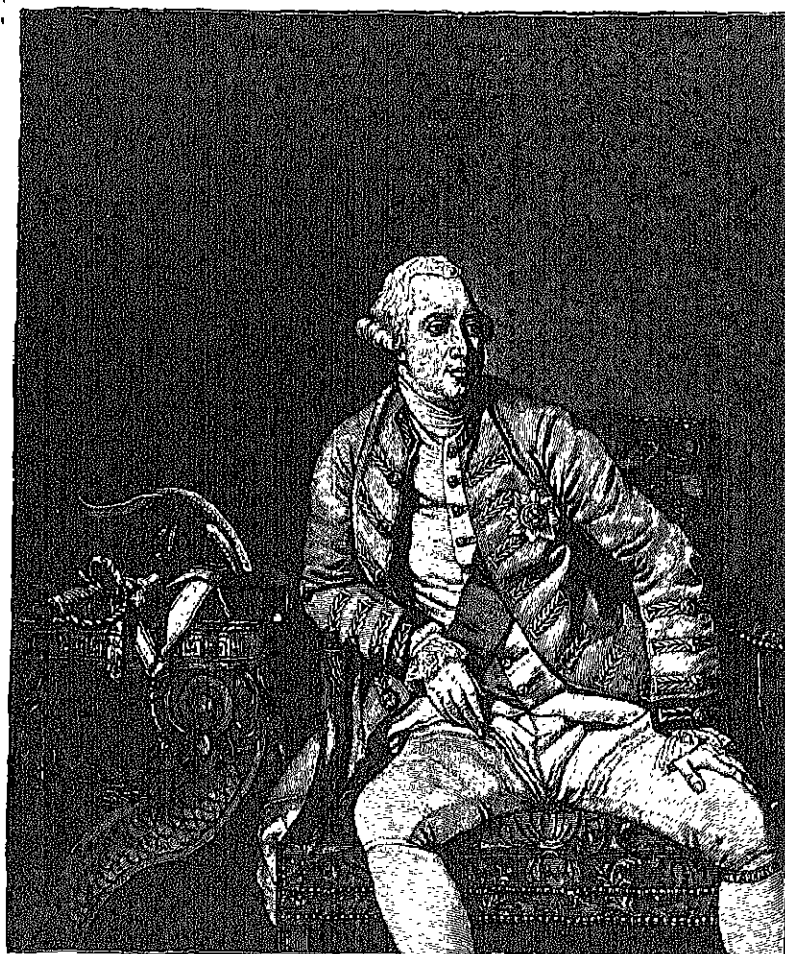
Another cause of the conflict with the mother country was found in *the personal character of the king*. George III., who ascended

the English throne in 1760, was one of the worst monarchs of modern times. His notions of government were altogether despotic. He was a stubborn, stupid, thick-headed man, in whose mind the notion of human rights was entirely wanting. It was impossible for him to conceive of a magnanimous project or

likely that the descendants of the Pilgrims would get on smoothly.

The more immediate cause of the Revolution was the passage by Parliament of a number of acts destructive of colonial liberty. These acts were resisted by the colonies, and the attempt was made by Great Britain to enforce

them with the bayonet. The subject of this unjust legislation, which extended over a period of twelve years just preceding the war, was the question of taxation. It is a well-grounded principle of English common law that the people, by their representatives in the House of Commons, have the right of voting whatever taxes and customs are necessary for the support of the kingdom. The American colonists claimed the full rights of Englishmen. With good reason it was urged that the general assemblies of the colonies held the same relation to the American people as did the House of Com-



George the Third King of Great Britain 1760

GEORGE III.

to appreciate the value of civil liberty. His reign of sixty years was as odious as it was long. In the management of the British Empire he employed only those who were the narrow-minded partisans of his own policy. His ministers were, for the most part, men as incompetent and illiberal as himself. With such a king and such a ministry it was not

mons to the people of England. The English ministers replied that Parliament, and not the colonial assemblies, was the proper body to vote taxes in any and all parts of the British Empire. But we are not represented in Parliament, was the answer of the Americans; the House of Commons may therefore justly assess taxes in England, but not in America. Many of the

towns, boroughs, and shires in these British isles have no representatives in Parliament, and yet the Parliament taxes them, replied the ministers, now driven to sophistry. If any of your towns, boroughs, and shires are not represented in the House of Commons, they *ought* to be, was the American rejoinder; and there the argument ended. Such were the essential points of the controversy. It is now proper to notice the several parliamentary acts which the colonies complained of and resisted.

The first of these was THE IMPORTATION ACT, passed in 1733. This statute was itself a kind of supplement to the old Navigation Act of 1651. By the terms of the newer law exorbitant duties were laid on all the sugar, molasses, and rum imported into the colonies. At first the payment of these unreasonable customs was evaded by the merchants, and then the statute was openly set at naught. In 1750 it was further enacted that iron-works should not be erected in America. The manufacture of steel was specially forbidden; and the felling of pines, outside of inclosures, was interdicted. All of these laws were disregarded and denounced by the people of the colonies as being unjust and tyrannical. In 1761 a strenuous effort was made by the ministry to enforce the Importation Act. The colonial courts were authorized to issue to the king's officers a kind of search-warrants, called Writs of Assistance. Armed with this authority, petty constables might enter any and every place, searching for and seizing goods which were suspected of having evaded the duty. At Salem and Boston the greatest excitement prevailed. The application for the writs was resisted before the courts. James Otis, an able and temperate man, pleaded eloquently for colonial rights, and denounced the parliamentary acts as unconstitutional. The address was a masterly defense of the people, and produced a profound sensation throughout the colonies. Already there were hints at resistance by force of arms.

In 1763, and again in the following year, the English ministers undertook to enforce the law requiring the payment of duties on sugar and molasses. The officers of the admiralty were authorized to seize and confiscate all vessels engaged in the unlawful trade. Before the passage of this act was known at Boston,

a great town-meeting was held. Samuel Adams was the orator. A powerful argument was produced showing conclusively that under the British constitution taxation and representation were inseparable. Nevertheless, vessels from the English navy were sent to hover around the American harbors. A great number of merchantmen bearing cargoes of sugar and wine were seized; and the colonial trade with the West Indies was almost destroyed.

The year 1764 witnessed the first formal declaration of the purpose of Parliament to tax the colonies. Mr. Grenville was now prime minister. On the 10th of March a resolution was adopted by the House of Commons declaring that it would be proper to charge certain stamp-duties on the American colonies. It was announced that a bill embodying this principle would be prepared by the ministers and presented at the next session of Parliament. In the mean time, the news of the proposed measure was borne to America. Universal excitement and indignation prevailed in the colonies. Political meetings became the order of the day. Orators were in great demand. The newspapers teemed with arguments against the proposed enactment. Resolutions were passed by the people of almost every town. Formal remonstrances were addressed to the king and the two houses of Parliament. Agents were appointed by the colonies and sent to London in the hope of preventing the passage of the law.

A new turn was now given to the controversy. The French and Indian War had just been concluded with a treaty of peace. Great Britain had incurred a heavy debt. The ministers began to urge that the expenses of the war ought to be borne by the colonies. The Americans replied that England ought to defend her colonies, from motives of humanity; that in the prosecution of the war the colonists had aided Great Britain as much as Great Britain had aided them; that the cession of Canada had amply remunerated England for her losses; that it was not the payment of money which the colonies dreaded, but the surrender of their liberties. It was also added that in case of another war the American States would try to fight their own battles.

Early in March of 1765, the English Parliament, no longer guided by the counsels of Pitt, passed the celebrated STAMP ACT. In the House of Commons the measure received a majority of five to one. In the House of Lords the vote was unanimous. At the time of the passage of the act the king was in a fit of insanity and could not sign the bill. On the 22d of the month the royal assent was given by a board of commissioners acting for the king. "The sun of American liberty has set," wrote Benjamin Franklin to a friend at home. "Now we must light the lamps of industry and economy." "Be assured," said the friend, in reply, "that we shall light



PATRICK HENRY.

torches of another sort." And the answer reflected the sentiment of the whole country.

The provisions of the Stamp Act were briefly these: Every note, bond, deed, mortgage, lease, license, and legal document of whatever sort, required in the colonies, should, after the first day of the following November, be executed on paper bearing an English stamp. This stamped paper was to be furnished by the British government; and for each sheet the colonists were required to pay a sum varying, according to the nature of the document, from three pence to six pounds sterling. Every colonial pamphlet, almanac, and newspaper was required to be printed on

paper of the same sort, the value of the stamps in this case ranging from a half-penny to four pence; every advertisement was taxed two shillings. No contract should be of any binding force unless written on paper bearing the royal stamp.

The news of the hateful act swept over America like a thunder-cloud. The people were at first grief-stricken; then indignant; and then wrathful. Crowds of excited men surged into the towns, and there were some acts of violence. The muffled bells of Philadelphia and Boston rung a funeral peal, and the people said it was the death-knell of liberty. In New York a copy of the Stamp

Act was carried through the streets with a death's-head nailed to it, and a placard bearing this inscription: THE FOLLY OF ENGLAND AND THE RUIN OF AMERICA. In the Virginia House of Burgesses there was a memorable scene.

Patrick Henry, the youngest member of the House, an uneducated mountaineer recently chosen to represent Louisa County, waited for some older delegate to lead the burgesses in opposition to Parliament. But the older members hesitated or went home. Offended at this lukewarmness, Henry, in his passionate way, snatched a blank-leaf out of an old law-book and hastily drew up a series of fiery resolutions, declaring that the Virginians were Englishmen with English rights; that the people of Great Britain had the exclusive privilege of voting their own taxes, and so had the Americans; that the colonists were not bound to yield obedience to any law imposing taxation on them, and that whoever said the contrary was an enemy to the country. The resolutions were at once laid before the house.

A violent debate ensued, in which the patriots had the best of the argument. It was a moment of intense interest. Two future Presidents of the United States were in the audience; Washington occupied his seat as a delegate, and Thomas Jefferson, a young collegian, stood just outside of the railing. The eloquent and audacious Henry bore down all opposition. "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus," said the indignant orator; "Charles I. had his Cromwell, and George III.—" "Treason!" shouted the speaker. "Treason! treason!" ex-

claimed the terrified loyalists, springing to their feet. "—And George III. may profit by their example," continued Henry; and then added, as he took his seat, "If that be treason, make the most of it!" The resolutions were put to the house and carried; but the majorities on some of the votes were small, and the next day, when Henry was absent, the most violent paragraph was reconsidered and expunged: some of the members were greatly frightened at their own audacity. But the resolutions in their entire form had gone before the country as the formal expression of the oldest American commonwealth, and the effect on the other colonies was like the shock of a battery.

Similar resolutions were adopted by the assemblies of New York and Massachusetts—in the latter State before the action of Virginia was known. At Boston, James Otis successfully agitated the question of an American Congress. It was proposed that each colony, acting without leave of the king, should appoint delegates, who should meet in the following autumn, and discuss the affairs of the nation. The proposition was favorably received; nine of the colonies appointed delegates; and, on the 7th of October, THE FIRST COLONIAL CONGRESS assembled at New York. There were twenty-eight representatives: Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts was chosen president. After much discussion, A DECLARATION OF RIGHTS was adopted setting forth in unmistakable terms that the American colonists, as Englishmen, could not and would not consent to be taxed but by their own representatives. Memorials were also prepared and addressed to the two houses of Parliament. A manly petition, professing loyalty and praying for a more just and humane policy toward his American subjects, was directed to the king.

On the 1st of November, the Stamp Act was to take effect. During the summer, great quantities of the stamped paper had been sent to America. But everywhere it was rejected or destroyed, and the 1st of November was kept as a day of mourning. At first, legal business was suspended. The court-houses were shut up. Not even a marriage license could be legally issued. By and by, the offices were opened, and business went on as before; but was not transacted with stamped

paper. It was at this time that the patriotic society known as THE SONS OF LIBERTY was organized. The merchants of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia entered into a compact to purchase no more goods of Great Britain until the Stamp Act should be repealed.

The colonists had their friends in England. Eminent statesmen espoused the cause of America. In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt delivered a powerful address on the relations of the Mother Country to the colonies. "You have," said he, "no right to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted." On the 18th of March, 1766, the Stamp Act was formally repealed. But at the same time a resolution was added declaring that Parliament had the right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

The repeal of the Stamp Act produced great joy, both in England and America. A few months afterward, a new British cabinet was formed under the leadership of Pitt. While he was confined by sickness to his home in the country, Mr. Townshend, a member of the ministry, brought forward a new scheme for taxing America. On the 29th of June, 1767, an act was passed imposing a duty on all the glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea which should thereafter be imported into the colonies.

Hereupon the resentment of the Americans burst out anew. Another agreement not to purchase British goods was entered into by the American merchants. The newspapers were filled with denunciations of Parliament. Early in 1768, the assembly of Massachusetts adopted a circular calling upon the other colonies for assistance in the effort to obtain redress of grievances. The ministers were enraged and required the assembly to rescind their action, and to express regret for that "rash and hasty proceeding."

In the month of June, a sloop charged with evading the payment of duty, was seized by the custom-house officers of Boston. But the people attacked the houses of the officers and obliged the occupants to fly to Castle William. General Gage was now ordered to bring from Halifax a regiment of regulars and overawe the insurgent people. On the 1st of October the troops, seven hundred strong, marched into the capital of Massachusetts.

In February of 1769, Parliament passed an act by which the people of Massachusetts were declared rebels, and the governor was directed to arrest those deemed guilty and send them to England for trial. The general assembly met this outrage with defiant resolutions. Similar acts were passed in Virginia and North Carolina. In the latter State an insurrection was suppressed by Governor Tryon; the insurgents, escaping across the mountains, became the founders of Tennessee.

Early in 1770, the soldiers in New York cut down a liberty pole which stood in the Park. A conflict ensued in which the people



SAMUEL ADAMS.

won the day. On the 5th of March a more serious difficulty occurred in Boston. A crowd of people surrounded Captain Preston's company of the city guard, looted at them, and dared them to fire. At length the soldiers discharged a volley, killing three of the citizens and wounding several others. This outrage, known as THE BOSTON MASSACRE, created a profound sensation. Captain Preston and his company were arrested and tried for murder, and two of the offenders were convicted of manslaughter.

Parliament now passed an act repealing all duties on American imports except that on

tea. The people, in answer, pledged themselves to use no more tea until the duty should be *unconditionally repealed*. In 1772 an act was passed that the salaries of the officers of Massachusetts should be paid without consent of the assembly. About the same time the *Gaspée*, a royal schooner anchored at Providence, was boarded by the patriots and burned.

In 1773, Parliament removed the export duty, which had hitherto been charged, on tea shipped from England. The price was by so much lowered, and the ministers thought that, when the cheaper tea was offered in America, the colonists would pay the import duty without suspicion. Ships were loaded with tea for the American market. Some of the vessels reached Charleston; but the chests were stored in cellars and the contents ruined. At New York and Philadelphia the ships were forbidden to enter. At Boston the authorities would not permit the tea to be landed. On the 16th of December there was a great town meeting at which seven thousand people were present. Samuel Adams and Josiah Quincy spoke to the multitude. Evening came on, and the meeting was about to adjourn, when a war-whoop was heard, and fifty men disguised as Indians marched to the wharf, where the tea-ships were at anchor. The disguised men quickly boarded the vessels and emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the bay. Such was the BOSTON TEA PARTY.

Parliament made haste to find revenge. On the last day of March, 1774, THE BOSTON PORT BILL was passed, by which it was enacted that no kind of merchandise should any longer be landed or shipped at the wharves of Boston. The custom-house was removed to Salem, but the people of that town refused to accept it. The inhabitants of Marblehead gave the free use of their warehouses to the merchants of Boston. When the news of the passage of the Port Bill reached Virginia, the burgesses entered a protest on their journal. Hereupon Governor Dunmore ordered the members to their homes; but they continued their work in another place. On the 20th of May the charter of Massachusetts was annulled. The people were declared rebels; and the governor was ordered to send abroad for trial all persons who should resist the officers.

In September THE SECOND COLONIAL CONGRESS assembled at Philadelphia. Eleven colonies were represented. One address was prepared and sent to the king; another to the English nation; and another to the people of Canada. A resolution was adopted to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Parliament retaliated by ordering General Gage to reduce the colonists by force. A fleet and ten thousand soldiers were sent to aid him in the work of subjugation. Boston Neck was seized and fortified by the British. The stores at Cambridge and Charlestown were conveyed to Boston, and the General Assembly was ordered to disband, but the members voted to equip an army of twelve thousand men for defense. There was now no longer any hope of a peaceable adjustment. The colonists were few and feeble; but they were men of iron wills, who had made up their minds to fight and, if needs be, die for liberty.

As soon as the intentions of General Gage were known, the people of Boston, concealing their ammunition in carts, conveyed it to the village of Concord. On the night of the 18th of April, Gage despatched eight hundred men to destroy the stores. The plan of the British was made with the greatest secrecy; but the patriots discovered the movement; and when the regiment, under command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, set out for Concord, the people of Boston were roused by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. William Dawes and Paul Revere rode with all speed to Lexington and spread the alarm through the country.

At two o'clock in the morning a company of a hundred and thirty minute-men assembled on the common at Lexington. No enemy appeared until five o'clock, when the British, under command of Pitcairn, came in sight. The provincials were led by Captain Parker. Pitcairn rode up, and exclaimed: "Disperse, ye villains! Throw down your arms!" The minute-men stood still, and Pitcairn cried, "Fire!" The first volley of the Revolution whistled through the air, and sixteen of the patriots fell dead or wounded. The rest fired a few shots, and dispersed.

The British then passed on to Concord; but the inhabitants had removed the stores to a place of safety, and there was but little

destruction. While the British were ransacking the town, the minute-men encountered a company of soldiers who were guarding the North Bridge. Here the Americans first fired under orders of their officers, and two British soldiers were killed. The rest began a retreat through the town towards Lexington. Hereupon the patriots rallied from every side, and for six miles the battle was kept up along the road. Hidden behind trees, fences, and barns, the assailants poured a constant fire upon the enemy. At one time it seemed that the whole British force would surrender. The American loss was forty-nine killed, thirty-four wounded, and five missing; that of the enemy was two hundred and seventy-three.

The battle of Lexington fired the country. The news of the fight flew on the wings of the wind, and within a few days an army of twenty thousand men gathered about Boston. A line of entrenchments was drawn from Roxbury to Chelsea. To drive Gage into the sea was the common talk of the tumultuous host. John Stark came down with the New Hampshire militia. Israel Putnam, with a leather waiscoat on, hurried to the nearest town, mounted a horse and rode to Cambridge, a distance of a hundred miles, in eighteen hours. Rhode Island sent her men under Nathaniel Greene, and Benedict Arnold came with the provincials of New Haven.

Ethan Allen, with a company of two hundred and seventy patriots from the Green Mountains, advanced against Ticonderoga. Arnold joined the expedition as a private. On the evening of the 9th of May, the force reached the shore of Lake George, opposite Ticonderoga. On the following morning, eighty-three men succeeded in crossing. With this mere handful, Allen made a dash and gained the gateway of the fort. The sentinel was driven in, closely followed by the patriot mountaineers. Allen rushed to the quarters of the commandant, and cried out: "Surrender this fort instantly!" "By what authority?" inquired the officer. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," said Allen, flourishing his sword.¹

¹ It happened that Allen in citing his authority perpetrated a ludicrous anachronism. The capture of the fort was made about five hours before the Continental Congress convened!

There was no alternative. The garrison were made prisoners and sent to Connecticut. By this daring exploit, vast quantities of military stores fell into the hands of the Americans. Two days afterward Crown Point was also taken.

On the 25th of May, Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived at Boston. The British army was augmented to more than ten thousand men. It was now rumored that Gage was about to sally out of Boston to burn the neighboring towns and devastate the country. The Americans determined to anticipate this movement by fortifying Bunker Hill, which commanded the peninsula of Charlestown. On the night of the 16th of June, Colonel Prescott was sent with a thousand men to entrench the hill. The provincials reached the eminence; but Prescott and his engineer Gridley, not liking the position, proceeded down the peninsula to Breed's Hill, within cannon range of Boston. On this summit a redoubt was thrown up during the night. The British ships in the harbor were so near that the Americans could hear the sentinels repeating the night-call, "All is well."

As soon as it was light on the following morning, General Gage ordered the ships in the harbor to cannonade the American position. The British batteries on Copp's Hill also opened fire. Just after noon, three thousand British veterans, commanded by Generals Howe and Pigot, landed at Morton's Point. The Americans numbered about fifteen hundred. Generals Putnam and Warren served as privates in the trenches. Charlestown was burned by the British as they advanced. Thousands of spectators climbed to the house-tops in Boston to watch the battle. On came the British in a stately and imposing column.

The Americans reserved their fire until the advancing line was within a hundred and fifty feet. Then instantly from the breastworks every gun was discharged. The front rank of the British melted away, and the rest hastily retreated. Howe rallied his men and led them to the second charge. Again the American fire was withheld until the enemy was but a few rods distant, and then with steady aim volley after volley was poured upon the column until it was broken and driven into flight.

The vessels of the British fleet now changed position until the guns were brought to bear

upon the American works. For the third time, the British soldiers charged with fixed bayonets up the hillside. The Americans had but three or four rounds of ammunition remaining. These were expended on the advancing enemy; and then there was a lull. The British clambered over the ramparts. The provincials clubbed their guns and hurled stones at the assailants. It was in vain; the defenders of liberty were driven out of their trenches at the point of the bayonet. The brave Warren gave his life for freedom. The loss of the British in the engagement was a thousand and fifty-four in killed and wounded. The Americans lost a hundred and fifteen killed, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty-two prisoners. Prescott and Putnam conducted the retreat to Prospect Hill.

The battle of Bunker Hill rather inspired than discouraged the colonists. The news was borne to the South, and a spirit of determined opposition was everywhere aroused. The people began to speak of THE UNITED COLONIES OF AMERICA. At Charlotte, North Carolina, the citizens ran together in a convention, and made a declaration of independence.

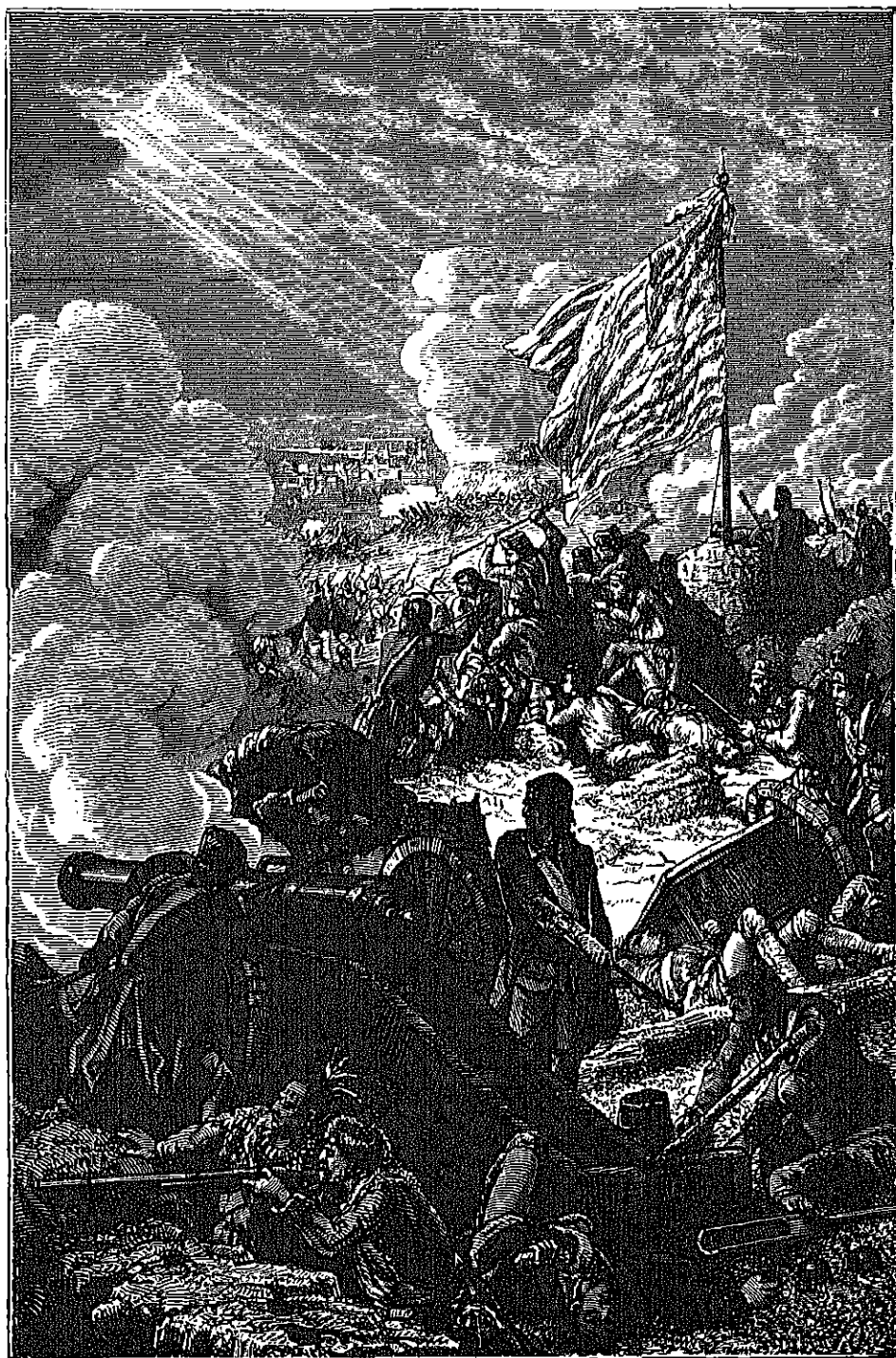
On the day of the capture of Ticonderoga, the colonial Congress assembled at Philadelphia. Washington was there, and John Adams and Samuel Adams, Franklin and Patrick Henry; Jefferson came soon afterward. It was an assembly of heroes. A last appeal was addressed to the king; and he was told that the colonists had chosen war in preference to slavery. Early in the session John Adams made an address, in the course of which he noticed the necessity of appointing a commander-in-chief, and the qualities requisite in that high officer. The speaker concluded by putting in nomination George Washington, of Virginia. On the 15th of June, the nomination was confirmed by Congress; and the man who had saved the wreck of Braddock's army was now called upon to save a nation.

GEORGE WASHINGTON—hero, patriot, statesman—was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the 11th of February (Old Style), 1732. At the age of eleven he was left to the sole care of his mother. His education was limited to the common branches of learning. Surveying was his favorite study. At the age of sixteen he was sent by his uncle

to survey a tract of land on the South Potomac. The important duties which he performed in the service of the Ohio Company and his campaign with Braddock have already

been narrated. With great dignity he accepted the appointment of commander-in-chief, and set out to join the army at Cambridge.

Congress had voted to equip twenty thou-



BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

sand men, but the means of doing so were not furnished. Washington found himself at the head of a force of fourteen thousand five hundred volunteers, but they were undisciplined and insubordinate. The supplies of war were almost wholly wanting. But the army was soon organized and arranged in three divi-

sions. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, who was driven from office, proclaimed freedom to the slaves and raised a force of loyalists, but was defeated by the patriots near Norfolk.

The Americans looked to Canada for aid. In order to encourage the people of that province to take up arms, Generals Schuyler and

Montgomery were ordered to proceed against St. John and Montreal. The former fort was reached on the 10th of September, but could not at first be taken. Afterward General Montgomery succeeded in capturing the fortress. Montreal was next invested, and on the 13th of November obliged to capitulate. Montgomery next proceeded, with three hundred men, against Quebec. In the mean time, Colonel Arnold had set out with a thousand men from Cambridge, and after a march of untold hardship and suffering, had reached the St. Lawrence and climbed to the Plains of Abraham, above Quebec. At Point aux Trembles he was joined by Montgomery, who assumed command. The whole force did not then exceed nine hundred men, so greatly had they suffered. Quebec was defended by greatly superior numbers. For three weeks, with his handful of troops, Montgomery besieged the town, and then staked every thing on an assault.

Before daybreak on the 31st of December, 1775,



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

sions. The right wing, under General Ward, held Roxbury; the left, commanded by General Charles Lee, rested at Prospect Hill; the center, under the commander-in-chief, lay at Cambridge. The siege of Boston was then pressed with vigor. Meanwhile the king's authority was overthrown in all the colonies.

the first division, under Montgomery, attacked the Lower Town. The second column, led by Arnold, attempted to storm the Prescott Gate. As Montgomery's men were rushing forward, a battery before them burst forth with a storm of grape-shot, and at the first discharge Montgomery fell dead. The

men, heart-broken at their loss, retreated to Wolfe's Cove, above the city. Arnold had meanwhile fought his way into the Lower Town. While leading the charge he was severely wounded and borne to the rear. Captain Morgan led his brave band along the narrow streets until he was overwhelmed and compelled to surrender. Arnold retired to a point three miles above the city. The small-pox broke out in the camp; Quebec was strengthened, and in the following June the Americans evacuated Canada.

At last came the king's answer to the appeal of Congress. The petition of the colonies was rejected with contempt. By this tyrannical answer the day of independence was brought nearer. Meanwhile, General Howe had succeeded Gage in command of the British troops in Boston. All winter long the city was besieged by Washington, and by the first of spring, 1776, he felt himself strong enough to risk an assault; the officers of his staff thought otherwise, and a different plan was adopted. It was resolved to seize Dorchester Heights and drive Howe out of Boston.

For two days the attention of the British was drawn by a fire from the American batteries. On the night of the 4th of March, a detachment set out under cover of the darkness and reached the Heights unperceived. The British noticed nothing unusual; but, when morning dawned, Howe saw at a glance that he must carry the American position or abandon the city. He accordingly ordered two thousand four hundred men to storm the Heights before nightfall.

Washington, perceiving the plan and purpose of his adversary, visited the trenches and exhorted his men. It was the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. A battle was momentarily expected; but while the British delayed a storm arose and rendered the harbor impassable. It continued to blow for a whole day and the attack could not be made. Before the following morning the Americans had so strengthened their fortifications that all thoughts of an assault were abandoned, and Howe found himself reduced to the extremity of giving up the capital of New England.

After some days there was an agreement between Washington and the British general, that the latter should retire from Boston un-

molested on condition that the city should not be burned. On the 17th of March, the whole British army went on board the fleet and sailed away. The American advance at once entered the city, and on the 20th, Washington made a formal entry at the head of the triumphant army. The country was wild with delight. Congress ordered a gold medal to be struck in honor of Washington victorious over the enemy, "*for the first time put to flight.*"

In a short time the commander-in-chief repaired with the army to New York. General Lee pressed forward with the Connecticut militia, and reached that city just in time to battle an attempt of Sir Henry Clinton, whose fleet arrived off Sandy Hook. Clinton next sailed southward, and was joined by Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis with two thousand five hundred men. The force of the British was deemed sufficient to capture Charleston. But the Carolinians, led by General Lee, rose in arms and flocked to the city. Charleston was fortified, and a fort, which commanded the entrance to the harbor, was built on Sullivan's Island. On the 4th of June, the British squadron came in sight. On the 28th the hostile fleet began a bombardment of the fortress, which was commanded by Colonel Moultrie. The vessels of the fleet poured a tempest of balls upon the fort; but the walls, built of palmetto, were little injured. The flag-staff was shot away, but Sergeant Jasper leaped down from the wall, recovered the flag, and set it in its place again. As evening drew on, the British were obliged to retire with a loss of two hundred men. The loss of the garrison amounted to thirty-two. As soon as the British could repair their fleet they set sail for New York.

During the summer, Washington's forces were increased to twenty-seven thousand men; but the effective force was little more than half that number. On the other side, Great Britain was making the vastest preparations. By a treaty with some of the German States, seventeen thousand Hessians were hired to fight against America. George III. was going to quell his revolted provinces by turning loose upon them a brutal foreign soldiery. Twenty-five thousand additional English troops were levied; an immense squadron was fitted out to aid in the reduction of the colonies,

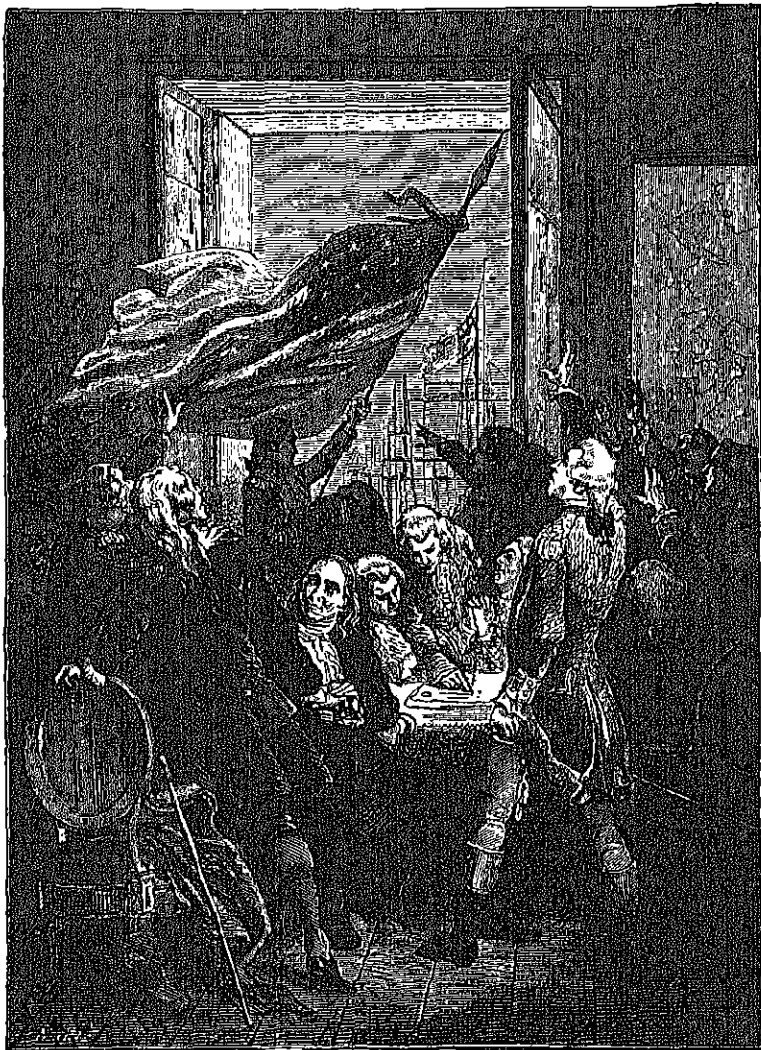
and a million dollars were voted for the extraordinary expenses of the war department.

Thus far the colonists had claimed to be loyal subjects of Great Britain. Now the case seemed hopeless. The people urged the general assemblies, and the general assemblies urged Congress to make a declaration of inde-

The final consideration of Lee's resolution was postponed until the 1st of July; and on the 11th of June, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston, were appointed a committee to prepare a formal declaration.

On the 1st of July, the committee's report

was laid before Congress. On the next day—the 2d—Lee's resolution was adopted. During the 3d, the formal declaration was debated with great spirit. The discussion was resumed on the 4th, and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE was adopted by a unanimous vote. The loyal old bellman of the State House rang out the note of freedom to the nation. The multitudes caught the signal and answered with shouts. Everywhere the declaration was received with enthusiastic applause. At Philadelphia the king's arms were torn down and burned in the street. At Williamsburg, Charleston, and Savannah there were bonfires. At Boston the declaration was read in Faneuil Hall. At



THE COMMITTEE PREPARING THE DECLARATION.

pendence. Congress responded by recommending the colonies to adopt such governments as might best conduce to the safety of the people.

On the 7th of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered a resolution in Congress declaring that the United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent States*. A long and exciting debate ensued.

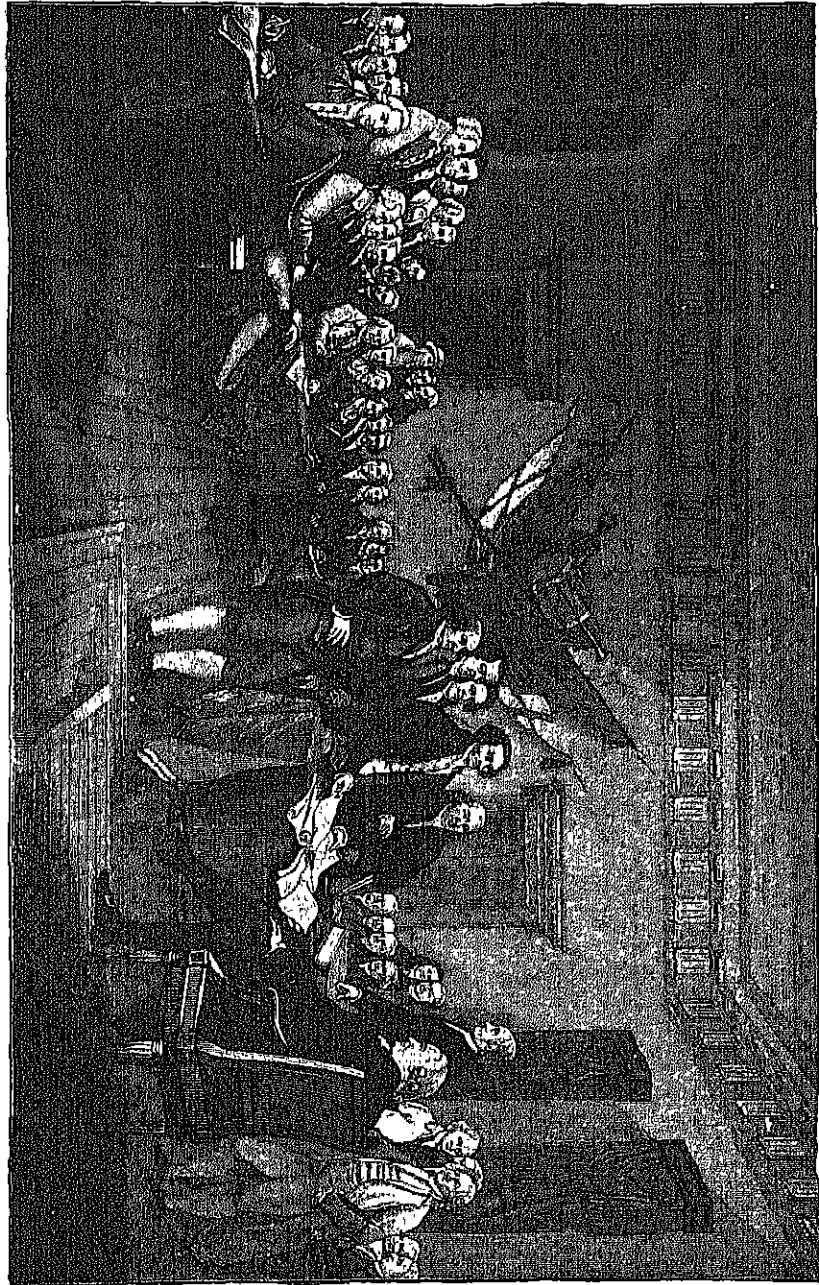
New York the populace pulled down the statue of George III. and cast it into bullets. Washington ordered the declaration to be read at the head of each brigade of the army.

The leading principles of the Declaration of Independence are these: That all men are created equal; that all have a natural right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that

human governments are instituted for the sole purpose of securing the welfare of the people; that the people have a natural right to alter their government whenever it becomes destructive of liberty; that the government

of George III. had become destructive of liberty; that the despotism of the king and his ministers could be shown by a long list of indisputable proofs—and the proofs are given; that time and again the colonies had humbly petitioned for a redress of grievances; that all their petitions had been spurned with derision and contempt; that the king's irrational tyranny over his American subjects was no longer endurable; that an appeal to the sword is preferable to slavery; and that, therefore, the United Colonies of America are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States. To the support of this sublime declaration

SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.



of principles the members of the Continental Congress mutually pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

The people of the American colonies were well prepared to receive the declaration. The

public mind was now fully educated to accept the doctrine of independence. The writings of the Adamses, Otis, and Jefferson had disseminated the doctrines of political freedom; and Thomas Paine's celebrated pamphlet on

Common Sense had sapped the foundation of any remaining loyalty to the British crown. No sooner was the Declaration of Independence given to the people than they, like the signers of that great charter of liberty, pledged

to its support their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

Early in July, General Howe landed a force of nine thousand men on Staten Island. Thither Clinton came from the unsuccessful siege of Charleston, and Admiral Howe from England. The whole British force in the vicinity of New York amounted to thirty thousand men. Nearly half of them were the imported Hessians, for whose transit through his dominions Frederick the Great had charged *so much a head*, saying in mag-

George Washington, etc., etc., etc.; and the bearer insisted that *and-so-forth* might mean *General of the American Army*. But Washington sent the officer away. It was known that Howe's authority extended only to granting pardons, and to this Washington replied that since no offense had been committed no pardon was required.

Lord Howe and his brother at once began hostilities. On the 22d of August, the British, to the number of ten thousand, landed on LONG ISLAND. The Americans, about eight

thousand strong, were posted in the vicinity of Brooklyn. On the morning of the 27th of August, General Grant's division of the British army proceeded as far as Greenwood Cemetery, where he was met by General Stirling with fifteen hundred men; and the battle at once began. In this part of the field there was no decisive result. General Heister, in command of the British center, advanced beyond Flatbush, and engaged the main body of the Americans, under General Sullivan. Here the Hessians gained little or no ground until Sullivan was suddenly alarmed by the noise of battle on his left and rear.

For General Putnam, to whom that duty had been assigned, had neglected to guard the passes on the left of the American army. During the night General Clinton had occupied the heights above the Jamaica road, and now his division came down by way of Bedford. Sullivan found himself



THOMAS PAINE.

nificent satire that that was the rate which he charged for driving *live stock* across his kingdom! Washington's army was greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers, equipment, and discipline.

Lord Howe had been instructed to try conciliatory measures with the Americans. First, he sent to the American camp a dispatch directed to George Washington, *Esquire*. Washington refused to receive a communication which did not recognize his official position. Howe then sent another message, addressed to

surrounded and cut off. The men fought bravely, and many broke through the lines of the British; but the rest were scattered, killed, or taken prisoners.

Cornwallis, attempting to cut off Stirling's retreat, was repulsed. Most of Stirling's men reached the American lines at Brooklyn, but Generals Stirling, Sullivan, and Woodhull were taken prisoners. Nearly a thousand patriots were killed or missing. It seemed an easy thing for Clinton and Howe to capture all the rest. Washington, perceiving that he

could not hold his position, resolved to withdraw to New York. The enterprise was extremely hazardous. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 29th, the embarkation of the army began. All night with muffled oars the boatmen rowed silently back and forth. At daylight on the following morning, the movement was discovered by the British. They rushed into the American intrenchments, and found—a few worthless guns.

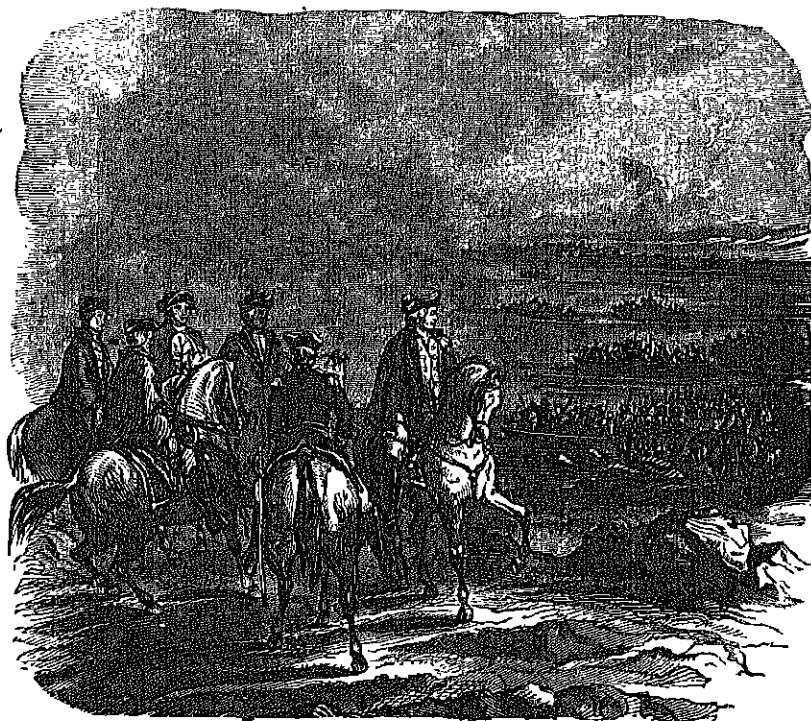
The defeat on Long Island was very disastrous to the American cause. Many of the troops returned to their homes.

Only by constant exertion did Washington keep his army from disbanding. The British fleet anchored within cannon-shot of New York. Washington retired to the Heights of Harlem, and on the 15th of September the British landed three miles above New York. Thence they extended their lines across the island and took possession

of the city. On the following day there was a skirmish between the advance parties of the two armies, in which the British were driven back with a loss of a hundred men. On the 16th of October, Howe embarked his forces, passed into Long Island Sound, and landed in the vicinity of Westchester. The object was to get upon the American flank and cut off communications with the Eastern States. Washington detected the movement, and faced the British east of Harlem River. On the 28th a battle was brought on at WHITE PLAINS. Howe began the engagement with a cannonade, which

was answered with spirit. The Americans were driven from one position, but intrenched themselves in another. Night came on; and Washington withdrew to the heights of North Castle. Howe remained for a few days at White Plains, and then returned to New York.

The American army now crossed to the west bank of the Hudson and took post at Fort Lee. Four thousand men were left at North Castle under General Lee. Fort Washington, on Manhattan Island, was defended



RETREAT OF THE AMERICANS FROM LONG ISLAND.

by three thousand men under Colonel Magaw. The skillful construction of this fort had attracted the attention of Washington, and led to an acquaintance with the engineer, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, then a stripling but twenty years of age. On the 16th of November Fort Washington was captured by the British. The garrison were made prisoners of war and crowded into the jails of New York. Two days after the surrender Fort Lee was taken by Lord Cornwallis. Washington, with his army, now reduced to three thousand men, retreated across the Hudson to Newark; but Cornwallis and Knyphausen came hard after

the fugitives. The patriots continued their flight to Princeton, and finally to Trenton, on the Delaware. Nothing but the skill of Washington saved the remnant of his forces from destruction.

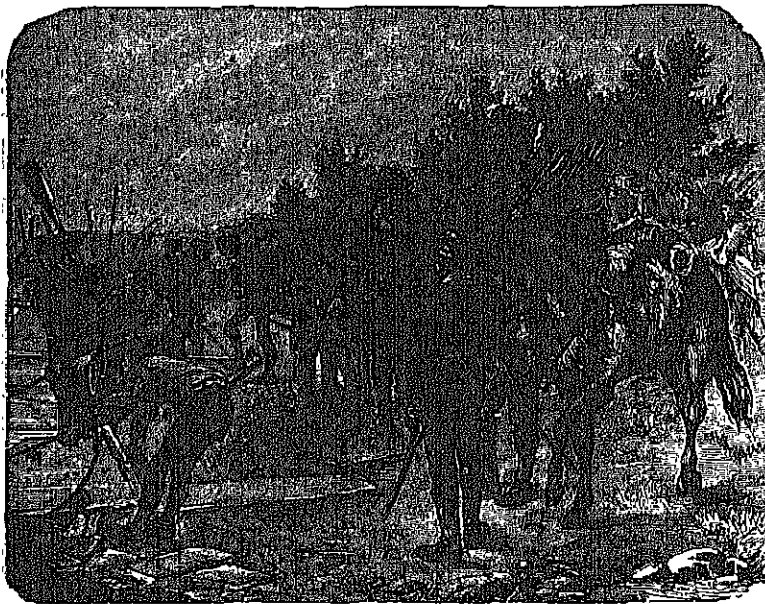
On the 8th of December Washington crossed the Delaware. Cornwallis, having no boats, was obliged to wait for the freezing of the river. The British army was stationed in the towns and villages east of the Delaware. Trenton was held by two thousand Hessians under Colonel Rahl. It was seen that as soon as the river should be frozen the Brit-

ington. The entire American force now amounted to a little more than six thousand.

The tide of misfortune turned at last. Washington saw in the disposition of the British forces an opportunity to strike a blow for his country. The leaders of the enemy were off their guard. The Hessians on the east side of the river were spread out from Trenton to Burlington. Washington conceived the design of crossing the Delaware and striking the detachment at Trenton before a concentration of the enemy's forces could be effected. The American army was arranged

in three divisions. The first, under General Cadwallader, was to cross the river at Bristol. General Ewing was to pass over a little below Trenton. Washington himself, with twenty-four hundred men, was to cross the Delaware nine miles above Trenton, march down the river, and assault the town.

Christmas night was selected as the time for the movement. The Delaware was filled with floating ice. Generals Ewing and Cadwallader were both baffled in their



THE AMERICAN RETREAT INTO JERSEY.

ish would march into Philadelphia, and Congress accordingly adjourned to Baltimore.

On the same day that Washington crossed the Delaware the islands of Rhode Island and Conanicut were taken by Admiral Parker's fleet; and the American squadron under Commander Hopkins was blockaded in Blackstone River. During his retreat across New Jersey Washington sent dispatches to General Lee, at North Castle, to join the main army as soon as possible. That officer marched with his command as far as Morristown, and then took up his quarters at Basking Ridge. On the 13th of December a squad of British cavalry captured Lee and hurried him off to New York. General Sullivan took command of Lee's division, and hastened to join Wash-

ington. Washington, having succeeded in getting over, divided his army into two columns and pressed forward. At eight o'clock in the morning the Americans came rushing into the village from both directions. The Hessians sprang from their quarters and attempted to form in line. Colonel Rahl was mortally wounded. Nearly a thousand of the Hessians threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Before nightfall Washington, with his army and the whole body of captives, was safe on the other side of the Delaware.

The battle of Trenton roused the nation from despondency. The militia flocked to the general's standard; and fourteen hundred soldiers, whose term of enlistment now expired, reëntered the service. Robert Morris, the

great financier of the Revolution, came forward with his fortune to the support of his country. Three days after his victory Washington again crossed the Delaware; and here all the American detachments in the vicinity were ordered to assemble. To General Heath, stationed at Peekskill, Washington sent orders to move into New Jersey. The British fell back from their outposts and concentrated at Princeton. Cornwallis resumed command in person. So closed the year. Ten days previously Howe only waited for the freezing of

passage, were driven back; and Cornwallis deferred the main attack till the morrow. During the night Washington called a council of war, and it was determined to leave the camp, pass the British left flank, and strike the enemy at Princeton. The baggage was removed to Burlington. The camp-fires were brightly kindled and kept burning through the night. Then the army was put in motion towards Princeton. Every thing was done in silence, and the morning light showed the British sentries a deserted camp.



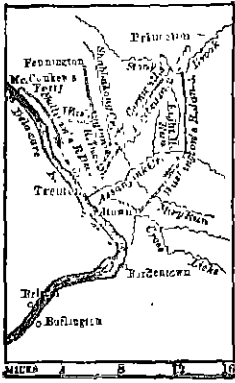
WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.
After the painting by Creuze

the Delaware before taking up his quarters in Philadelphia. Now it was a question whether he would be able to hold a single town in New Jersey.

On the 1st of January, 1777, Washington's army at Trenton numbered about five thousand men. On the next day Cornwallis approached with greatly superior forces. During the afternoon there was severe skirmishing along the roads east of Trenton. Washington took up a new position south of Assanpink Creek. The British, attempting to force a

At sunrise Washington was entering Princeton. At the same time the British were marching out to reinforce Cornwallis. The Americans met them in the edge of the village, and the battle at once began. The British charged bayonets, and the militia gave way in confusion. General Mercer received a mortal wound. But the Pennsylvania regulars, led by the commander-in-chief, stood their ground. Washington rallied his men with the greatest bravery; and the British were routed, with a loss of four hundred and thirty men in killed,

wounded, and missing. Washington, fearing the approach of Cornwallis, hastily withdrew to the north, and on the 5th of January took a position at Morristown. Cornwallis retired



BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON, 1776-7.

to New Brunswick. In a short time the greater part of New Jersey was recovered by the patriots. Cornwallis gradually contracted his lines until his whole force was cooped within the limits of New Brunswick and Amboy.

In the early spring, the American stores at Peekskill were destroyed by the British.

On the 13th of April, Cornwallis surprised General Lincoln on the Raritan; but the latter made good his retreat. On the 25th of the month General Tryon, with a detachment of two thousand men, proceeded against Danbury, Connecticut. After burning the town, the British were attacked by the patriots under Wooster and Arnold, and lost two hundred men. The veteran Wooster fell in this engagement.

On the night of the 22d of May, Colonel Meigs, of Connecticut, embarked two hundred men in whale-boats, crossed the sound, and attacked Sag Harbor. The British were overpowered; only four of them escaped; five or six were killed, and the remaining ninety were made prisoners. The stores were destroyed by the patriots, who, without the loss of a man, returned to Guilford. Colonel Meigs was rewarded with an elegant sword from Congress.

The patriot forces of the North were now concentrated on the Hudson; and a camp, under Arnold, was laid out on the Delaware. In the latter part of May, Washington broke up his winter-quarters and took an advantageous position only ten miles from the British camp. Howe crossed over from New York, and threatened an attack upon the American lines. For a month the two armies

countermarched and skirmished. Finally the British retired to Amboy, and on the 30th of June crossed over to Staten Island. On the 10th of July, General Prescott, of the British army, was captured at a farm-house near Newport by Colonel William Barton and forty volunteers. This lucky exploit gave the Americans an officer of equal rank to exchange for General Lee. Colonel Barton was rewarded with an elegant sword by Congress. That body had, in the mean time, returned to Philadelphia.

From the beginning of the war the people of France had been friendly to the American cause. By and by their sympathy became more outspoken. The French ministers would do nothing openly to provoke a war with Great Britain; but secretly they rejoiced at every British misfortune. The Americans came to understand that, if money was required, France would lend it; if arms were to be purchased, France had arms to sell. During the year 1777, the French managed to supply the colonies with twenty



LA FAYETTE IN HIS YOUTH.

thousand muskets and a thousand barrels of powder.

At last the republicans of France began to embark for America. Foremost of all came Gilbert Motier, the young MARQUIS OF LA

FAYETTE. Fitting a vessel at his own expense, he eluded the officers—for he had been forbidden to sail—and with the brave Baron De Kalb and a small company of followers, reached South Carolina in April of 1777. He entered the army as a volunteer, and in the following July was commissioned a major-general.

One of the most important events of the war was the campaign of General Burgoyne. Superseding Sir Guy Carleton in command of the English forces in Canada, he spent the spring of 1777 in organizing an army of ten thousand men for the invasion of New York. The forces consisted of British, Hessians, Canadians, and Indians. The plan of the campaign embraced a descent upon Albany and New York, and the cutting off of New England from the Middle and Southern colonies. On the 1st of June, the invaders reached Lake Champlain, and on the 16th proceeded to Crown Point. This place was occupied by the British; and on the 5th of July, Ticonderoga, which was defended by three thousand men under General St. Clair, was captured. The garrison retreated to Hubbardton, Vermont. Here an engagement ensued, in which the Americans fought so obstinately as to check the pursuit. On the following day the British reached Whitehall, and captured a large quantity of stores.

At this time the American army of the North was commanded by General Schuyler. His forces, numbering between four and five thousand, were at Fort Edward. This place was captured by Burgoyne on the 30th of July, the Americans retreating down the Hudson. The British general now dispatched Colonels Baum and Breymann, with a strong detachment, to seize the stores at Bennington, Vermont. Colonel John Stark rallied the New Hampshire militia, and on the 15th of August met the British near the village. On the following morning there was a furious battle, in which Baum's force was completely routed. The British lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners more than eight hundred men. The country was thrilled by the victory.

A few days after the battle of Bennington, Burgoyne received intelligence of a still

greater reverse. At the beginning of the invasion a large force of Canadians and Indians, commanded by General St. Leger, had been sent against Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk. On the 3d of August, St. Leger invested the fort. General Herkimer rallied the militia of the country, but was defeated with a loss of a hundred and sixty men. Meanwhile, however, General Arnold had led a detachment from the Hudson for the relief of the fort. At his approach the savages fled. St. Leger, dismayed at their treachery, raised the siege and retreated. Such was the news that was borne to Burgoyne at Fort Edward.

The British general now lost a month in



GENERAL JOHN BURGoyNE.

procuring supplies from Canada. He found himself hemmed in by nine thousand patriot soldiers. General Lincoln arrived with the militia of New England. Washington sent several detachments from the regular army. Morgan came with his riflemen from the South. General Gates superseded Schuyler in command of the northern army. On the 8th of September the American head-quarters were advanced to Stillwater. At Bemis's Heights, a short distance north of this place, a camp was laid out and fortified under direction of the noted Polish engineer and patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. On the 14th of the month Burgoyne crossed the Hudson and took post at Saratoga. The two armies now came face to face. On the 19th a general

battle ensued, continuing until nightfall. The conflict, though severe, was indecisive; the Americans retired within their lines, and the British slept on the field. To the patriots the result of the battle was equivalent to a victory.

The condition of Burgoyne grew critical. His supplies failed; his Canadian and Indian allies deserted his standard. Meanwhile, General Clinton, who commanded the British army in New York, made the most unwearied efforts



THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO.

to save Burgoyne. He sailed up the river and captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery. But nothing further was accomplished, and Burgoyne became desperate. On the 7th of October he hazarded another battle, in which he lost his bravest officers and nearly seven hundred privates. The brave General Fraser, who commanded the British right, was killed. His disheartened men turned and fled from the field. On the American side Arnold was the inspiring genius of the battle. The Americans were completely victorious.

Burgoyne now began a retreat, and on the 9th of October reached Saratoga. Here he was intercepted by Gates and Lincoln, and driven to surrender. On the 17th of October terms of capitulation were agreed on, and the whole army, numbering five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, became prisoners of war. Among the captives were six members of the British Parliament. Forty-two pieces of brass artillery, five thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of stores were the fruits of the victory.

As soon as the invasion was at an end, a large portion of the American army was dispatched to aid Washington. For, in the mean time, a great campaign had been in progress in the South; and the patriots were sorely pressed. On the 23d of July, Howe had sailed from New York, with eighteen thousand men, to attack Philadelphia. Learning that the Americans had obstructed the Delaware, he determined to change his plan, enter the Chesapeake, and make the attack by land. Washington advanced his head-quarters from Philadelphia to Wilmington. The American army, numbering between eleven and twelve thousand men, was concentrated at that place. The forces of Howe were vastly superior, but Washington hoped to beat back the invaders and save the capital.

On the 25th of August the British landed at Elk River, in Maryland, and began their march towards Philadelphia. Washington selected the Brandywine as his line of defense.

The left wing was stationed at Chad's Ford, while the right, under General Sullivan, was extended up the river. On the 11th of September the British reached the opposite bank and began battle. The Hessians, under General Knyphausen, attacked at the ford; but the British, led by Cornwallis and Howe, marched up the Brandywine and crossed above the American right. Sullivan allowed himself to be outflanked. Washington was misled by false information; the right wing was crushed in by Cornwallis, and the day was lost.

the frozen ground was marked with bloody footprints. Log cabins were built, and every thing was done that *could* be done to secure the comfort of the suffering patriots. But it was a long and dreary winter. These were the darkest days of Washington's life. Congress in a measure abandoned him. The success of the army of the North was unjustly compared with the reverses of the army of the South. Many men high in military and civil station left the great leader unsupported. But the allegiance of the army remained unshaken, and the nation's confidence in the

that ship came Baron Steuben, who was commissioned by Congress as inspector-general of the army.

Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin were also appointed by Congress to negotiate a treaty with the French king. In December of 1776 they reached Paris and began their duties. For a long time King Louis and his minister stood aloof from the proposed alliance. They hated Great Britain, and gave *secret encouragement to the colonies*; but an open treaty with the Americans was equivalent to a war with England, and that the French court dreaded.

Now it was that the genius of Dr. Franklin shone with a peculiar luster. At the gay court of Louis XVI. he stood as the representative of his country. His wit and genial humor made him admired; his talents and courtesy commanded respect; his patience and perseverance gave him final success. During the whole of 1777 he remained at Paris and Versailles. At last came the news of Burgoyne's surrender. A powerful British army had been subdued by the colonists without aid from abroad. The success of the American arms and the influence of the great financier, Beaumarchais, who for several years had been in correspondence with the American agents abroad, induced the king to ac-



BEAUMARCHAIS.

chieftain became stronger than ever. At the close of 1777 the patriot cause was obscured with clouds and misfortune.

Meanwhile, however, negotiations had been successfully begun looking to an alliance of the Americans and the French. In November of 1776 Silas Deane, of Connecticut, was appointed commissioner to the court of Louis XVI., then in the third year of his reign. His first service was to make a secret arrangement with the ministry to supply the Americans with materials for carrying on the war. In the autumn of 1777 a ship laden with two hundred thousand dollars' worth of arms, ammunition, and specie was sent to America. In

cept the proposed alliance with the colonies. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty was concluded; France acknowledged the independence of the United States, and entered into relations of friendship with the new nation.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, the author of the first treaty between the United States and a foreign nation, was born in Boston on the 17th of January, 1706. His father was a manufacturer of soap and candles. At the age of twelve Benjamin was apprenticed to his brother to learn the art of printing. In 1728 he went to Philadelphia, entered a printing-office, and rose to distinction. He visited England; re-

turned; founded the first circulating library in America; edited *Poor Richard's Almanac*; discovered the identity of electricity and lightning; espoused the patriot cause, and devoted his old age to perfecting the American Union. The name of Franklin is one of the brightest in history.

In May of 1778 Congress ratified the treaty with France. A month previously a French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, had been sent to America. Both France and Great Britain immediately prepared for war. George III. now became willing to treat with his American subjects. Lord North brought forward two bills in which every thing that the colonists had claimed was conceded. The bills were passed by Parliament, and the king assented. Commissioners were sent to America, but Congress informed them that nothing but an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States would now be accepted. So it is that the obstinacy of tyrants conduces to the liberties of mankind.

The British army remained at Philadelphia until June of 1778. The fleet of Admiral Howe lay in the Delaware. When the rumor came that the fleet of D'Estaing was approaching, the English admiral set sail for New York. On the 18th of June the British army evacuated Philadelphia and retreated across New Jersey. Washington occupied the city, and followed the retreating foe. At Monmouth the British were overtaken. On the morning of the 28th, General Lee was ordered to attack the enemy. The American cavalry under La Fayette was driven back by Cornwallis. Lee ordered his line to retire to a stronger position; but the troops mistook the order and began a retreat. Washington met the fugitives and administered a severe rebuke to Lee. The fight continued till nightfall, and Washington anxiously waited for the morning. During the night, however, Clinton withdrew his forces and escaped.

The loss of the Americans was two hundred and twenty-seven. The British left nearly three hundred dead on the field. On the day after the battle Washington received an insulting letter from Lee demanding an apology. Washington replied that his lan-

guage had been warranted by the circumstances. Lee answered in a still more offensive manner, and was thereupon arrested, tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from his command for twelve months. He never reentered the service, and did not live to see our country's independence.

The British forces were now concentrated at New York. Washington took up his headquarters at White Plains. On the 11th of July, Count d'Estaing's fleet attempted to attack the British squadron in the bay; but the bar at the entrance prevented the passage of the French vessels. D'Estaing next sailed



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

for Rhode Island, and General Sullivan proceeded to Providence to cooperate with him in an attack on Newport. On the 9th of August, Sullivan secured a favorable position on the island. A joint attack by land and sea was planned for the following day. On that morning the fleet of Lord Howe came in sight, and D'Estaing sailed out to give battle. Just as the two squadrons were about to begin an engagement, a storm arose by which the fleets were parted and greatly damaged. D'Estaing repaired to Boston and Howe returned to New York.

Sullivan laid siege to Newport, but soon found it necessary to retreat. The British

pursued, and a battle was fought in which the enemy was repulsed with a loss of two hundred and sixty men. On the following night Sullivan succeeded in escaping from the island. General Clinton returned to New York.

The command of the British naval forces operating against America was now transferred to Admiral Byron. Early in October, a band of incendiaries, led by Colonel Ferguson, burned the American ships at Little Egg Harbor. In the preceding July Major John Butler, in command of sixteen hundred loyalists, Canadians, and Indians, marched into



GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

the valley of Wyoming, Pennsylvania. The settlement was defenseless. On the approach of the Tories and savages a few militia, old men and boys, rallied to protect their homes. A battle was fought, and the patriots were routed. The fugitives fled to a fort, which was crowded with women and children. Honorable terms were promised by Butler, and the garrison capitulated. On the 5th of July the gates were opened and the barbarians entered. Immediately they began to plunder and butcher. Nearly all the prisoners fell under the hatchet and the scalping-knife.

In November there was a similar massacre at Cherry Valley, New York. The invaders

were led by Joseph Brandt, chief of the Mohawks, and Walter Butler, a son of Major John Butler. The people of Cherry Valley were driven from their homes; women and children were tomahawked and scalped, and forty prisoners dragged into captivity. To avenge these outrages, an expedition was sent against the savages on the Susquehanna; and they in turn were made to feel the terrors of war. In the spring of 1778, Major Clarke marched against the Indians west of the Alleghenies. The expedition descended to the mouth of the Ohio; and, on the 4th of the following July, captured Kaskaskia. Other important posts were taken; and, on the 26th of February, 1779, Vincennes, on the Wabash, was forced to capitulate.

On the 3d of November, Count d'Estaing's fleet sailed for the West Indies. In December Admiral Byron left New York to try the fortunes of war on the ocean. Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, was sent by General

Clinton for the conquest of Georgia. On the 29th of December the expedition reached Savannah. The place was defended by General Robert Howe, with eight hundred men. A battle was fought, and the Americans were driven out of the city. The patriots crossed into South Carolina, and found refuge at Charleston. Such was the only real conquest made by the British during the year.

The winter of 1778-79 was passed by the American army at Middlebrook. There was much discouragement among the soldiers, for they were neither paid nor fed. But the influence of Washington prevented a mutiny. In February, Governor Tryon, of New York, marched with fifteen hundred regulars and Tories to destroy the salt-works at Horse Neck, Connecticut. General Putnam rallied the militia and made a brave defense. The Americans were finally outflanked by the British and obliged to fly. It was here that General Putnam, when about to be overtaken, spurred his horse down a precipice and escaped.

In the latter part of May, Clinton sailed with an armament up the Hudson to Stony Point. The garrison, unable to resist, escaped from the fortifications. On the 1st of

June, the British bombarded Verplanck's Point, on the other side of the river, and compelled a surrender. In July, Tryon, with twenty-six hundred Hessians and Tories, captured New Haven. East Haven and Fairfield were given to the flames. At Norwalk, while the village was burning, Tryon, on a neighboring hill, sat in a rocking-chair and laughed heartily at the scene.

The work of retaking Stony Point was assigned by Washington to General Anthony Wayne. On the 15th of July he marched against that stronghold, and, in the evening, halted near the fort and gave his orders. The British pickets were caught and gagged. Every thing was done in silence. Muskets were unloaded and bayonets fixed; not a gun was to be fired. The assault was made a little after midnight. The patriots never wavered in the charge. The ramparts were sealed; and the British, finding themselves between two lines of bayonets, cried out for quarter. Sixty-three of the enemy fell; the remaining five hundred and forty-three were made prisoners. Of the Americans, only fifteen were killed and eighty-three wounded. General Wayne secured the ordnance and stores, and then destroyed the fort.

Three days afterwards, Major Lee captured the British garrison at Jersey City. On the 25th of the month, a fleet was sent against a British post at the mouth of the Penobscot. On the 13th of August, while the American ships were besieging the post, they were attacked and destroyed by a British squadron. In the summer of this year, four thousand six hundred men, led by Generals Sullivan and James Clinton, were sent against the Indians on the Susquehanna. At Elmira the savages and Tories had fortified themselves; but, on the 29th of August, they were forced from their stronghold and utterly routed. The country between the Susquehanna and the Genesee was wasted by the patriots. Forty Indian villages were destroyed.

On the 9th of January, 1779, Fort Sunbury, on St. Catherine's Sound, was captured by the British under General Prevost. This officer then assumed command of the British army in the South. A force of two thousand regulars and loyalists was dispatched against Augusta. On the 29th of January, the Brit-

ish reached their destination, and Augusta was taken. In the mean time, the Tories, who were advancing to join the British at Augusta, were defeated by the patriots under Captain Anderson. On the 14th of February, they were again overtaken and routed by Colonel Pickens. Colonel Boyd, the Tory leader, and seventy of his men were killed. Seventy-five others were captured, and five of the ring-leaders hanged. The western half of Georgia was quickly recovered by the patriots.

General Ashe was sent with two thousand men to intercept the enemy. On the 25th of February, the Americans crossed the Savannah, and pursued Campbell as far as Brier Creek. Here the patriots came to a halt; and General Prevost, marching from Savannah, surrounded Ashe's command. A battle was fought on the 3d of March; the Americans were totally routed, and driven into the swamps. By this defeat, Georgia was again prostrated, and a royal government was established over the State.

Within a month, General Lincoln was again in the field with five thousand men. He advanced up the left bank of the river in the direction of Augusta; but, at the same time, General Prevost crossed the Savannah, and marched against Charleston. General Lincoln turned back to attack him, and the British made a hasty retreat. The Americans overtook the enemy at Stono Ferry, ten miles west of Charleston, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Prevost then fell back to Savannah, and from June until September military operations were suspended.

Count d'Estaing now arrived with his fleet from the West Indies to coöperate with Lincoln in the reduction of Savannah. Prevost concentrated his forces for the defense of the city. On the 12th of September, the French, numbering six thousand, effected a landing, and advanced to the siege. Eleven days elapsed before General Lincoln arrived with his forces. On the 16th of the month, D'Estaing demanded a surrender; but Prevost answered with a message of defiance. The siege was pressed with vigor, and the city constantly bombarded. But the defenses remained unshaken. At last D'Estaing notified Lincoln that the city must be stormed. It was determined to make the assault on the morning of the 9th of October.

Before sunrise the allies advanced against the redoubts of the British. The attack was made with great vehemence. At one time it seemed that the works would be carried. The flags of Carolina and France were planted on the parapet, but were soon hurled down. Sergeant Jasper, the hero of Fort Moultrie, was killed. The allied columns were driven back with fearful losses. Count Pulaski was struck with a grape-shot, and borne dying from the field. D'Estaing retired on board the fleet, and Lincoln retreated to Charleston.

On the 23d of September, Paul Jones, cruising off the coast of Scotland with a fleet of French and American vessels, fell in with a British squadron, and a bloody battle ensued. The *Serapis*, a British frigate of forty-four guns, engaged the *Poor Richard* within musket-shot. At last the vessels were lashed together, and the *Serapis* struck her colors. Jones transferred his men to the conquered ship, and the *Poor Richard* went down. Of the three hundred and seventy-five men on board the fleet of Jones, three hundred were either killed or wounded.

So closed the year 1779. The colonies were not yet free. The French alliance had brought but little benefit. The national treasury was bankrupt. The patriots of the army were poorly fed, and paid only with unkept promises. The disposition of Great Britain was still for war. The levies of sailors and soldiers made by Parliament amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand; while the expenses of the War Department were set at twenty million pounds sterling.

During the year 1780, military operations at the North were, for the most part, suspended. Early in July, Admiral De Ternay arrived at Newport with a French squadron and six thousand land-troops under Count Rochambeau. The Americans were greatly elated at the coming of their allies. In September the commander-in-chief held a conference with Rochambeau, and the plans of future campaigns were determined.

In the South the patriots suffered many reverses. South Carolina was completely overrun by the enemy. On the 11th of February, Admiral Arbuthnot anchored before Charleston. Sir Henry Clinton and five thousand men were on board the fleet. The city was defended

by fourteen hundred men, under General Lincoln. The British effected a landing, and advanced up the right bank of Ashley River. On the 7th of April, Lincoln was reinforced by seven hundred Virginians. Two days afterward Arbuthnot succeeded in passing Fort Moultrie, and came within cannon-shot of the city.

A siege was at once begun, and prosecuted with vigor. Lincoln sent three hundred men under General Huger to scour the country north of Cooper River. Apprised of this movement, Tarleton with the British cavalry stole upon Huger's forces at Monk's Corner and dispersed the whole company. The city was now fairly hemmed in. From the beginning the defense was hopeless. The fortifications were beaten down, and Lincoln, dreading an assault, agreed to capitulate. On the 12th of May, Charleston was surrendered to the British, and the garrison became prisoners of war.

A few days before the surrender, Tarleton surprised and dispersed a body of militia on the Santee. Afterward three expeditions were sent into different sections of the State. The American post at Ninety-Six was seized. A second detachment invaded the country on the Savannah. Cornwallis crossed the Santee and captured Georgetown. Tarleton, with seven hundred cavalry, overtook the Americans under Colonel Buford, on the Waxhaw, charged upon and scattered the whole command. The authority of Great Britain was reëstablished over South Carolina. Clinton and Arbuthnot returned to New York, and Cornwallis was left to hold the conquered territory. In this condition of affairs, Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion appeared as the protectors of the State. They rallied the militia, and began an audacious partisan warfare. Detachments of the British were swept off as though an enemy had fallen on them from the skies. At Rocky Mount, Colonel Sumter burst upon a party of dragoons, who barely saved themselves. On the 6th of August, he attacked a detachment at Hanging Rock, defeated them and retreated. It was in this battle that young Andrew Jackson, then but thirteen years of age, began his career as a soldier.

Marion's company consisted of twenty men and boys, white and black, half clad and poorly armed. But the number increased, and the

"Ragged Regiment" soon became a terror to the enemy. There was no telling when or where the sword of the fearless leader would fall. From the swamps at midnight, he and his men would suddenly dart upon the encampments of the enemy. During the summer and autumn of 1780, he swept around Cornwallis's positions, cutting his lines of communication, and making incessant onsets.

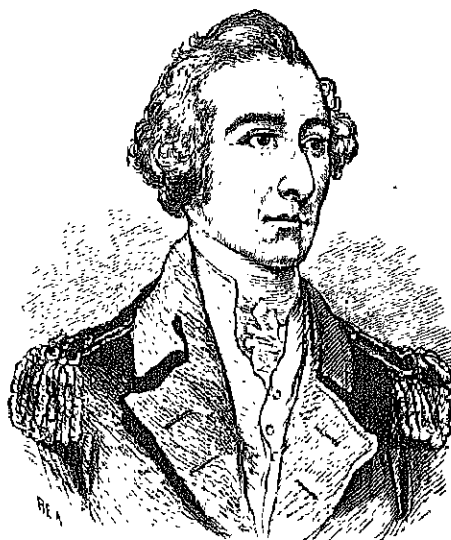
General Gates now advanced into the Carolinas. Lord Rawdon concentrated his forces at Camden. Hither came Cornwallis with reinforcements. The Americans took post at Clermont. Cornwallis and Gates each formed the design of surprising the other in the night. On the evening of the 15th of August, they both moved from their camps and met midway on SANDER'S CREEK. After a severe battle the Americans were completely defeated, with a loss of more than a thousand men. Baron De Kalb was mortally wounded. The reputation of Gates was blown away like chaff, and he was superseded by General Greene.

A few days after the battle, Sumter's corps was overtaken by Tarleton at Fishing Creek and completely routed. Only Marion remained to harass the enemy. On the 8th of September, the British advanced into North Carolina, and on the 25th reached Charlotte. Colonel Ferguson, with eleven hundred regulars and Tories, was sent into the country west of the Catawba to encourage the loyalists. On the 7th of October, while he and his men were encamped on King's Mountain, they were attacked by a thousand riflemen led by Colonel Campbell. A desperate battle ensued; Ferguson was slain, and three hundred of his men were killed or wounded. The remaining eight hundred threw down their arms and begged for quarter. Ten of the leading Tory prisoners were condemned by a court-martial and hanged.

Meanwhile, the credit of the nation was sinking to the lowest ebb. Congress resorted to paper money. At first the continental bills were received at par; but the value of the notes rapidly diminished, until, by the middle of 1780, they were not worth two cents to the dollar. Business was paralyzed for the want of a currency; but Robert Morris and a few other wealthy patriots came forward with

their private fortunes and saved the colonies from ruin. The mothers of America also lent a helping hand; and the patriot soldiers were supplied with food and clothing.

In the midst of the gloom the country was shocked by the news that Benedict Arnold had turned traitor. After the battle of Bemis's Heights, in the fall of 1777, he had been promoted to the rank of major-general, and made commandant of Philadelphia. Here he married the daughter of a loyalist, and entered upon a career of extravagance which overwhelmed him with debt. He then began a system of frauds on the commissary department of the army. Charges were preferred against him by Congress, and he was convicted



FRANCIS MARION.

by a court-martial. Seeming to forget his disgrace, Arnold obtained command of the fortress of West Point on the Hudson. On the last day of July, 1780, he assumed control of the arsenal and dépôt of stores at that place. He then entered into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and finally offered to betray his country for gold. It was agreed that the British fleet should ascend the Hudson, and that the garrison and the fortress should be given up without a struggle.

On the 21st of September Clinton sent Major John André to hold a conference with Arnold and make arrangements for the surrender. André, who was adjutant-general of the British army, went in full uniform, and

the meeting was held outside of the American lines. About midnight of the 21st he went ashore from the *Vulture*, and met Arnold in a thicket. Daydawn approached and the conspirators entered the American lines. André disguising himself, assumed the character of a spy.

During the next day, the business was completed. Arnold agreed to surrender West Point for ten thousand pounds and a commission as brigadier in the British army. André received papers containing a description of West Point, its defenses, and the best method of attack. During that day an American battery drove the *Vulture* down the river, and André was obliged to cross to the other side and return by land. He passed the American outposts in safety; but at Tarrytown he was confronted by three militiamen,¹ who stripped him, found his papers, and delivered him to Colonel Jameson at North Castle. Arnold, on hearing the news, escaped on board the *Vulture*. André was tried by a court-martial at Tappan, and condemned to death. On the 2d of October, he was led to the gallows, and, under the stern code of war, was hanged.

For several years Holland had favored the Americans; now she began negotiations for a treaty similar to that between France and the United States. Great Britain discovered the purposes of the Dutch government, and remonstrated. Her remonstrance came to nothing, and on the 20th of December an open declaration of war was made. Thus the Netherlands were added to the enemies of England.

For the Americans, the year 1781 opened gloomily. The condition of the army was desperate—no food, no pay, no clothing. On the first day of January the whole Pennsylvania line mutinied and marched on Philadelphia. At Princeton they were met by emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton and were tempted with offers of money and clothing if they would desert the American standard. The mutinous patriots made answer by seizing the British agents and delivering them to General Wayne to be hanged as spies. For this deed the commissioners of Congress, who now arrived, offered the insurgents a large reward,

¹John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart. Congress afterward rewarded them with silver medals and pensions for life.

but the reward was indignantly refused. Washington, knowing how shamefully the army had been neglected by Congress, was not unwilling that the mutiny should take its own course. The congressional agents were therefore left to adjust the difficulty as best they could with the rebellious troops.

About the middle of the same month the New Jersey brigade, stationed at Pompton, revolted. This movement Washington quelled by force. General Robert Howe marched to the camp with five hundred regulars and compelled twelve of the principal mutineers to execute the two leaders of the revolt. From that day order was completely restored. These insurrections had a good rather than a bad effect; Congress was thoroughly alarmed, and immediate provisions were made for the better support of the army. An agent was sent to France to obtain a further loan of money. Robert Morris was appointed secretary of finance; the Bank of North America was organized; and although the outstanding debts of the United States could not be paid, yet all future obligations were promptly met; for Morris and his friends pledged their private fortunes to sustain the credit of the government.

In the North, military movements were begun by Arnold. On arriving at New York the traitor had received the promised commission, and was now a brigadier-general in the British army. In the preceding November, Washington and Major Henry Lee formed a plan to capture him. Sergeant John Champe undertook the daring enterprise, deserted to the enemy, entered New York, joined Arnold's company, and with two assistants, concerted measures to abduct him from the city and convey him to the American camp. But Arnold suddenly moved his quarters and the plan was defeated. A month afterward he was given command of a fleet and a land-force of sixteen hundred men, and on the 16th of December left New York to make a descent on the coasts of Virginia.

Early in January the traitor entered James River and began war on his countrymen. His proceedings were marked with much ferocity, but not with the daring which characterized his former exploits. In the vicinity of Richmond a vast quantity of public and private property

was destroyed. The country along the river was devastated; and when there was nothing left to excite his cupidity or gratify his revenge, Arnold took up his head-quarters in Portsmouth, a few miles south of Hampton Roads.

About the middle of April, General Phillips arrived at Portsmouth with a force of two thousand British regulars. Joining his troops with those of Arnold, he assumed command of the whole, and again the fertile districts of Lower Virginia were ravaged with fire and sword. Early in May, Phillips died, and for seven days Arnold held the supreme command of the British forces in Virginia. That was the height of his treasonable glory. On the 20th of the month Lord Cornwallis arrived at Petersburg and ordered him begone. Returning to New York, he received from Clinton a second detachment, entered the Sound, landed at New London, in his native State, and captured the town. Fort Griswold, which was defended by Colonel Ledyard with a hundred and fifty militiamen, was carried by storm. When Ledyard surrendered, seventy-three of the garrison were murdered in cold blood.

General Greene was now in command of the American army at Charlotte, North Carolina. Early in January, General Morgan was sent into the Spartanburg district of South Carolina to repress the Tories, whither he was followed by Colonel Tarleton with his cavalry. The Americans took a position at the COWPENS, where, on the 17th of January, they were attacked by the British. Tarleton made the onset with impetuosity; but Morgan's men bravely held their ground. At last the American cavalry, under Colonel William Washington, made a charge and scattered the British dragoons like chaff. Ten British officers and ninety privates were killed.

When Cornwallis heard of the battle, he marched up the river to cut off Morgan's retreat. But Greene hastened to the camp of Morgan and took command in person. On the 28th of January, the Americans reached the Catawba and crossed to the northern bank. Within two hours the British arrived at the ford; but during the night the rain poured down in torrents; the river was swollen to a flood; and it was many days before the British could cross. Then began a

race for the Yadkin. The distance was sixty miles, and in two days the Americans reached the river. The crossing was nearly effected, when the British appeared in sight. That night the Yadkin was made impassable by rains, and Cornwallis was again delayed. On the 9th of February, the British succeeded in crossing. The lines of retreat and pursuit were now nearly parallel. A third time the race began, and again the Americans won it. On the 13th, Greene, with the main division, crossed the Dan into Virginia.

On the 22d of February, General Greene returned into North Carolina. Meanwhile, Cornwallis had sent Tarleton into the region between the Haw and Deep Rivers to encourage the Tories. Three hundred loyalists were already under arms in that neighborhood. While marching to join Tarleton, they were intercepted, and the entire company dispersed by Colonel Lee. Greene's army now numbered more than four thousand men. Determining to avoid battle no longer, he marched to GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE. Cornwallis moved forward to the attack. On the 15th of March, the two armies met, and a severe but indecisive battle was fought. The Americans were driven back for several miles; but in killed and wounded the British loss was greater.

Early in April, Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington, and then proceeded to Virginia. The British forces in the Carolinas remained under Lord Rawdon. The American army soon advanced into South Carolina and captured Fort Watson, on the Santee. Greene then took post at HOBKIRK'S HILL, near Camden. On the 25th of April, Rawdon moved against the American camp, and a severe battle ensued; for a while it seemed that the British would be routed; but at last the American center was broken, and the day lost.

On the 10th of May, Lord Rawdon retired to Eutaw Springs. The British posts at Orangeburg and Augusta fell into the hands of the patriots. Ninety-Six was besieged by General Greene. The supply of water was cut off from the fort, and the garrison reduced to the point of surrendering, when Rawdon approached, and the Americans were obliged to retreat. General Greene passed the sickly months of summer in the hill-country of the Santee.

Sumter, Lee, and Marion were constantly abroad, smiting the Tories right and left. Lord Rawdon now went to Charleston, and became a principal actor in one of the most shameful scenes of the Revolution. Colonel Isaac Hayne, a patriot who had once taken an oath of allegiance to the king, was caught in command of a troop of American cavalry. He was arraigned before Colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charleston, and condemned to death. Rawdon gave his sanction, and Colonel Hayne was hanged.

On the 22d of August, General Greene marched toward Orangeburg. The British



NATHANIEL GREENE.

retired to EUTAW SPRINGS. There the Americans overtook them on the 8th of September. One of the fiercest battles of the war ensued; and General Greene was denied a decisive victory only by the bad conduct of some of his troops. After losing five hundred and fifty-five men, he gave over the struggle. The British lost in killed and wounded nearly seven hundred. Stuart retreated to Monk's Corner; Greene followed; and, after two months of maneuvering, the British were driven into Charleston. In the whole South, only Charleston and Savannah were now held by the king's army; the latter city was evacuated on the 11th of

July, and the former on the 14th of December, 1782. Such was the close of the Revolution in the Carolinas and Georgia.

In the beginning of May, 1781, Cornwallis took command of the British army in Virginia. The country was ravaged, and property destroyed to the value of fifteen million dollars. La Fayette, to whom the defense of the State had been intrusted, was unable to meet Cornwallis in the field. While the British were near Richmond, a detachment under Tarleton proceeded to Charlottesville, and captured the town and seven members of the legislature. Governor Jefferson saved himself by flight, and escaped into the mountains.

On the 6th of July, General Wayne, who led La Fayette's advance, suddenly attacked the whole British army, at Green Springs on the James. Cornwallis was surprised by the audacious onset, and Wayne, seeing his mistake, made a hasty retreat. The loss of the two armies was equal, being a hundred and twenty on each side. The British next marched to Portsmouth; but, early in August, the army was conveyed to Yorktown, on the southern bank of York River. La Fayette followed, and took post eight miles from the British. During the months of July and August, Washington, from his camp on the Hudson, looked wistfully to the South. Clinton was kept in alarm by false dispatches, written for the purpose of falling into his hands. These intercepted messages indicated that the Americans would immediately besiege New York. When Clinton was informed that Washington was marching toward Virginia, he would not believe it. Washington pressed rapidly forward, and joined La Fayette at Williamsburg. On the 30th of August, a French fleet, with four thousand troops on board, reached the Chesapeake, and anchored in the mouth of York River. Cornwallis was blockaded by sea and land.

Count de Barras, who commanded the French flotilla at Newport, also arrived. On the 5th of September, Admiral Graves appeared in the bay, and a naval battle ensued, in which the British ships were roughly handled. On the 28th, the allied armies encamped around Yorktown. On the night of the 6th of October, the trenches were opened at the distance of six hundred yards from the

British works. On the 11th, the allies drew their second parallel within three hundred yards of Cornwallis's redoubts. On the night of the 14th, the enemy's outer works were carried by storm. On the 16th, the British made a sortie, but were repulsed. On the next day, Cornwallis proposed a surrender; on the 18th, terms of capitulation were signed; and, on the afternoon of the 19th, the whole British army, consisting of seven thousand two hundred and forty-seven English and Hessian soldiers, laid down their arms and became prisoners of war.

On the evening of the 23d of October, 1781, the news was borne to Congress. On that night the watchmen of Philadelphia, going their nightly rounds, uttered this welcome cry: "Ten o'clock! Starlight night! Cornwallis is taken!" It was a fitting thing that this glorious proclamation of freedom and victory should be made under the eternal benignity of the silent stars, in the streets of that old town which first among the cities of the world had heard the declaration that all men are created equal. Though peace lagged for a season, the war was at an end. The patriots who, at Concord and Lexington, had begun a battle for the rights of Englishmen had ended by winning their independence.

The note of rejoicing resounded throughout the land. In England the king and his ministers heard the tidings with rage; but the English people were secretly pleased. On the 20th of March, 1782, Lord North and his friends resigned their offices. A new ministry was formed, favorable to peace. The command of the British forces in the United States was transferred to Sir Guy Carleton, a man friendly to American interests.

In the summer of 1782, Richard Oswald was sent by Parliament to Paris to confer with Franklin and Jay in regard to the terms of peace. John Adams and Henry Laurens also entered into the negotiations. On the 30th of November, preliminary articles of peace were signed; and in the following April, the terms were ratified by Congress. On the 3d of September, 1783, a final treaty was effected between all the nations that had been at war.

The terms of THE TREATY OF 1783 were these: A complete recognition of the independence of the United States; the recession

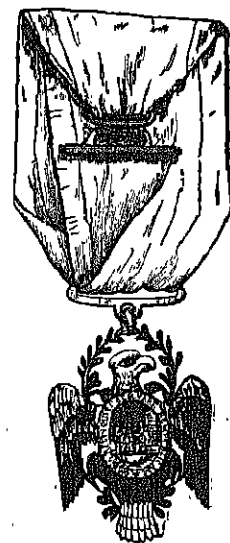
by Great Britain of Florida to Spain; the surrender of all the remaining territory east of the Mississippi to the United States; the free navigation of the Mississippi and the lakes by American vessels; and the retention by Great Britain of Canada and Nova Scotia, with the exclusive control of the St. Lawrence.

Early in August, Sir Guy Carleton received instructions to evacuate New York City. By the 25th of November, every thing was in readiness; the British army was embarked; the sails were spread; the ships stood out to sea; dwindled to white specks on the horizon; disappeared. The Briton was gone. After the struggles of an eight years' war the patriots had achieved their independence.

On the 4th of December, Washington assembled his officers and bade them a final adieu. When they were met, he spoke a few affectionate words to his comrades, who came forward, and with tears and sobs bade him farewell.¹ Washington then departed to Annapolis, where Congress was in session. At Philadelphia he made a report of his expenses during the war. The account, in his own handwriting, embraced an expenditure of seventy-four thousand four hundred and eighty-five dollars—all correct to a cent.

The route of the chief to Annapolis was a continuous triumph. The people by thousands flocked to the roadsides to see him pass. On the 23d of December, Washington was introduced to Congress, and delivered an address full of wisdom and modesty. With great dignity he surrendered his commission as commander-in-chief of the army. General Mifflin,

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BADGE OF THE ORDER OF CINCINNATUS.

¹ In order to preserve the memories of the Revolution and to cherish the sentiments of patriotism, the officers of the army were soon afterwards organized into a secret military society known as the ORDER OF CINCINNATUS, Washington being the first president of the association.

the president of Congress, responded in an eloquent manner, and then the hero retired to his home at Mt. Vernon.

During the progress of the Revolution the civil government of the United States was in a deplorable condition. Nothing but the imminent peril of the country had, in the first place, led to the calling of a Continental Congress. And when that body assembled, it had no method of proceeding, no constitution, no power of efficient action. The two great wants of the country were *money* to carry on the war and *a central authority* to direct the war; the former of these was never met; and Washington was made to supply the latter. Whenever Congress would move in the direction of a firmer government, division would spring up, and action would be checked by the remonstrance of jealous colonies. Nevertheless, the more far-seeing statesmen of the times labored constantly to create substantial political institutions.

Foremost of all those who worked for better government was Benjamin Franklin. As early as the times of the French and Indian War he began to agitate the question of a permanent union of the colonies. During the troubled years just preceding the Revolution he brooded over his cherished project, and in 1775 laid before Congress the plan of a perpetual confederation of the States. But the attention of that body was wholly occupied with the stirring events of the day, and Franklin's measure received but little notice. Congress, without any real authority, began to conduct the government, and its legislation was generally accepted by the States. Still, the central authority was only an authority by sufferance, and was liable at any time to be annulled by the caprice of State legislatures.

Under such a system thinking men grew restless. On the 11th of June, 1776, a committee was appointed by Congress to prepare a plan of confederation. After a month the work was completed and laid before the house. The debates on the subject continued at intervals until the 15th of November, 1777, when a vote was taken in Congress, and the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION were adopted. The next step was to transmit the articles to the State legislatures for ratification. By them

the new frame of government was returned to Congress with many amendments. These having been considered, the articles were signed by the delegates of eight States, on the 9th of July, 1778. Before the following February, the representatives of Georgia, North Carolina, New Jersey, and Delaware had signed the compact, but Maryland did not assent until March of 1781.

The government of the United States under the confederation thus adopted was A LOOSE UNION OF INDEPENDENT COMMONWEALTHS. The executive and legislative powers were vested in Congress—a body composed of not less than two nor more than seven representatives from each State. The sovereignty was reserved to the States. There was no chief magistrate of the Republic; and no general judiciary was provided for. The consent of nine States was necessary to complete an act of legislation. The union was declared to be perpetual.

On the very day of the ratification of the articles by Maryland the old Congress adjourned, and on the following morning reassembled under the new form of government. From the very first the inadequacy of that government was manifest. To begin with, it contradicted the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence. Congress had but a shadow of authority, and that shadow, instead of proceeding from the people, emanated from States which were declared to be sovereign and independent. The first great duty of the new government was to provide for the payment of the war debt, which had now reached the sum of thirty-eight million dollars. Congress could only recommend to the several States the levying of a sufficient tax to meet the indebtedness. Some of the States made the required levy; others were dilatory; others refused. At the very outset the government was balked and thwarted. The serious troubles that attended the disbanding of the army were traceable rather to the inability than to the indisposition of Congress to pay the soldiers. The princely fortune of Robert Morris was exhausted and himself brought to poverty in a vain effort to sustain the credit of the government. For three years after the treaty of peace public affairs were in a condition bordering on chaos. The imperiled state of the

Republic was viewed with alarm by the sagacious patriots who had carried the Revolution to a successful issue. A ruined credit, a bankrupt treasury, a disordered finance, a crazy constitution, a distracted commerce, a disintegrating people, thirteen States stalking about, and making grimaces at a government of shreds and patches—such were the specters that ruled the hour. It was seen that unless the articles of confederation could be replaced with a better system the nation would go to ruin.

The project of remodeling the government originated at Mount Vernon. In 1785, Washington, in conference with a company of statesmen at his home, advised the calling of a convention to meet at Annapolis in the following year. The proposition was received with favor; and in September of 1786 the representatives of five States assembled. The question of a tariff on imports was discussed; and then the attention of the delegates was turned to a revision of the articles of confederation. Since only a minority of the States were represented in the conference, it was resolved to adjourn until May of the following year, and all the States were urgently requested to send representatives at that time. Congress also invited the several legislatures to appoint delegates to the proposed convention. All of the States except Rhode Island responded to the call; and on the second Monday in May, 1787, the representatives assembled at Philadelphia. Washington, who was a delegate from Virginia, was chosen president of the convention. A desultory discussion followed until the 29th of the month, when Edmund Randolph introduced a resolution to set aside the articles of confederation and adopt a new constitution. There was further debate; and then a committee was appointed to revise the articles. Early in September the work was done; the report of the committee was adopted; and that report was THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. At the same time it was resolved to send copies of the new instrument to the several legislatures for ratification or rejection.

On the question of adopting the Constitution the people were divided. Those who favored the new government were called **FEDERALISTS**; those who opposed, **ANTI-FED-**

ERALISTS. The leaders of the former were Washington, Jay, Madison, and Hamilton, the latter statesman throwing the whole force of his genius and learning into the controversy. In those able papers called the *Federalist*, he and Madison successfully answered every objection of the anti-Federal party. Hamilton was the first, and perhaps the greatest, expounder of constitutional liberty in America. To him the Republic owes a debt of perpetual gratitude for having established on a firm and enduring basis the true principles of free government.

Under the Constitution of the United States, the powers of government are arranged



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

under three heads—**LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE, and JUDICIAL**. The legislative power is vested in Congress—a body composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The members of the Senate are chosen by the legislatures of the several States, and serve for a period of six years. Each State is represented by two Senators. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people of the respective States; and each State is entitled to a number of representatives proportionate to the population of that State. The members of this branch of the government are chosen for a term of two years. Congress is the law-making power of the nation; and all legislative questions of a gen-

eral character are the appropriate subjects of congressional action.

The executive power of the United States is vested in a President, who is chosen for a period of four years by a body of men called the electoral college. The electors composing the college are chosen by the people of the several States; and each State is entitled to a number of electors equal to the number of its representatives and senators in Congress. The duty of the President is to enforce the laws of Congress in accordance with the Constitution. He is commander-in-chief of the armies and navies of the United States. Over the legislation of Congress he has the power of veto; but a two-thirds congressional majority may pass a law without the President's consent. He has the right of appointing cabinet officers and foreign ministers, but all of his appointments must be approved by the Senate. The treaty-making power is also lodged with the President, but here again the concurrence of the Senate is necessary. In case of the death, resignation, or removal of the President the Vice-president becomes chief magistrate; otherwise his duties are limited to presiding over the Senate.

The judicial power of the United States is vested in a supreme court and in inferior courts established by Congress. The highest judicial officer is the chief justice. The judges hold their offices during life or good behavior. The right of trial by jury is granted in all cases except the impeachment of public officers. Treason against the United States consists in levying war against them, or in giving aid to their enemies.

The Constitution provides that new territories may be organized and new States admitted into the Union; that to every State shall be guaranteed a republican government; and that the Constitution may be altered or amended by the consent of two-thirds of both houses of Congress and three-fourths of the legislatures of the States. In accordance with this provision fifteen amendments have since been made to the Constitution.

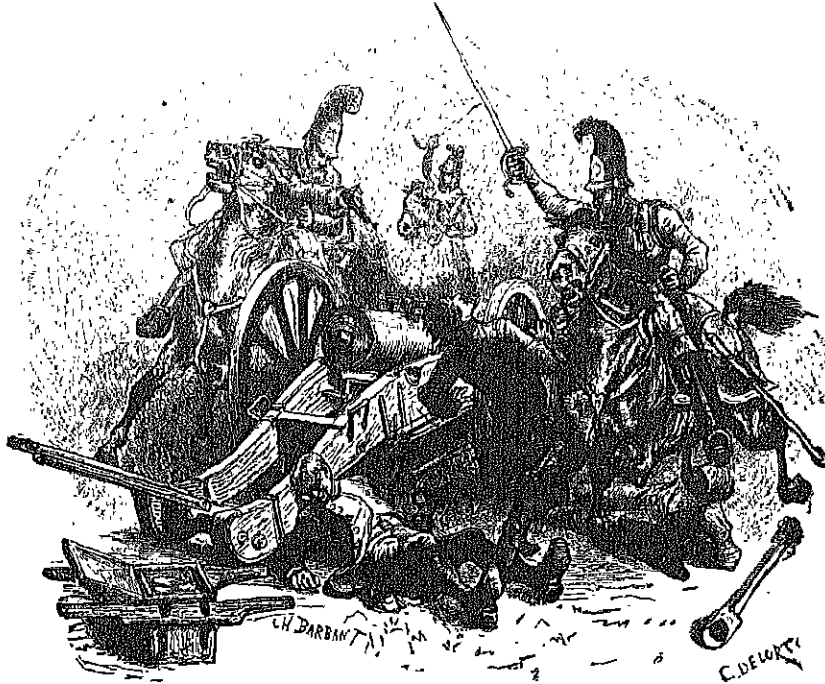
While the constitutional convention was in session at Philadelphia the last Congress of the Confederation was sitting in New York. The latter body was in a feeble and distracted condition. Only eight States were repre-

sented. It was evident that the old Confederation, under which the colonies had won their freedom, was tottering to its fall. Nevertheless, before the adjournment of Congress, a measure was successfully carried through which was only second in importance to the formation of the Constitution. This was the organization of THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY. As a preliminary measure this vast domain was ceded to the United States by Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. For the government of the territory an ordinance, drawn up from a scheme prepared in 1784 by Mr. Jefferson, was adopted on the 13th of July, 1787. General Arthur St. Clair, then President of Congress, received the appointment of military governor, and in the summer of the following year began his duties, with head-quarters at Marietta. By the terms of the ordinance it was stipulated that not less than three nor more than five States should be formed out of the great territory thus brought under the dominion of civilization; that the States, when organized, should be admitted on terms of equality with the original members of the confederation, and that slavery should be prohibited. Out of this noble domain the five great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were destined in after times to be formed and added to the Union.

Before the end of 1788 eleven States had adopted the Constitution. The new government was to go into operation when nine States should ratify. For awhile North Carolina and Rhode Island hesitated. In accordance with an act of Congress, the first Wednesday of January, 1789, was named as the time for the election of a chief magistrate. The people had but one voice as to the man who should be honored with that high trust. Early in April the ballots of the electors were counted, and George Washington was unanimously chosen President, and John Adams Vice-president, of the United States. On the 14th of the month Washington received notification of his election, and departed for New York. His route thither was a constant triumph. With this event the ERA OF NATIONALITY in the New Republic is ushered in. Here, then, at the conclusion of the conflict in which the United States of North America

emerged from the weakness of a European dependency to take their rank among the great nations of the world, we pause in the narrative of American events belonging to the

Revolutionary epoch, and turn to the consideration of another and more tremendous struggle for emancipation in beautiful and progressive France.



CHAPTER CXIX.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.



HERE were twenty-three thousand monks in France; there were sixty thousand curates and vicars; there were thirty-seven thousand nuns; there were two thousand five hundred monasteries, one thousand five hundred convents, and sixty thousand churches and chapels. In all there were a hundred and thirty thousand persons who enjoyed themselves in the work of saving France from her sins. But they did not begin with them-

selves. There were a hundred and forty thousand nobles in France. They put on regalia and set

feathers in their hats. The noble families numbered thirty thousand. On each square league of territory and for each one thousand of the inhabitants there was one castle, one noble family. France was not only saved, but she was ennobled. It required a great deal of land to support properly the dignity and office of one of her saviors. The abbey of St. Germain des Pres owned about nine hundred thousand acres. One-fifth of all the lands of France belonged to the clergy, one-fifth to the nobility, one-fifth to the communes and the king. This made three-fifths.

There was one king in France. It required something for his support. He was not a day laborer.

There were twenty-six millions of *People* in France. They were the Third Estate—numerous but unimportant. Their importance consisted in this: they supported the nobility and the king, and furnished the clergy with material. France was a very happy and paternal state.

Not only were three-fifths of the real estate of the kingdom in the hands of the privileged orders, but these three-fifths were far the richest. It was the best land of France. We will quote from Taine: "It [the land of the privileged]," says he, "comprises almost all the large and handsome buildings, the palaces, castles, convents, and cathedrals, and almost all the valuable movable property, such as furniture, plate, objects of art, the accumulated masterpieces of centuries. We can judge of it by an estimate of the portion belonging to the clergy. Its possessions, capitalized, amount to nearly four billion francs; the income from this amounts to eighty or a hundred millions, to which must be added the *dime* or tithes, a hundred and twenty-three millions per annum; in all, two hundred millions, a sum which must be doubled to show its equivalent at the present day, and to this must be added the chance contributions and the usual church collections. To realize fully the breadth of this golden stream let us look at some of its affluents. Three hundred and ninety-nine monks at Prémontré estimate their revenue at more than a million livres, and their capital at forty-five millions. The Provincial of the Dominicans of Toulouse admits, for his two hundred and thirty-six monks, 'more than two hundred thousand livres net revenue, not including the convent and its inclosure; also, in the colonies, real estate, negroes, and other effects valued at several millions.' The Benedictines of Cluny, numbering two hundred and thirty-eight, enjoy a revenue of a million eight hundred thousand livres. Those of Saint Maur, numbering sixteen hundred and seventy-two, estimate the movable property of their churches and houses at twenty-four millions, and their net revenue at eight millions, 'without including that which accrues to Messieurs the abbots and priors commendatory,' which means as much and perhaps more. Dom Rocourt, abbot of Clairvaux, has from three hundred thousand

to four hundred thousand livres income; the Cardinal de Rohan, archbishop of Strasburg, more than a million. In Franche-Comté, Alsace, and Roussillon the clergy own one-half of the territory; in Hainaut and Artois, three-quarters; in Cambrésis, fourteen hundred plow-areas out of seventeen hundreds. Almost the whole of Le Velay belongs to the Bishop of Puy, the Abbot of La Chaise-Dieu, the noble chapter of Briond, and to the seigniors of Polignac. The canons of St. Claude, in the Jura, are the proprietors of twelve thousand serfs or *mains-morts*." In fact, these poor people, to whom had been assigned the duty of saving France from her sins, had so thriven that they were able to live from year to year.

It is impossible to describe in adequate terms the system of government and of social despotism established over the French nation in the eighteenth century. The unprecedented reign of Louis XIV.—its character, methods, principles, tendencies—will be readily recalled. It will be remembered that at this epoch nearly the whole activity of France was displayed in the *government*. The government was every thing. It was meant to be so. The doctrines of paternalism in the state were completely triumphant. The theory reduced to a formula ran thus: It is the duty—the business—of the state to teach men what things to do, and of the Church to teach them what things to believe. As for man, it is his business to be governed. That is—and was—the object of his creation. He must receive with unquestioning simplicity and obedience whatever is doled out to him by the noble and the priest to whom his management, his interests, his destiny in this world are intrusted. All these maxims were adopted by the House of Bourbon; and the French people, that splendid composite race which combined in its veins the best currents of the Celtic and Teutonic stocks, were asked to accept forever the condition of intellectual and bodily bondage to which the Middle Age had assigned them.

Though the government of Louis XIV. made a great show of activity, though it clad itself in the habiliments of grandeur and strutted in almost Oriental magnificence, it nevertheless had in it the condition of certain

decay. The vice of arbitrary power gnawed like a worm in the heart of the system. When Louis XV. came to the throne he received the form and shadow of glory—no more. He must have been conscious of the elements to which he was exposed. Suppose these elements should be lashed into a storm! Suppose that Æolus should let out his winds! Suppose that the human mind, long soothed with opiates and nursed with cordials, should suddenly awake from its stupor! What then? No, no; such a thing must not be. The people must lie still. We will soothe them with more syrup, and while they sleep will take away their substance. It is necessary that we take away their substance to support the state: We the king and Madame de Pompadour are the state. The Duke de Choiseul, manager-in-chief for Louis XV., may well remind one of a showman in gorgeous trappings, attempting to manage a dangerous elephant whom the proprietors, Ourselves and Madame, persist in starving and tormenting with our parasol.

On the 10th of May, 1774, this Louis XV. died. At the story of the two diseases which caused his death History blushes. For several years his chief effort had been to make the government last as long as his own life. In that he succeeded. But he transmitted to his grandson a tottering fabric, rotten in every part. He had by his vices and extravagance exhausted not only the resources of the kingdom, but the kingdom itself. His needless and inglorious wars had plunged the state into debt and greatly increased the taxation. The burdens of the state were imposed almost wholly on the citizens and peasants—that Third Estate which was now powerless, but soon to become the leading power in France.

The nobles and clergy were exempt. Not only were the enormous burdens which ought to have rested on the privileged classes laid without mercy on the toilers, the producers, but these burdens were greatly increased by the methods of collection. The dupliques were turned out to extortioners, through whose greedy hands only a moiety of the taxes found their way into the coffers of the state.

Under these many abuses the distress of the French people grew more bitter from year

to year. A condition of affairs supervened which, as was evident to every thinking man, could not much longer continue. The heart of the nation was in anguish under the burden of accumulating wrongs. Either a reaction must ensue or aspiring France sink to the level of an Eastern monarchy.

While the kingdom of the Bourbons thus ran down from the slopes of power as if to sink away into noisome swamps and marshes, a counter current set in from the world of mind. The intellect of France exerted itself as never before. Men began to think with such freedom and audacity as to astonish the world. While the State of France sank into imbecility the mind rose and stood. It began to question the foundation upon which was laid the structure of society; and as the inquiry proceeded the essential rottenness of the whole edifice was discovered. Speaking of the boldness and energy which French thought exhibited in these times, Guizot has well remarked:

“Prior to this, its greatest activity had always been restrained by certain barriers; man had lived in the midst of facts, some of which inspired him to caution, and repressed, to a certain degree, his tendency to movement. In the eighteenth century, I should really be at a loss to say what external facts were respected by the human mind, or exercised any influence over it; it entertained nothing but hatred or contempt for the whole social system; it considered itself called upon to reform all things; it looked upon itself as a sort of creator; institutions, opinions, manners, society, even man himself—all seemed to require to be remodeled, and human reason undertook the task. When ever before had the human mind displayed such daring boldness?”

Now it was that a group of philosophers arose, who, by the originality and sweep of their investigations, have contributed more than have any others to the emancipation of man and the construction of a new society. They undertook no less a task than the reform of the existing institutions of France and of the whole world. These great thinkers are known by the name of *Encyclopædists*; for to them mankind are indebted for the composition of the *Encyclopédie Française*, in which

their own views as philosophers, were given to the world with a freedom and brilliancy that astonished and delighted, while it instructed and elevated, the nations. At the head of the group stood the great genius, Jean le Rond d'Alembert, and Denis Diderot, who, beginning as a student of theology, became afterwards a lawyer and then a thinker and man of letters. These two were the editors-in-chief of the great work by which the gen-

bert with such lucidity and power as to mark him for one of the greatest men of his age.

The *Encyclopédie* exerted a powerful influence in bringing on that uncontrollable agitation which produced the French Revolution. It was the purpose of the work to reveal to the human mind the nature and extent of its powers and achievements. It was intended to display the riches of that knowledge which had already been attained through the toil and travail of human thought, and to indicate the directions in which the domain of knowledge might be most successfully enlarged. Still further, it was the purpose of the Encyclopædists to emancipate thought from the thrall of custom and the fetters of superstition; to strike out into new fields of inquiry; to explore every region with freedom and impartiality; to brook no trammels of the past; to dare and defy the maxims and precedents upon which the existing order was founded; and to create a new intellectual world, of which the rights of men should be the substance, and liberty and light the crowning glory. It may be truthfully said that the great *Encyclopédie Française*, thus conceived and produced, contained in itself the essence and real presence of the anti-dogmatic philosophy and reformatory tendencies of the eighteenth century. These were poured out freely among a people already prepared by the discipline of long abuse for the act of daring changes.

The work of the philosophers was received with a shout by all the people of France, except those privileged classes who, like rooks, had taken shelter under the eaves of the Middle Ages. To them, indeed, the new philosophy was the hand-writing on the wall of the palace.

The reactionists at once set to work to prevent the results which were certain to follow from the sowing of such seed in such a soil. Under the leadership of Panckoucke and Agasse, they began, after the manner of their kind in all ages, to try to counteract the work of the liberators by adopting their methods. They, too, would publish a Cyclopædia, in which, with mediæval hands, they would carefully remold, modify, tone down, and adapt the new wisdom to the nature and



VOLTAIRE.

eral intellect of France was to be lifted to a new level of activity and usefulness. Around them were ranged a brilliant cluster of authors and philosophers, of whom the most illustrious were Voltaire, Rousseau, Turgot, Helvetius, Duglès, Condillac, Mably, Buffon, La Harpe, Marmontel, Raynal, Morellet, Grimm, and Saint-Lambert. Under their auspices, in 1770, the great *Encyclopédie* was issued in thirty-three volumes. The style and scope of the work were set forth in the preface by D'Alembert

wants of the people. They would give men a *little* light. They would mix in with the audacity and freedom of the new philosophy | so much of the leaven of ancient falsehood as would ultimately leaven the whole lump, and bring France and the world back again to that



LITERARY CIRCLE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI.

Drawn by P. Philippoteaux.

patient and humble condition, in which, saddled and bridled, it might safely be ridden by a noble with a priest behind him. So was produced the reactionary work called the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, which, though of vast extent, and representing an infinite amount of labor, is—as if in satire on its title—the most unmethodical and unmanageable work of its kind in existence.

But nothing could now trammel up the results of the labors of D'Alembert, Diderot, and their associates. The mischief was done. A swarm of new ideas had rushed in wild delight from the dark hive which had confined them, and now filled all the air with their triumphant buzzing. Like a contagion, the new philosophy spared no class or condition. The courtly society of France was almost as much infected as the Third Estate. The king and his court had their literary circle. Even many of the clergy, be it said to their honor, caught glimpses of the light, and preferred to turn their faces to the dawn rather than dwell in darkness.

It will not be difficult, in viewing this general condition of France at the time of the accession of Louis XVI. to the throne, for the thoughtful reader to discover the true antecedents of that great conflict known as the FRENCH REVOLUTION, upon an account of which we are now to enter. It was simply a revolt, an insurrection of the emancipated mind of France against the tyranny of her social, civil, and religious institutions—a rebellion of Man against his masters—a struggle of the human spirit to break an intolerable thralldom which had been imposed upon it by the past.

At the time of his accession to the throne, Louis XVI. was in his twentieth year. Four years previously he had taken in marriage Marie Antoinette, archduchess of Austria, daughter of Maria Theresa. Perhaps, if a mere amiability of character, and a mild disposition to think well of his people, could have availed against the spirit of the times, the young Louis might have had a long and pleasant reign. But the day of pleasant things was passed. No more could the fiery spirit of roused-up France be soothed with royal cordials or put to sleep with lullaby. The new king's ancestors for two hundred

years had sown to the wind, and now their princely and good-natured offspring must reap the whirlwind. Even the wish of Louis to introduce some feeble reforms in financial and other affairs of the kingdom was generally thwarted by certain antecedents which made improvement painful and progress impossible.

Like his prototype, Charles I. of England, Louis XVI. was in mind and purpose weak and irresolute. At the very beginning of his reign, he reconvened the French Parliament, which had been suppressed by his grandfather. By the French Parliament, however, the reader must understand a body very different in its constitution from the English assembly of that name. In England the Parliament had grown from the days of Alfred the Great, when it was merely the great council of the king, until, at the time of which we speak, it was in the full sense the representative body of the English nation, having its House of Commons as well as its House of Lords. But in France no such parliamentary development had taken place. The assembly still continued the mere advisory council of the king, such as it had been in the time of the Valois princes, or even in the days of Charlemagne. For this reason it was able to give but little relief for the distresses of the state. Between itself and the great body known as the Third Estate there was no organic connection, no bond of common interest. It must have appeared to Louis that any trust which he should repose in his Parliament would be misplaced and fruitless.

As the difficulties with which the king was beset were from the first of a financial character—as the treasury was exhausted, the state in debt, the people already burdened with intolerable taxes—Louis sought to extricate himself from his trouble by appointing as his minister of finance the statesman Robert Jacques Turgot, one of the Encyclopædists, who had already distinguished himself on economic subjects. His abilities were so great that expectation was turned to him as to one able to relieve France from her embarrassment. Doubtless he understood the true method of reform. Could he have been free to act, he would have turned the kingdom about and begun the slow and toilsome ascent of the path of economy and retrenchment.

But the difficulties with which he was surrounded were too great to be surmounted. On the one hand the nobility of France, long accustomed to exemption from the burdens of taxation and to reckless expenditure, could not be reformed. They had deliberately adopted the motto of "*After us the deluge*," meaning that the rational policy for men to pursue under the existing conditions in France was to eat, drink, laugh, put on regalia, be luxurious, and die; for on the morrow the flood will come, and all shall perish together. On the other hand, Turgot did not, perhaps could not, much consult the wishes of the country in his financial measures. As a result, he pleased nobody; and after struggling with the hopeless problem for two years, he was compelled to resign.

After this event the comptroller generalship of the kingdom was given to Taboureau and the directorship of the treasury to Jacques Necker, a Genoese banker, whose wisdom in finance and economics was perhaps reputed at more than its full value. For a year he worked at the duties of his office, and was then made minister of finance. In entering upon his task he increased his popularity by refusing to accept any emoluments for his services. His mind was methodical, his plans of the same general character as those adopted by Turgot, but less distasteful in many features. His policy embraced such features as might well have brought the promised reform and salvation from debt. He exacted retrenchment in the court. He set a

wholesome example by introducing order and economy in his own department. He succeeded in restoring confidence among the capitalists by the regular payment of interest on loans—a matter which had been so much neglected that capital had refused to expose itself to the bad faith of such a government. He reclaimed not a few of the public estates



LOUIS XVI.

which had been alienated through bad management and neglect. He revised the tax duplicates and corrected many abuses which had arisen under the existing system. He abridged the right of mortmain, established a uniform excise on salt, and tried to suppress the exaction of tolls. His reforms extended into the provinces. He created what was called the *Mont de Piété* of Paris and a bank

of discount, out of which subsequently arose the Bank of France. Under his prudent measures the deficit of twenty-four million livres was in the space of five years wiped out and an annual balance of ten millions left in the treasury. In 1781 he made and published his report on the finances of the state,

and he demanded a seat in the council from which he had hitherto been excluded, being a Protestant. But his claim was denied, and he resigned his trust.

Such was the internal state of the French government during the American Revolution.



VOLTAIRE BLESSES THE GRANDSON OF FRANKLIN.

and this was the beginning of his downfall; for the report was a sort of exposure of the methods by which the privileged classes had been hitherto sustained in luxury at the expense of France. The enmity of the courtiers and nobles was deeply aroused, and they began to seek Necker's overthrow. The prime minister Maurepas became his enemy. Necker appealed to the king, and in order to vindi-

cate himself and the administration of his office, demanded a seat in the council from which he had hitherto been excluded, being a Protestant. But his claim was denied, and he resigned his trust.

Such was the internal state of the French government during the American Revolution. It will be at once recalled how just after the Declaration of Independence, Benjamin Franklin was sent with Silas Deane to manage the American cause at the court of France. On arriving at Paris the philosopher established himself at Passy, and began the work of creating sympathy for the cause of his country. He did not, however, succeed in gaining official recognition at the hands of the ministry until after the surrender of Burgoyne, when he soon concluded that Franco-American alliance which contributed so essentially to our independence. But almost from the day of his arrival in Paris, the people of that excitable metropolis were fired with enthusiasm for him and his cause. Especially did the French philosophers receive

theater, and at the close of the play were called upon the stage, while the excited thousands cried out, "Solon and Socrates."¹

The course pursued by France in our War of Independence has already been narrated in the preceding chapter. In so far as a conflict resulted between that kingdom and England, the same being consequent upon the Franco-American alliance of 1777, the contest was almost exclusively maritime. It will be remembered that the policy of the Duke de Choiseul

part of the French in the building and arming of ships. Within a year after the alliance with America, a large and well-equipped fleet was sent to sea under command of Count d'Orvilliers. On the 27th of July, 1778, this armament encountered an English squadron off Ushant, and a hard but indecisive battle was fought. The two fleets were about of equal strength, and the French were greatly elated that they had been able to hold their own with Great Britain on her chosen ele-



FUNERAL OF VOLTAIRE.

looked to the building up of a French navy of sufficient strength and equipment to dispute with Great Britain the mastery of the sea. This same policy was pursued after the death of Choiseul and the appointment of De Sartine to be minister of war. Nor was there any want of energy displayed on the

ment. The English squadron had been commanded by Admirals Keppel and Palliser, between whom there was no cordiality or even harmony of action; and this fact furnished the mortified English an excuse for the failure to win a victory.

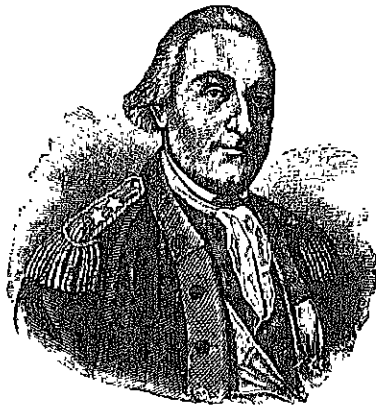
It will be remembered that in April of the

¹This intensely dramatic scene was almost the last act in the career of Voltaire. For a short time he lingered in Paris, surrounded with the great men of the kingdom and honored with every token of affection which the French nature could invent. When he went abroad his

carriage was drawn through the streets by the people. At the theaters he was crowned with laurels and roses. On the 30th of May, 1778, he died in the great city with which his genius will be forever associated, and was honored with a magnificent funeral.

following year Count d'Estaing was sent with a French fleet to America. After cooperating for a season with Washington, the admiral left our coast and sailed to the West Indies, where Marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinique, had assailed the English in Santo Domingo, and taken the island. But the English had in their turn fallen upon and captured St. Lucia. It was to recover the latter that Count d'Estaing now sailed to the rescue of his countrymen. He made an attack upon the enemy in St. Lucia, and was repulsed with heavy losses.

By this time Spain had been added to the enemies of England. She, too, would compete with her ancient rival for maritime do-



L. Bonville del.

GENERAL DE KALB.

minion. She added her fleet to that of France, increasing the number of vessels in the allied squadron to sixty-six ships of the line. At this time the English squadron was under command of Sir Charles Hardy. The latter allowed himself to be outmaneuvered by his adversaries, who succeeded in forming a junction in the English Channel. An attack on Plymouth was threatened, and the kingdom was thrown into great agitation. It appears, however, that the allies were loth to make an attack. At length they undertook to intercept Sir Charles, but he, being inferior in strength, retired before them, and the English were humiliated with the spectacle of their fleet sailing before the enemy through the greater part of the Channel. The scene was a sort of minuet of the sea. At length, after

pursuing Hardy as far as Plymouth, D'Orville's drew off from the foe and sailed for Brest.

Meanwhile Count d'Estaing, in the West Indies, having repaired damages after his defeat at St. Lucia, returned to the attack and captured St. Vincent and Grenada. He also fought an indecisive battle with the English admirals, Byron and Barrington, and then made the unsuccessful attack on Savannah, as narrated in the preceding chapter.

The chief object of the Spaniards in going to war had been to regain possession of Gibraltar. To this end they bent all of their energies. At the outbreak of hostilities, in 1779, they laid siege to the fortress, which was defended by a valiant garrison under General Elliot. The investment was continued for nearly three years, and the besiegers had good hopes of accomplishing by starvation what they could not do by force; but when Elliot and his men were beginning to be hard pressed for supplies, Admiral Rodney succeeded in bringing to them reinforcements and abundance of provisions. For on his way from England he fell in with and captured a Spanish fleet carrying stores to Cadiz. The riches of Spain were thus taken to support those who held—and continued to hold—her ancient fortress.

The achievement of American Independence added a new element to the complications in France. Here was an example of liberty, of emancipation. Here was a precedent. Here was a proof, a living instance, of the truth of what the philosophers had been saying in the *Encyclopédie Française*. Therefore freedom was not a delusion and a snare. The American Declaration had said that all men are created equal; that they have an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that the people have a right to alter, amend, abolish the government which themselves have instituted whenever the same becomes destructive of those ends for which it was established. The Americans, in the face of tremendous opposition, seemed to have demonstrated the truth of their theory and principles. How much the more might the great French nation do the same! Besides,

here came home covered with honor the young French enthusiasts—La Fayette, De Kalb, and the rest—who had left home, fortune, and friends to join with the American colonists in the battle for freedom. On their heads had been laid in benediction the hands of the victorious Washington and the philosopher Franklin; him whom the court ladies had applauded at Versailles; him to whom the Academy had voted a medal with this legend: FULMEN NUBIBUS ERIPUIT SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS.¹ “With what grandeur,” cried out the Abbé Raynal in 1781, “should I not speak of those generous men [the Americans of '78] who erected this grand edifice by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage! Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamses, were the greatest actors in this affecting scene; but they were not the only ones. Posterity shall

know them all. Their honored names shall be transmitted to it by a happier pen than mine. Brass and marble shall show them to the remotest ages. In beholding them shall the friend of freedom feel his heart palpitate—feel his eyes float in delicious tears. Under the bust of one of them has

¹He wrested the lightning from heaven and the scepter from tyrants.

been written, ‘He wrested thunder from heaven and the scepter from tyrants.’ Of the last words of this eulogy shall all of them partake.” Mirabeau, standing on the tribune of the National Assembly of France, exclaimed: “I ask if the powers who have formed alliances with the States have dared to read their *Declaration*, or to *interrogate*



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

their consciences after the perusal. I ask whether there be at this day one government in Europe—the Helvetic and Batavian confederations and the British isles excepted—which, judged after the principles of the Declaration of Congress on the 4th of July, 1776, is not divested of its rights.”

Such was the fervor kindled in France by the success of our Revolution. It is impossi-

ble—will ever remain impossible—to determine with precision how much our rebellion against the Mother Country contributed as an exciting cause of the Revolution in France; but it was among the most potent of the many influences which combined to produce the upheaval of the French kingdom and the ultimate reorganization of society. The pens of Jefferson and Paine, the oratory of the Adamuses, as well as the sword of Washington, prevailed in Europe, as in America. The contagion of social regeneration and the revival of man was produced on this side of the Atlantic as well as in the *Encyclopédie Française*.

After the resignation of Necker, the king, who would fain have retained the services of that able minister, appointed as his successor Alexandre de Calonne, whose versatility and dextrous management, rather than any true wisdom in finance, had recommended him for the office. Altogether reckless of consequences, or else not foreseeing the inevitable results of such a course, he cheerfully adopted the maxim of "After us the deluge," and proceeded to produce a factitious prosperity by running the state still more deeply in debt. He was one of the most plausible casuists of his times; and for a season his financial theories seemed to be verified by the facts. The French exchequer, so to speak, borrowed money, bought champagne, drank to intoxication, and imagined itself rich. When the time came for payments, still larger loans were contracted; and with the coming of the next settlement, still larger. The country responded to the stimulus thus afforded, and such was the temporary prosperity that the privileged classes began to persuade themselves that the deluge would *never* come. Calonne went on from year to year. The mountain of debt rose higher and higher. But who cared for debt while the country was prosperous? Who cared for the judgment day as long as the government flourished and the privileged orders were exempt from burdens?

History has presented many such examples as that afforded by Calonne; but never one that did not ultimately collapse in its own magnificence. For about three years the minister succeeded in postponing the deluge. The debt went on increasing. At last, in 1786, the facile functionary was obliged to confess

that he could go no further. The deficit had increased at such a fearful rate that the state staggered. It was agreed, after a conference with the king, that the Assembly of Notables—an ancient and effete body of advisers whom the king might nominate and summon from all parts of the kingdom, but who were selected only from the higher orders of society—should be convened to consider what should be done to save France from national bankruptcy. To refer such a question to such a body was in the highest degree preposterous; and the result corresponded to what might have been expected. The Notables convened in February of 1787. It was the first of many assemblies to which distracted and suffering France was about to make a vain appeal to save her from the sorrows into which she had been plunged by the folly and wickedness of her rulers.

The Notables numbered a hundred and forty-four. As soon as the body was organized Calonne presented one of his many brilliant schemes for making something out of nothing, but his propositions were rejected by the Notables, who either would not or could not appreciate the means which the minister suggested of saving France from bankruptcy. Finding that every thing was going against him Calonne anticipated the inevitable by resigning, on the 9th of April, 1787. The king appointed Archbishop Brienne, of Toulouse, to be minister of finance; but his proposals for the relief of the state were also rejected by the Notables. Louis now became disgusted with the assembly, and on the 25th of May ordered its dissolution.

By this time the attention of the French people was turned to the project of convening the STATES-GENERAL. Since the history of the following five years was to result from the assembly just named something may be with propriety said of its constitution and character. The States-general of France was an assembly of the nation by its representatives. There were at this time three orders of French society; the clergy, the nobility, and the *Tiers État*, or Third Estate. Of these orders and of their relative strength something has been already said in the preceding pages. Before the times of Philip the Fair, the People or Commons of France had had no voice in the

government of the kingdom. That monarch being engaged in a struggle with the Pope deemed it expedient to interest the whole nation, and not merely the clergy and the nobility in his cause. He accordingly convened an assembly in which the *Bourgeoisie*, or inhabitants of the towns, were represented. At the first the great mass of the people, that is the peasants, mechanics, and farmers of France, had no voice in the assembly. In 1302 the States-general assembled under the call of the king, and the same again occurred in the following year and in 1308. The policy of Philip was adopted by his successors, and it became a precedent with the French kings, when pressed by some emergency, to convoke this body, which became known as the States-general, or National Assembly.

After the severe shock which the nobility received in the battles of Crecy and Poitiers, the Third Estate became especially influential. From the middle of the fourteenth to near the middle of the fifteenth century, the States were frequently convoked. In 1489, however, the assembly was induced to vote a fixed sum for the support of the standing army—an act which in a great measure took away the occasion of calling upon the Third Estate, and the kings being now able to carry on wars without appealing to the people for help, were quick to perceive the popular mistake and to take advantage of it. In 1614–15 the States were convened by Louis XIII., who was then in the first years of his reign. But the meeting was inharmonious. The representatives of the different estates quarreled, and those of the Third were worsted. A general distaste for popular liberty had meanwhile supervened, and it was determined that the assembly should not again be called. A hundred and seventy-three years had elapsed since the last convocation, and France, in her distress, looking back through the shadows, thought she could discover the phantom of hope in her ancient National Legislature.

But the king and the privileged orders were not yet willing to appeal to the people. It was determined to try again the same method of raising revenue which the Bourbons had employed since the date of the accession of their House; namely, a royal edict in place of statutory enactment. The French constitu-

tion, however, required that the king's proclamation of a tax levy should be registered by the Parliament in order that the edict might be valid. In this instance it happened that when Louis's ministers had prepared the schedule, the Parliament refused to make the registration, and the edict was about to fail. In the emergency the king resorted to the rather unusual expedient of holding what was called a *Bed of justice*—a measure by which he was enabled to compel the Parliament to register his decree; but in doing so that body failed not to make a strong remonstrance against the act, and to adopt a resolution petitioning the government to convoke the States-general of the kingdom. The royal party was angered at this boldness on the part of Parliament, and that body was banished to Troyes, in Champagne. At this the popular discontent was so much heightened, that Louis and his ministers deemed it expedient to tack, and the Parliament was recalled in the following September.

In all these preliminary agitations, the bottom question was whether, as hitherto, the taxes made necessary for the support of the kingdom and for the payment of the enormous debt which had been heaped up by the excesses of the court and the delusive financiering of Calonne, should continue to rest on the producing classes, or whether the lands and possessions of the privileged orders should also be subjected to taxation. One of the measures debated by the Notables in 1787 was the project for laying a tax on all the lands in the kingdom. Even the royal estates were to bear their part of the general assessment; but after a hot struggle the proposal was voted down. Very loath were the king and the nobility to yield to the demand for a National Assembly. Rather than surrender his wishes, Louis convoked the clergy by themselves, hoping to extort from that order a large loan; but those devoted and unselfish persons, loving themselves and their exemption more than they loved the state, not only refused to aid the monarch but actually joined the Parliament in demanding that the National Assembly should be convoked.

Perceiving that the French nation would have its way, and hard pressed by the embarrassments of the situation, the king now took

counsel with Necker, who had been recalled to office, and it was agreed that the States-general should be convened in the following year. In November of 1788, the Notables were reconvened to consider the question in what manner the representatives of the Three Estates of the French people should be elected, and to decide other matters preliminary to the meeting. These things arranged, the Notables adjourned to await the result of the elections.

Fall and winter were consumed in arranging the districts and conducting the primaries. To the astonishment of all, France arose. Never before within the bounds of that kingdom had such a scene been witnessed. The election was the beginning of national life. Not a town failed to establish its voting place and open a poll. More than five millions of people cast their first ballot. In some parts the elections were delayed and hindered till the following spring. The meeting of the States-general had been fixed for the 27th of April, 1789, but was postponed, first to the 1st of May and afterwards to the 4th. The elections in Paris were completed only a few days before the grand convocation. In many places there were tumults and riots; for the French nation was not at once able to arise and walk.

At last the work of choosing delegates was completed, and on the 4th of May about twelve hundred deputies, representatives of the Three Estates of France, assembled at Versailles. There were the king, the queen, the whole French court. It was a grand day in the history of the central and greatest nation of Western Europe—a day which Michelet has properly called “the last of peace, yet the first of an immense future.” In the procession, which was formed to move from the Church of Notre Dame to the palace of Saint Louis, the five hundred and fifty deputies of the Third Estate, including about three hundred lawyers and magistrates, were placed at the head. Next came the brilliantly dressed representatives of the nobility, with their regalia and plumed hats. It was noticed that about forty of the noble representatives, who were known to sympathize with the people, were as warmly applauded as were the delegates of the Third Estate. But the rest of the second division, as well as the third, which

was composed of the clergy, was allowed to pass through the streets in silence.

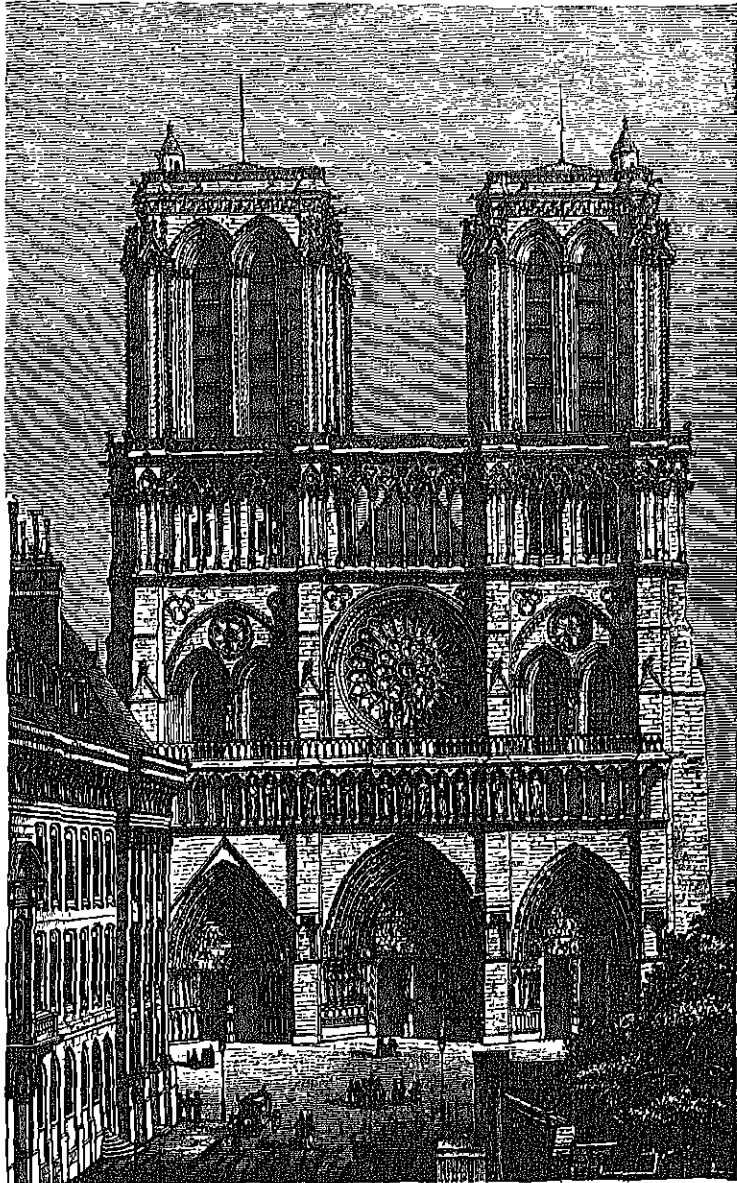
When the Assembly was convened, it was confronted at the very threshold with a question of the most vital importance. How should the matters about to be presented and discussed be decided? Should each of the orders vote separately, and the votes of two orders be necessary to decide a question, or should the Assembly sit after the manner of a convention, and determine matters by a majority vote? If the latter, then the Commons, or representatives of the Third Estate, would be able to outvote the nobility and the clergy, even though the latter should combine. If the former, then, in spite of the numerical preponderance of the Third Estate, the nobles and the clergy might unite their votes, and thus compel the acquiescence of the majority. All perceived the importance of the question. The Commons claimed the right of voting individually; while the other two Orders, alarmed lest their ancient privileges should be abrogated, stoutly maintained that the voting should be by Estates. In this position they were supported by the king and the ministry. Even Necker opposed the popular method of determining the will of the States-general.

Both parties appealed to history; and both were able to find precedents in support of their respective views. Instances were found in the old records where the Estates had voted by Orders, and other instances were found where all had sat together and determined questions by a majority. At the first, though the excitement ran high, the passions of the contestants were not violently stirred. After the opening of the Assembly by the king, the three Orders convened apart; and the representatives of the Third Estate passed a resolution inviting the other two Orders to join them in the hall which had been assigned to the Commons. But the nobles and the clergy refused to accept the invitation. A dead-lock was thus produced at the opening session. The winds of passion began to blow, and it was soon perceived by the privileged Orders that the Third Estate was determined to have its will. Already had the statesman Sieyès fired the French mind with his powerful pamphlet, *What is the Third Estate?* Already had he answered his own question by defining the Third

Estate to be "the French nation without the nobility and clergy." Such startling and radical propositions were now upon the tongues of the people. Such revolutionary utterances were heard in the hall, where the Commons were assembled. For six days after the 7th of May the two privileged Orders held aloof from that stormy arena to which they were invited, and then a series of conferences were held. But so fearful was the royal party of an overthrow, that the king was induced to issue an order that the conferences should be held in the presence of his own committee and of the keeper of the seals. This was the first act which openly announced the partisanship of the king for the privileged Orders. The Commons, stimulated by the eloquence and argument of the great Mirabeau, agreed to hold the meetings, but made a protest against the method. Meanwhile, however, the nobles passed a resolution that each of the Orders should have a veto on the acts of the other two. A month of precious time was thus lost, and this, too, at the very time when famine and debt and poverty were combining their energies to plunge France into a still profounder depth of misery.

On the 10th of June the Abbé Sieyès entered the hall of the Third Estate and exclaimed: "Let us cut the cable; it is time." This meant that the representatives of the

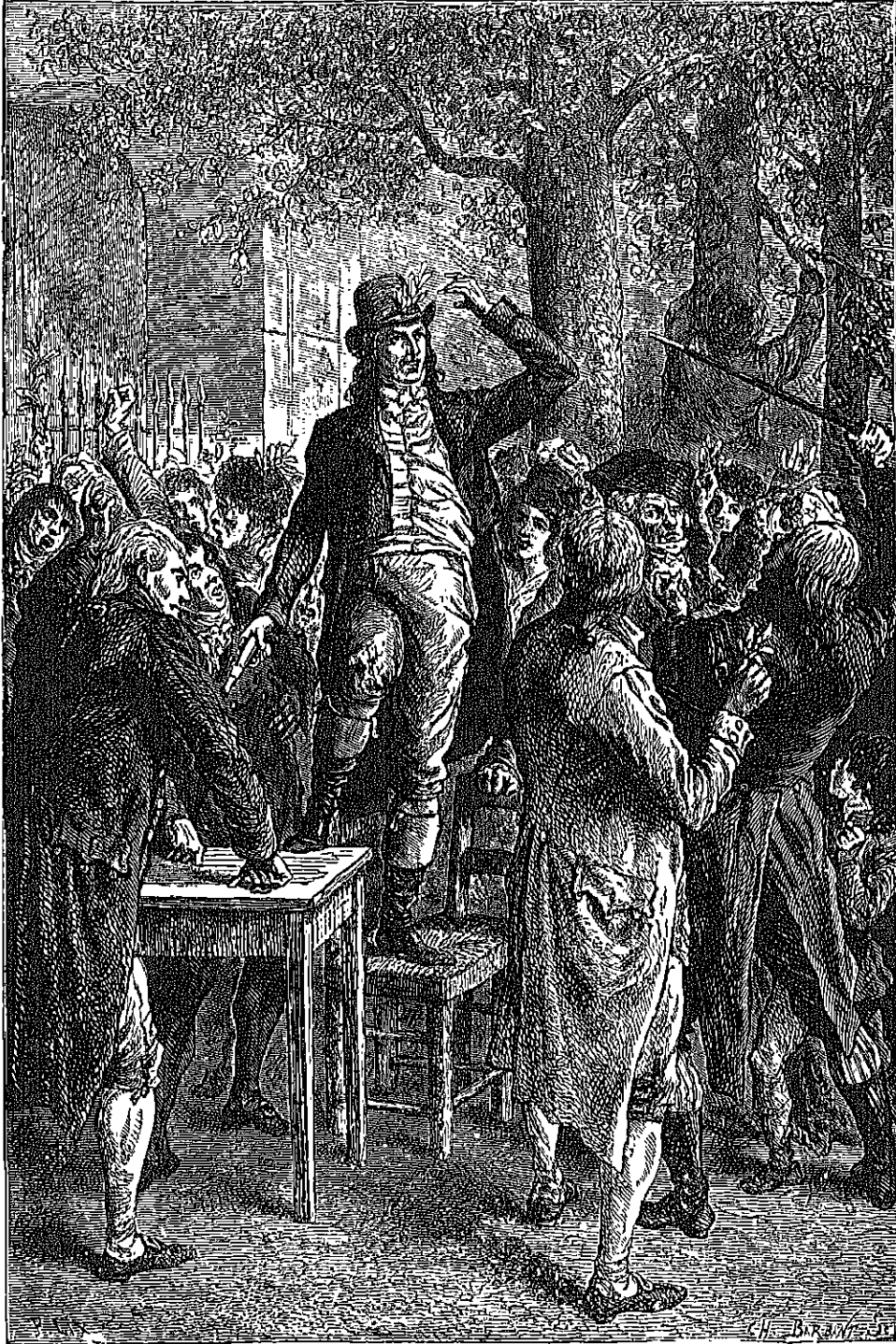
people should *summon* the clergy and nobility to meet them in a common assembly. A resolution was passed to that effect; the privileged Orders were warned that they would be called upon *in an hour* to return an answer,



CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME.

and that their non-appearance under the summons would be regarded as a default in law. The issue was thus made up with startling sharpness, and the situation became critical. A disdainful silence ensued on the part of the court, nobles, and clergy. Of the latter or-

der ten members—true pastors of the people—heeded the summons and took their places on the benches of the Third Estate. Five days afterward Sieyès proposed that the representatives of the people, the Commons of France, should declare themselves to be the NATIONAL



CAMILLE DESMOULINS IN THE GARDEN OF THE PALAIS ROYAL,
Drawn by F. LIX.

ASSEMBLY, and this motion prevailed in the midst of great excitement. The proposition of Siyès was carried by a majority of four hundred and ninety-one votes in the affirmative against ninety in the negative. So powerful was the tide already that Mirabeau, who had tried to prevent the passage of the act, durst not put himself on record with a minority, and escaped from his dilemma by absenting himself from the hall.

It now remained for the nobility and the clergy, the king's party in general, to accept the situation, to cast in their lots with the Commons of France, to make the most of what remained to them of their ancient privileges, or to abide the consequences of their obstinacy. The two privileged Orders were already broken by the incipient Revolution. In the end the larger part of the clergy succumbed, and together with forty-seven of the nobles, yielded to the inevitable by taking their places in the assembly hall of the Third Estate. Such were the events which began to draw the attention of all Europe to the elegant precincts of Versailles at the time when, on this side of the Atlantic, the new Republic of the United States was instituted at New York by the sedate and incorruptible Washington.

The crisis had now arrived. France began to quake and quiver with an agitation the like of which has never been elsewhere witnessed among mankind. The harvests had failed. Gaunt famine began to growl in the impoverished quarters of cities. The shadow of the mountain of debt fell black and ominous across the kingdom. The royal family embittered itself with dissensions. The dauphin had died. Crowds of half-starved wretches began to pour in from the country districts and to prowl about feverish Paris. Meanwhile the Assembly out at Versailles became more and more daring in its assumptions. It was as though the angered nation, young and gigantic, felt the powerful sinews of its own arms, and looked with a menace and frown at the battlements and bulwarks of monarchy. Could those tremendous bastions be scaled? Could man climb such ramparts? Would it be a crime to hurl down a king and tear the insignia of royalty to shreds and tatters? The starving crowd formed a camp on the heights of Montmartre overlooking the city, and from

that place scowled upon the Athens of the modern world.

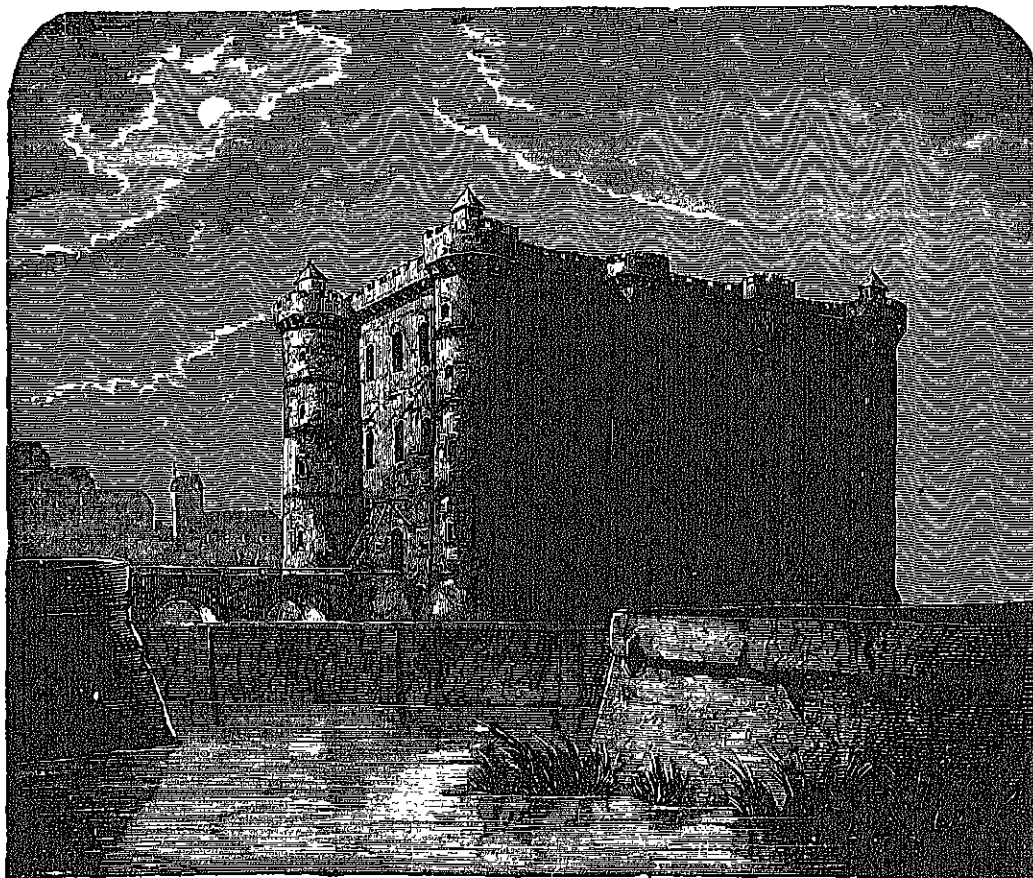
The revolutionary movement from the first gained headway. Many of the royal party, disgusted with the traditions and existing institutions of France, abandoned the king's cause and joined the people. Thus did the Duke of Orleans, whose house, the Palais Royal, became a seat of sedition. It began to be openly debated what disposition should be made of the king and the kingdom. His good nature was recognized, but he stood for a system from which France had determined to deliver herself, peaceably if she might; forcibly if she must. Besides, the queen, the Austrian Marie Antoinette, had given great offense by her imperious temper, her foreign manners, and her frivolity. The people called her with scorn the *Austrian*, and their hatred was reciprocated. It was through her influence that Necker, who, as minister of finance, still sought to temporize, to pacify, to turn the excitement into credit, the people's rage into money, to gather comfort from famine, and honey-dew from cactus, was dismissed from office. At the same time she added her counsels to those of other royal advisers in successfully urging Louis to concentrate in the vicinity of Paris an army of forty thousand men, nearly all of whom were mercenaries from Germany and Switzerland.

The dismissal of Necker proved to be the spark which lighted the magazine. The people without very good reason regarded the fallen minister as a martyr to their cause. So believing, they broke into violence. Camille Desmoulins, on the day following the dismissal of the people's minister, mounted a table in the garden of the Palais Royal, harangued the multitudes, called them to rally for the defense of liberty, plucked off the green leaves over head and gave them to the people to be worn as badges, and with a brandished pistol defied the police to interrupt him. A great mob rose in the streets of Paris, placed a bust of Necker at the head of the column, and went surging along until they were fired upon by a body of royal cavalry. Several fell bleeding to the pavement. It was the first blood of the revolution. Paris now began to roar. Her voice could not be suppressed. She demanded that a civic militia,

to be known as the National Guard, should be organized for her defense. The government was obliged to yield, and this first army of the French nation sprang into being. Nor was it long until its power was exhibited in a memorable manner.

One of the things at this time most hateful to Paris was the ancient state prison known as *La Bastille*, a sort of citadel built by Charles V. in 1369, strengthened in succeeding reigns,

walls of this ancient stronghold of despotism had become rank, and the smell of offense had filled the nostrils of roused-up Paris. On the ever-memorable 14th of July, 1789, the people of the city made a rush for the Bastille. They attacked it with a fury scarcely paralleled since the days of the Crusades. They stormed the entrances, and in spite of the efforts of the commander, Delaunay, and his garrison, took the prison by assault. The insurgent militia



THE OLD BASTILLE.

and for more than four hundred years the last argument which the French kings had used to convince their subjects. At the gate of St. Antoine the old prison reared its eight round towers of massive masonry. About it was drawn a ditch twenty-five feet in depth. The place was kept and guarded by a governor, with his subordinate officers, and a strong garrison. Within it were incarcerated the criminal, the suspected, the dangerous. The abuses done in the name of authority within the

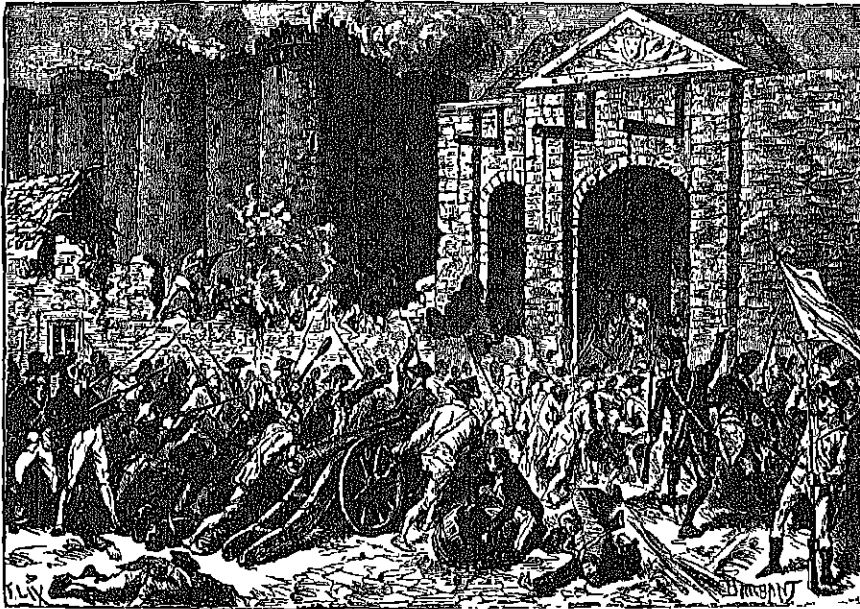
poured into the towers and chambers. They drew the prisoners, long confined, from subterranean cells and dungeons, ransacked the whole inclosure, and then razed the edifice to the ground. In their rage they left not one stone upon another. The dungeons were filled up with the copings of the battlements. The people seemed to regard the prison as a kind of symbol of monarchy, and to feel a certain satisfaction in its total obliteration. Thus was leveled, on the very spot where

tyranny had done its worst, the site whereon should presently be erected the COLUMN OF JULY, in perpetual commemoration of the deed done by the men of 1789.

In the mean time the National Assembly had transferred its sittings to Paris. The astronomer Bailly had been chosen president of the body, and had also been appointed Mayor of Paris. The king and the court out at Versailles looked on with horror, indignation, and fear, while the drama was enacted in the city. They suddenly awoke to the realization that they were themselves no more than specters floating in the stormy horizon

ing representative admitted to a conference with the representatives of that nation whom it had so mortally offended.

The people were clearly victorious. Necker, who had left France and gone to Brussels, was recalled. The Marquis of La Fayette was appointed commander of the National Guard, and the king was obliged to sign his commission. The government that had been, seemed to give place to the government about to be. The ancient nobility began to shiver with well grounded fear. The privileged Orders, looking around to see in what quarter they might hide themselves from the impending storm, could



STORMING OF THE BASTILLE.

Drawn by F. Lix.

of France. Louis in his weak and irresolute manner made a visit to Paris as if to accept the revolution against which his resistance had proved impotent. His reception by the National Assembly was a striking episode. He had to be humbly announced at the door of that haughty body which now spoke in the name of France. Bailly was ordered by the house to present, out of courtesy, the keys of the city. In doing so the president said to the humiliated sovereign: "These, Sire, are the keys that were offered to Henry IV., the conqueror of the people; to-day, it is the people who have reconquered their king." On such terms was the House of Bourbon in its liv-

discover no refuge. Many determined to fly from the kingdom. Gathering together what property they could convey abroad, the Emigrant Nobles departed for foreign countries, and the unhappy Louis, who could not in like manner escape, was left to his fate.

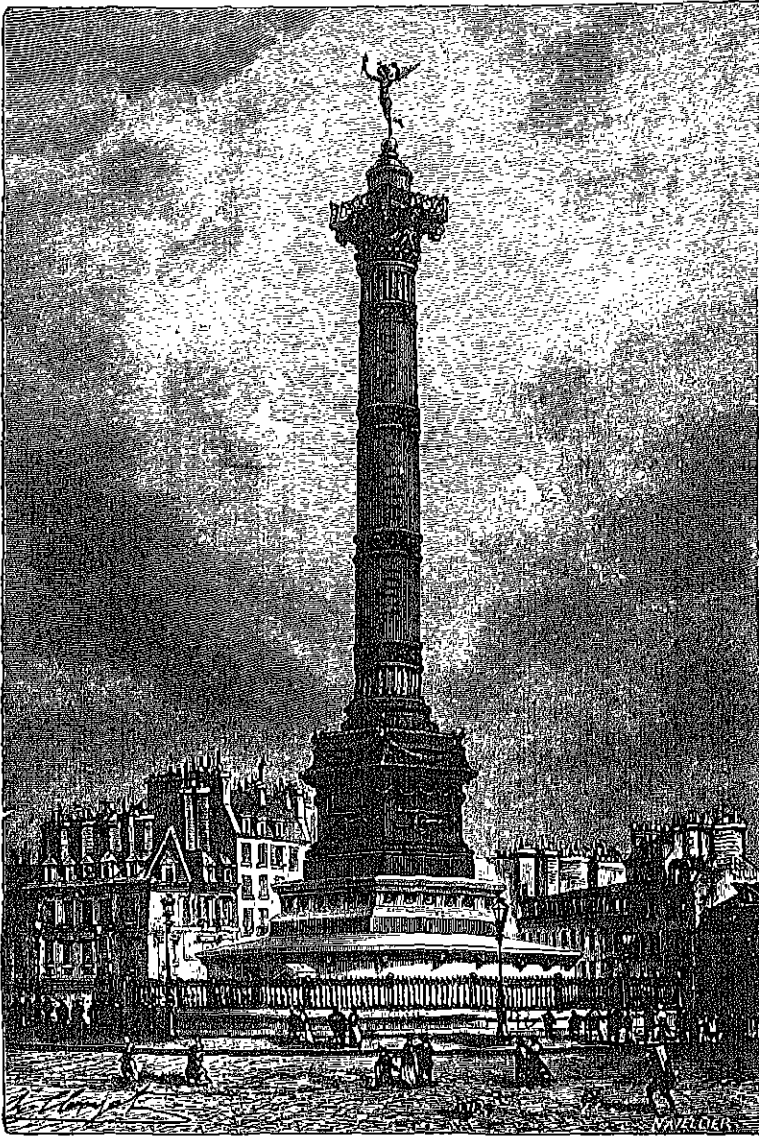
In the mean time, the triumphant Assembly began to consider the actual state of France, and to debate such measures as seemed necessary for the thorough reform of her institutions. The name of CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY was substituted for that which the body had first taken, and the work of preparing a new constitution for France was zealously undertaken.

The object of a former visit of the king to the assembly had been to overawe the members. Vain project! How, overawe a nation? The weak Louis, still in the old manner of the Bourbons, had on that occasion read to the assembly an address which had been prepared

consider myself as their representative. I order you, gentlemen, to disperse immediately, and to repair to-morrow morning to the chambers appropriated to your order, there to resume your sitting." But on his second coming to Paris his manner was different. The Bas-

tile was now no more, and the monarch, on his coming into the presence of the Assembly simply said: "I trust myself to you." So great a change had the Revolution already effected.

After the proclamation of Bailly as mayor, and the appointment of La Fayette as commandant of the citizen militia; after the destruction of the Bastille, and the cry of victory on the side of the people, a sort of hollow peace was patched up between the royal party and the representatives of the nation. For the moment the Third Estate seemed about to be satisfied with less than its manifest destiny. For the moment the king seemed about to be reconciled to a show of liberty. For the moment the Revolution seemed about to be accomplished without a great destruction of life or devastation of society. But in reality the work of the



THE COLUMN OF THE 10TH OF JULY.

for him, filled with such utterances as might well have been delivered in the seventeenth, but not in the eighteenth century. He outlined his plan for relieving the nation from its distresses, and then added: "If you abandon me in so excellent an enterprise, I will alone effect the welfare of my people; alone I shall

14th of July was only the preliminary swirl of the tempest. Alas, what blinding, bloody storms of ruin and anguish were yet to beat upon France before her regeneration!

In its membership the Constituent Assembly of 1789 was a body of the highest order of ability and courage. It was France. The

representatives had courage, eloquence, audacity. They laid the axe at the root of the tree—that ancient tree of despotism, whose blossoms had been as great a delusion as the artificial lilies on the bosom of Antoinette, and whose fruit had been as bitter as the apples of Sodom. Of this great membership one of the most distinguished was the count Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, already mentioned as a leader. He was now in his forty-second year, and was regarded as one of the greatest logicians of France. His pamphlets, especially that defining the character and rights of the Third Estate, had stirred the nation to its depths. He was famous as the first oracle of the Revolution.

A greater even than he was the illustrious Gabriel Riquetti Mirabeau, who from coming into the world with a mouthful of molars, a twisted foot, a tied tongue—from being disfigured with confluent smallpox, and emphasized with an enormous head, misshapen as that of Thersites—from being so unprepossessing as to be called from his ugliness “The nephew of Satan”—from mad exhibitions of passionate temper and erratic will, had become the greatest orator of France. He, too, though generally inclined to the preservation of the monarchy, had been an agitator, and had contributed not a little to the convocation of the States-general. He had been elected to that body for both *Marseilles* and *Aix*, but took his seat for *Aix*. He entered the assembly without adherence to any party; nor did he ever align himself with any faction or organization. But such were his elo-

quence, the comprehension of his mind, his powers of analysis, his logic, his persuasive advocacy, and terrible invective that the assembly swayed in the breath of his oratory as the trees of the forest moved by the winds. He became the real leader of the great assembly. He it was who, on the 23d of June, at the close of the first visit of the king to the assembly, said to Brézé, master of the royal ceremonies: “Go and tell those who sent you, that we are here by the power of the people, and that we are only to be driven out by that of the bayo-

net”—an impressive and courageous answer worthy of the greatest.

As soon as the work of remodeling the constitution of France was undertaken by the Assembly, the division of the body into parties became more manifest. The views of the deputies ranged all the way from the extreme of radicalism to a grade of conservatism which might have been pleasing even to the king himself. By degrees the more radical and aggressive arranged themselves in a group on one side of the hall, and from their position



MIRABEAU.

became known as the *Left*. On the other side were the conservatives, called the *Right*; while those who were of moderate views received the appellation of the *Center*. For the time, the measures debated had respect to the degree and kind of reforms to be adopted, and did not contemplate the abolition of the monarchy itself; but every thing tended to an upheaval of the whole existing structure.

In the mean time, the course taken by the people of Paris was known and imitated in the provinces. The spirit of the Revolution winged its flight into every part, and the in-

The queen had escaped to the apartments of the king. Behold Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa, wife of the reigning Bourbon, flying like a specter through the shadows of the great halls, her hair disheveled, her person exposed to the night wind. Poor

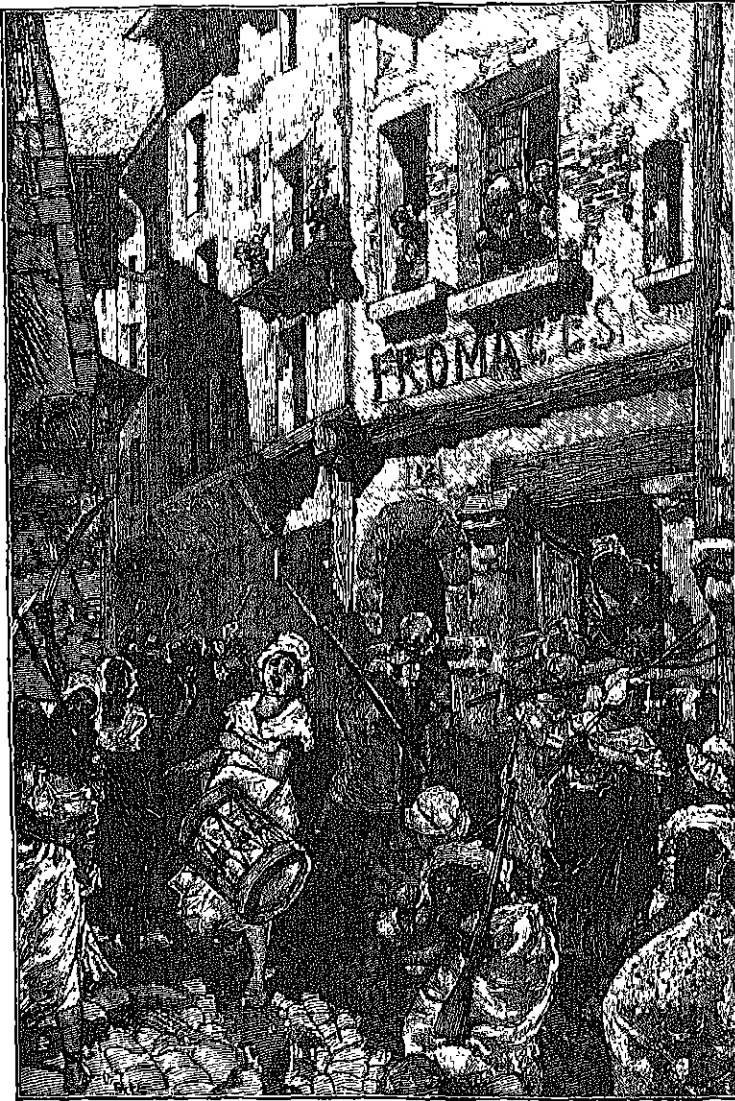
ette faced the mob, and was heard. "To Paris with the king!" they shouted. He told them that the king should indeed go with them back to Paris. The queen also and the court should go. Louis was obliged to submit. The royal carriage was brought forth, and the mob appointed a guard of honor to act as an escort! The heads of two of the real guards were stuck on pikes and carried in the procession. For six hours the brutal triumph of savage liberty wound its way toward the capital. All Paris arose at the coming of the royal car. The city was illuminated and the night made glorious. The nation had taken the king. He was lodged in the Tuileries. What was he? A prisoner.

The sittings of the Assembly were now permanently fixed in Paris. In that body there was no longer any distinction of rank. Nobles, priests, and commons sat side by side. The debates were still directed to the work of transforming the constitution and laws of the kingdom. For about a year after the king was brought to Paris, the business of the Assembly was conducted in a manner as regular and orderly as might have been expected. During this in-

ghost of the past! The king, too, was up and trying to save his family. His guards took him to the apartment where the queen was. There the children were gathered; and the House of Capet sat trembling while the guards of the palace were killed by the mob.

In the moment of extreme peril, La Fay-

terval one innovation followed another. All sects and creeds which were not abolished were declared to be of equal privilege before the law. The right of suffrage was decreed to all citizens of France. All titles were abolished, and every vestige of primogeniture swept away. The ancient bou-



THE WOMEN ON THE ROAD TO VERSAILLES.

Drawn by Vierge.

daries of provinces were struck from the map, and France was redivided into eighty-three departments. The ancient Parliament was abrogated. Then began the work of confiscation. The lands of the Church and the greater part of the royal domain were seized and appropriated to the uses of the state. All monastic institutions were broken up.

Only two classes of dignitaries, bishops and curés, were allowed to retain their offices in the Church. Hereupon the Pope interfered to prevent the utter wreck of the ecclesiastical Empire. Those who held rank in the Church were forbidden to take the oath which was prescribed by the Assembly. More than fifty thousand of the clergy were deprived of their properties and turned adrift for refusing to swear allegiance under the new constitution.

It was during the latter part of the year 1789 and in the following year that the Constituent Assembly lost its autonomy and fell under the dominion of the political clubs which became rife in Paris. Nearly every shade of opinion had found for itself a nucleus outside of the assembly halls, and had become organic. The number of political associations in the capital was very great. The deputies of the assembly were members of these various clubs, whose meetings were held in the evening, and whose principal business was to debate the matters pending before the assembly. It was not long before these clubs began to instruct their members what course they should pursue in reference to the projects before the convention. The source of power

was thus transferred from the assembly to the clubs, which henceforth acted as political committees to prepare the business for the assembly. As early as May of 1789, the deputies from Brittany had organized the Breton Club, which was perhaps the first of many, and which became the greatest of all. When the assembly transferred its sitting from Versailles



MARIE ANTOINETTE.

to Paris, the club just mentioned established its head-quarters in the old Dominican convent of St. Jacobus, in the rue St. Honoré, from which circumstance the organization was henceforth known as the *Jacobins*—though the members called themselves the “Friends of the Constitution.” The members of the club rapidly increased, and membership in the same became the passport to political influence.

The most popular orators of the assembly were Jacobins, and in the course of 1790-91-92, the club became the controlling power of the Revolution. It was in the meetings of the Jacobins that radicalism grew and flourished. The leadership of the club fell more and more into the hands of extremists, who hesitated at few things and scrupled at nothing. The society became immensely popular. It extended its influence to every part of France. Before the close of 1791, twenty-four hundred branch societies had been established in different parts of the kingdom, and all were governed from the head-quarters of the club in Paris. From these conditions it is easy to understand how the leaders of the Jacobins brought the Assembly under their sway and became the masters of France. The opinions and principles of the organization were promulgated by means of its *Journal* and *Almanacs*, which were scattered everywhere.

The time had now come for the beginning of a reaction against the revolutionary proceedings of the Convention. It could not be expected that the feudal nobility and powerful clergy of France would melt away like frost-work on the pane. During the whole of 1790 the ancient nobles continued to emigrate to foreign lands, but they went expecting to return. Scattered as they were, and disorganized and weakened as they were by the shock of revolution, they nevertheless began to form plans to recover their lost inheritance. It was determined to rendezvous on the German frontier, to place themselves under the leadership of Louis Joseph, prince of Condé, and to make a descent upon the nation that had expelled them. They put on a black-and-yellow uniform, took a death's head for their symbol, and wrote "Conquer or die" on their cuffs. Their numbers became formidable, and it was evident to the Assembly and people that the Emigrant Army would soon be upon them with the counter-revolution. It was also to be easily perceived that the surrounding kingdoms, alarmed at the sudden revelation of France as a power superior to the king, would sympathize with the Emigrants, and perhaps assist them with arms and men to make war on their country. It was these actual and implied menaces that first roused France to fury. Thus far she had been

clamorous; now she was furious. She saw the liberty which she had partly wrested put in peril by those very classes of French society at whose hands she had suffered ages of abuse.

Meanwhile, however, the previous summer had witnessed a memorable scene in Paris. The Constitution had been completed. Its ratification by the king was set for the 14th of July, the first anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille. That memorable day was set apart for a national *fête*, during which the king presented himself, with his family, to the Assembly, and there, in the presence of a vast concourse, took a solemn vow to support the instrument which the deputies were preparing. The army and the clergy also swore allegiance; and Marie Antoinette, holding aloft her little son, the Dauphin, thus pledged him and herself to accept and maintain the new order which had been established in the kingdom. The enthusiasm ran high, and again it was believed that the work of regenerating France was about completed.

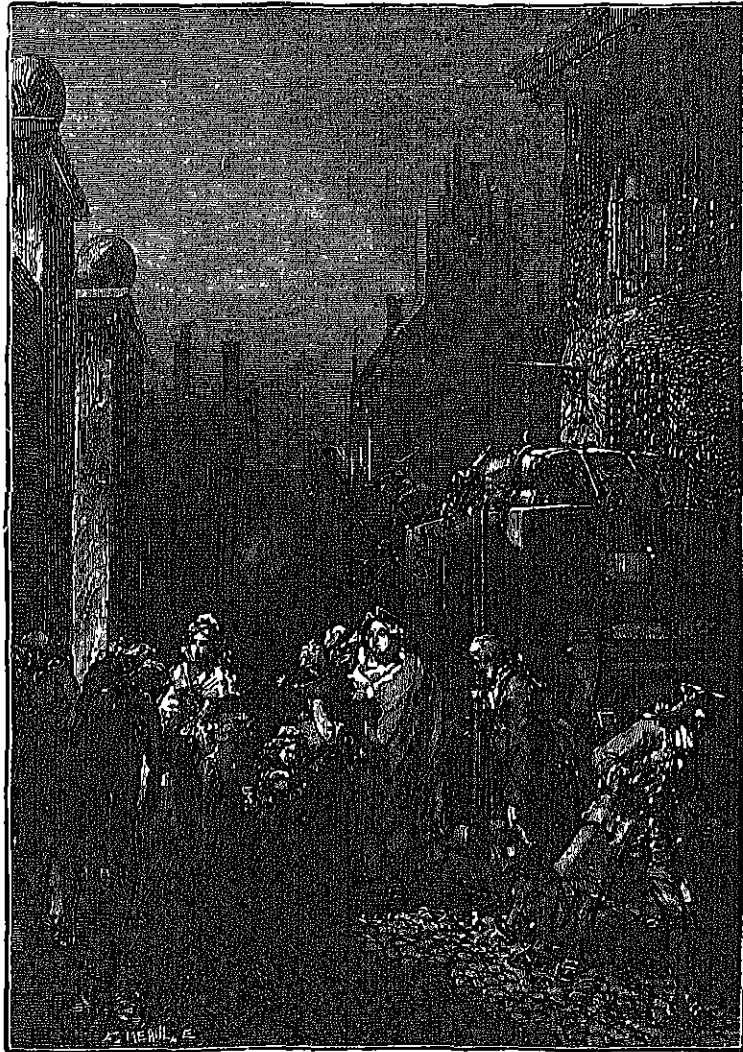
The moderate party in the Assembly had for a season a kind of control over the proceedings. Mirabeau was made president of the body, and it was known that he was pledged to maintain at least the form of the monarchy. Though his leadership was stoutly contested, and though he was charged with treason and corruption, his influence continued predominant until his death. That event occurred on the 2d of April, 1791. His faculties remained clear and brilliant to his dying hour. At the dawn of his last day he roused himself from his sufferings, and said cheerfully to his physician, Cabanis: "My friend, I shall die to-day. When one has come to such a juncture there remains only one thing to be done; that is, to be perfumed, crowned with flowers, and surrounded with music, in order to enter sweetly into that slumber from which there is no awaking." His death was as calm and heroic as his life had been great and stormy. The event produced a profound sensation throughout France. There was none to take his place. Few members of the Assembly possessed the happy balance which he had maintained between the royal party, who worshiped the sixteenth century, and the radicals, who believed in the twentieth.

Up to this time the old army of France had in some measure preserved its loyalty to the king. Many of the regiments were infected with the doctrines of the Revolution; but the greater part, especially the Austrian and Swiss portion of the army, adhered with fidelity to the royal cause. The larger division of these troops were stationed at Montmédy, and to that place the king and his family, cooped up in Paris, cast many a longing glance. As for the National Guard, which was still under the command of La Fayette, it was as thoroughly imbued with the revolutionary doctrines as were the people of the city. Such was the condition of affairs at the time of Mirabeau's death, in the spring of 1791.

By this time the Emigrant Army on the German frontier was ready to advance, but was restrained from doing so by the well-grounded apprehension that an invasion of France by her own nobles would perhaps precipitate the destruction of Louis XVI. and the overthrow of the monarchy. It therefore became all-important to the royalists that the king should extricate himself from his dilemma in Paris, and join his friends who were waiting to deliver him. He must, like Charles I. of England, escape from a virtual imprisonment in the capital in order to return victorious.

At this time the royal family in the city consisted of the king and queen and their chil-

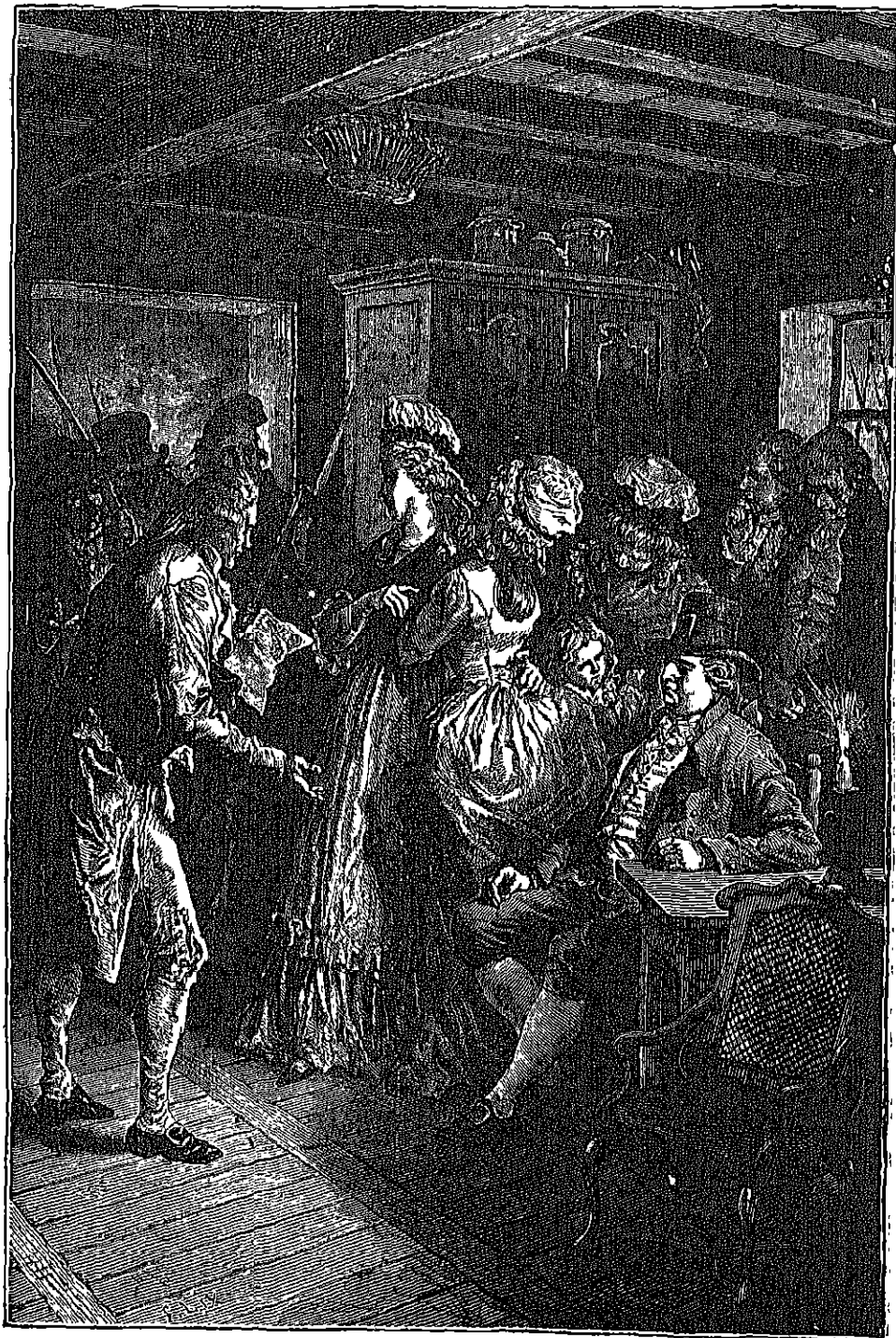
dren, together with the Princess Elizabeth Capet, sister of Louis, and Monsieur and Madame—the former the king's brother, the latter the wife. A plot was laid for all to make their exit from the city. On the night of the 20th of June, 1791, Monsieur and Madame succeeded in getting away, and



LOUIS XVI. ESCAPING IN DISGUISE.

reached Brussels in safety. At the same time the king and queen, disguising themselves, quitted the Tuileries with the hope of reaching the army at Montmédy. The fugitive monarch succeeded in reaching Varennes, where he was received by the shattered remnant of loyalty. But the avenging power came hard after, and the king was seized by a detachment of the National Guard, arrested,

and brought back to the city. This act on the part of Louis produced the greatest agitation. It had been his manifest purpose to | abandon the nation as represented in the Constituent Assembly, and to cast in his lot with those who were openly arrayed against



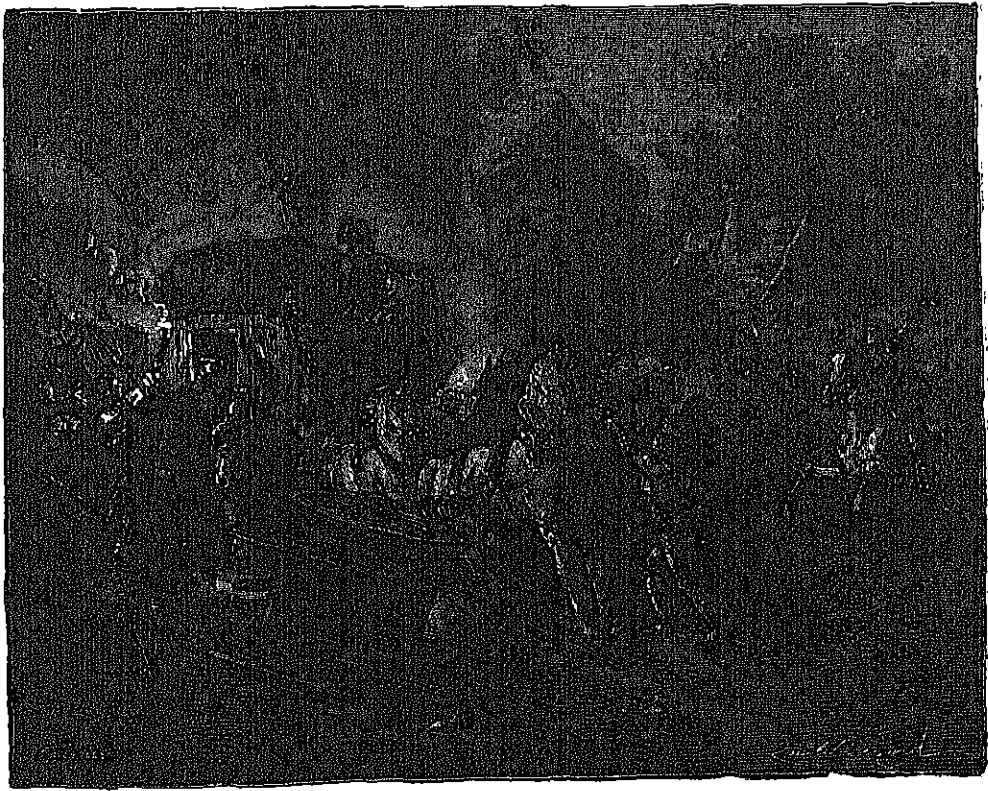
LOUIS XVI. IN THE CITY HALL OF VARENNES.

Drawn by F. LIX.

both. All belief in the king's fidelity to the Constitution, which he had sworn to support, was swept away. It was seen that he had but awaited the opportunity, this good-natured representative of the House of Bourbon, to ally himself with the mortal foes of the people. All the suspicions of those who had distrusted him and his pledges revived in full force, and Louis became an object of odium and contempt. Nevertheless, he was received in the city without open marks of disrespect, and for

an act of patriotism, was especially unfortunate for the country; for France had sent to the Constituent Assembly the best men of the kingdom; and there were good grounds to apprehend—a thing soon to be realized—that the new legislature would not be equal in abilities, perhaps not equal in patriotic purpose, to that body which it was intended to supplant.

By the summer of 1791, the various states of Europe had become profoundly agitated



ARREST OF LOUIS XVI. AT VARENNES.

a while affairs became almost as tranquil as before the attempted escape of the king.

The new Constitution of France having been completed and signed, the work of the Constituent Assembly seemed at an end. On the 30th of September, 1791, the body passed an act for its own dissolution. Before doing so, a decree was prepared for the creation of the new legislature, by which France was to be henceforth governed. The Constituents also resolved that none of themselves should be eligible to election in the new Assembly. The last-named resolution, though intended as

by the course of events in France. Suppose that in all countries the People should arise against their rulers! Would there not be an end of that aristocratic and kingly régime by which Europe was held in equipoise and the world saved from barbarism? So reasoned the rulers. The Spanish and Italian Bourbons were especially concerned for the fate of the parent House. The Hapsburgs were also much disturbed. A daughter of their House was on the throne of France. Besides, the National Assembly had, by the act of August 4, 1789, abolished the feudal

claims of several princes to those half-French and half-German provinces lying along the Rhine. The princes of Franche-Comté, Alsace, and Lorraine had been thus dispossessed. The archbishops of Mentz and Trèves had in like manner been deprived of their jurisdiction over the cities of Spire, Strasbourg, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Even as far east as Russia the alarm was spread abroad. Catharine II., at that time engaged in a war with Turkey, made haste to conclude a peace to the end that she might be able to take advantage of the revolutionary movement in Western Europe. For she hoped thereby to carry out her purpose of seizing Poland. She thought to induce a war between Austria and Prussia on the one side and France on the other, and while the former countries were thus engaged to extend her own authority over at least a part of the Polish dominions. As the result of this antecedent alarm, ambition and jealousy among the powers, a conference was held at Pillnitz, in Saxony, between the German Emperor and Frederick William II. of Prussia. It was agreed by the two monarchs that an appeal should be made to the other European sovereigns for the forcible reinstatement of Louis XVI. on the throne of France. It was urged that such an interference was necessary in order to trammel up the consequences of the Revolution, and prevent a like disaster in other kingdoms. At most of the courts the appeal was heard with favor, and Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Sardinia formed a coalition—the first of many—against the people of France. Meanwhile, the Emigrant Nobles gathered in large numbers at Coblenz, where they put themselves under command of the fugitive Count of Provence, and awaited the movements of the allied powers. The latter were somewhat delayed by the unexpected death of Emperor Leopold (March, 1792), and the assassination of Gustavus III. of Sweden.

In the preceding October the new Legislative Assembly had convened in Paris. The great men who had led the Constituents were absent; but new leaders arose out of the necessities of the situation. The most eminent of these were from the department of the Gironde, from which circumstance the party which now gained the ascendancy were known as the

GIRONDISTS. Their principal members were Condorcet, Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaud, Ducos, and the two Rolands, Jean Marie and Marie Jeanne, husband and wife, in whose salon the leaders of the party were wont to assemble in the evening and discuss the affairs of France. In politics the Girondists were moderate Republicans, believing in the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of an entirely new scheme of government; but at the same time they strongly opposed the ultra-revolutionary party, whose leaders were rapidly tending to communism.

At the first the popularity of the Girondists was favored by the threatened hostility of Austria; for this fact enabled them to put themselves in the attitude of defending the French nation from an assault by foreigners. As soon, therefore, as hostile movements began on the part of the coalition, the Girondists were enabled to compel the king—if king he might be any longer called, who was such only in name—to accept a ministry composed entirely of their own party, and were thus strong enough to force from him a declaration of war against his nephew, Francis II. of Austria, successor of the Emperor Leopold. This declaration was made on the 20th of April, 1792. It was precisely what was needed to bring out the best qualities of the French people. It was a war for national independence, for liberty, for the rights of man.

The Legislative Assembly and the French people were ready for the emergency. The coffers of the state were full; for the confiscation of ecclesiastical and royal property had replenished to overflowing the wasted treasury of France. The reverse of the process by which the kingdom had suffered bankruptcy had suddenly enriched the state. When, therefore, the declaration of war was issued, the Assembly was able almost immediately to throw three strong armies into the field. At the beginning, however, the French soldiers, from the very excess of enthusiasm, were worsted by the enemy in the Austrian Netherlands. It was not long, however, until the tide began to turn in their favor; and to their advantage was added the supreme folly of their foes. The Duke of Brunswick, having taken command of the allied forces at Cob-

lentz, and really supposing that a nation of freemen, thoroughly aroused from the lethargy of the Middle Ages, and armed for the conquest of liberty, could be put down, trampled, extinguished by the old-time despotic meth-

the king. "On those who shall deserve it," said he, "shall be inflicted the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution and exposing it to total



THE GIRONDISTS AT MADAME ROLAND'S.

Drawn by F. Litz.

ods, issued a proclamation worthy of himself and the cause which he represented. His manifesto set forth that he was authorized by the sovereigns of the countries that had entered into the Coalition to reëstablish the royal authority in France, and to put down the wicked insurrection of the people against

destruction; and that the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved." This bombastic and threatening voice out of the dead Past was precisely the thing most needed by the French. The Assembly might well have passed a resolution of thanks to the

Duke of Brunswick for thus uncovering the purposes of those whom he served. The effect of the proclamation was to unite the people

as one man against all foreign invaders, be they few or be they millions.

To Louis XVI. and the monarchy of which



STORMING OF THE TUILERIES.

Drawn by F. Lix.

he was the representative nothing could have been more fatal than this attempt of neighboring kings to reëstablish his despotism over the French nation. The Assembly and the people now coupled his recent attempt to escape from Paris with the movements of foreign powers and the Emigrant Nobles in his behalf. Such was the increased odium aroused against the king that the Girondists easily procured a decree of the Assembly dismissing the king's guard and banishing all the priests who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the constitution. Another act was passed for the creation of a new federal army to be encamped near Paris. Most of the National Guard had been sent into the field under command of La Fayette, and was now stationed on the frontier of Belgium. That general had become alarmed at the too radical proceedings of the Assembly, and written to that body demanding the suppression of the political clubs, notably of the Jacobins. But his protest was unheeded, except in so far as it tended to strengthen the purposes of those who contemplated the abolition of the monarchy.

Other circumstances also conduced to the same end. On the 13th of June the king dismissed his Girondist ministry and attempted to reassert his old prerogatives. This action on his part provoked another mob, as terrible as any which Paris had yet beheld. The insurgents gathered to the number of twenty thousand. They armed themselves with scythes, axes, pikes, and clubs. Under the lead of a brewer named Santerre, they marched into and through the hall of the Legislative Assembly, to which body Santerre delivered a violent harangue. Thence the mob proceeded to the Tuileries, where the king and queen were hooted at and insulted; but no further acts of violence were for the present attempted. Meanwhile, during the month of July, 1792, the new federal army was rapidly recruited. This work was mostly carried out under the management of the Jacobins. The French prisons were emptied, and thousands of criminals, clad in the tri-color of Republican France, were enlisted into the ranks. Hatred of the monarchy increased. The king and his household became objects of loathing. The delirium of

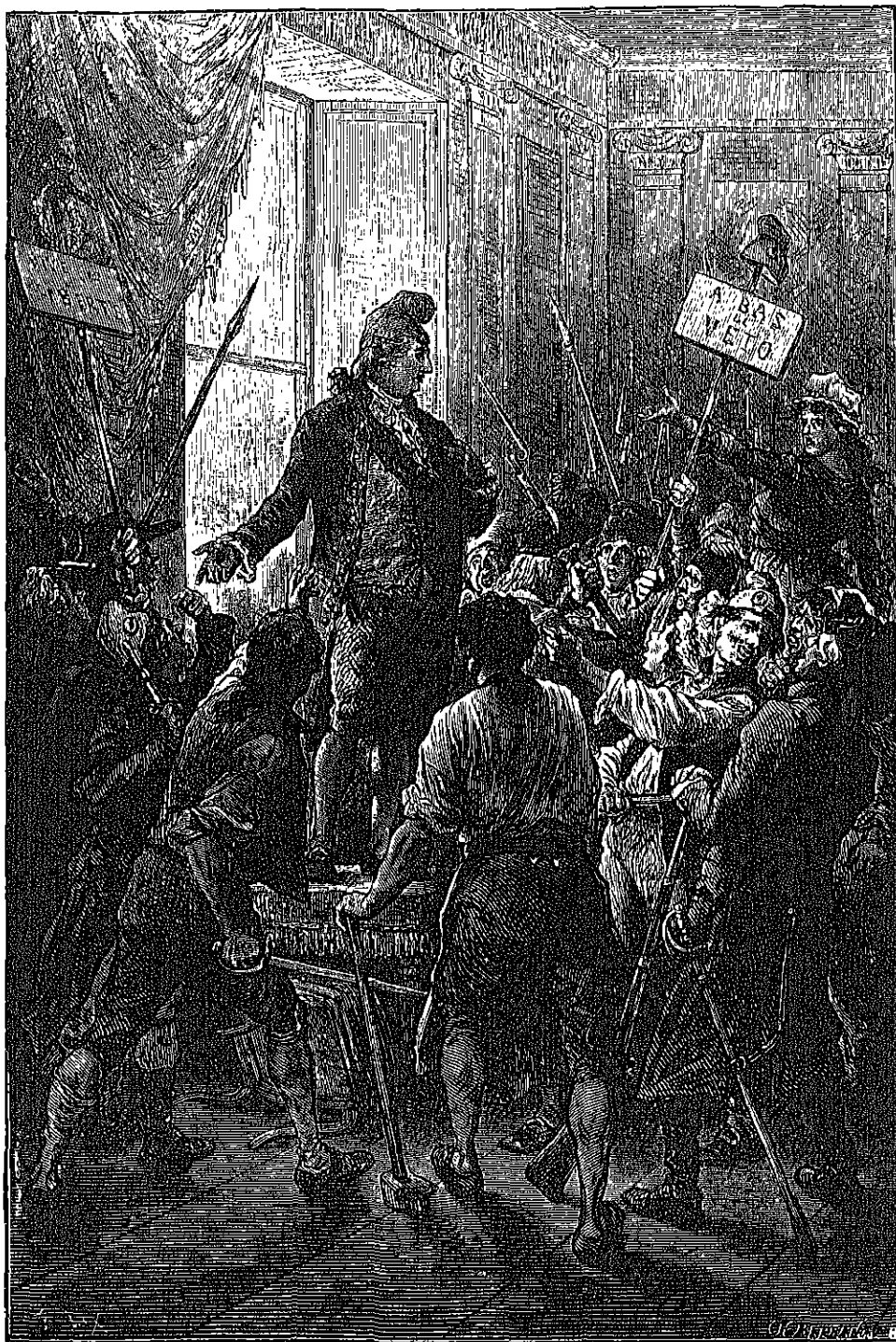
license was added to the exhilaration of liberty. Paris became a sea tossed by the storm.

It was at this juncture that Rouget de l'Isle, a young military officer stationed at Strasburg, composed the celebrated *Marseillaise Hymn*, which became, and has ever since remained, the national song of Revolutionary France. At the first it was known as the War-song of the Army of the Rhine, but was afterwards called La Marseillaise. The words and melody alike seemed to strike a chord in the heart and harp of liberty, which has trembled with emotions unto the present day. It was on the 10th of August, 1792, that surging Paris first heard the music of the Marseillaise. On that day the still unquieted mob, which had recently paid its compliments to the Assembly and the royal family, again became rampant. It roared in the streets. The new War Song was sung, at first by a few, and then by thousands. The guards of the Tuileries were doubled in anticipation of an attack by the populace. It was evident that at last the storm of revolutionary fury was fairly loosed. The mob could not be suppressed. The people were with the mob. The people were the mob. A rush was made for the Tuileries. Mandat, commandant of the guard, was summoned before the Commune, or City Court, and put to death. All that part of the guard which belonged to the National went over to the insurgents. Only a regiment of Swiss was left to protect the palace and the king. Then came the onset. Louis and his family fled to the halls of the National Assembly. The Swiss guards were cut down without mercy. The mob burst through the gates of the palace and roared along the magnificent corridors. The palace was sacked, and none escaped save a few who made their way to the Assembly. The latter body itself swayed towards the mob. Had it not done so, the legislature would perhaps have shared the same fate with the royal family.

The king was now a prisoner in name as well as in fact. He was conveyed with his household to a gloomy old prison called the Temple, where in ages gone the knights of the Order of that name had held their conclaves. The Middle Age which had persisted in ruling the eighteenth century was incarcerated at the last in a prison of its own con-

struction. In a short time, and under the very windows of the royal palace, was set up a guillotine—the instrument recently invented

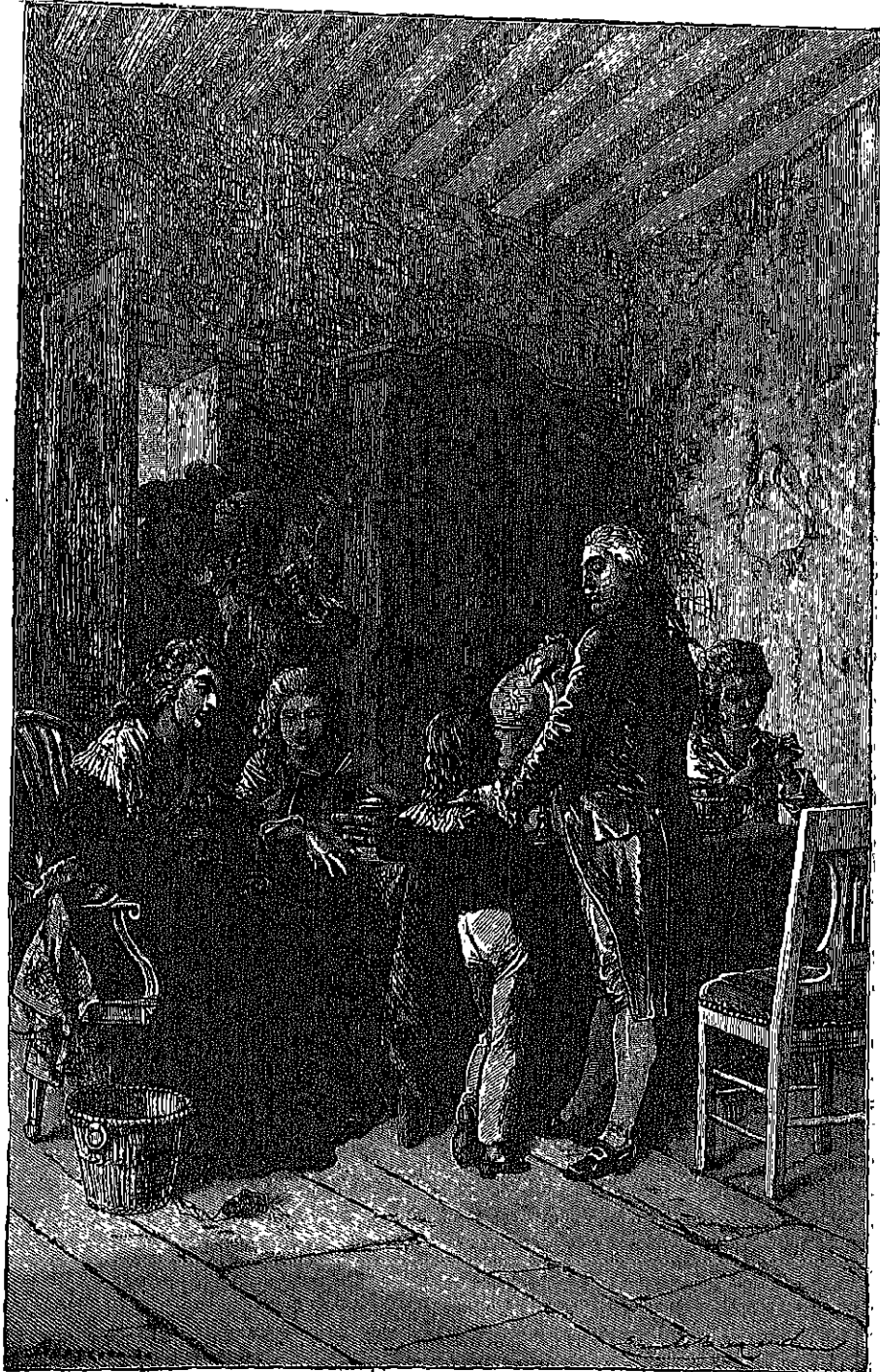
by Dr. Joseph Ignace Guillotin, of the Assembly, for the more merciful execution of criminals. Nor was it long until the efficacy



THE KING WITH THE MOB IN THE TUILERIES.

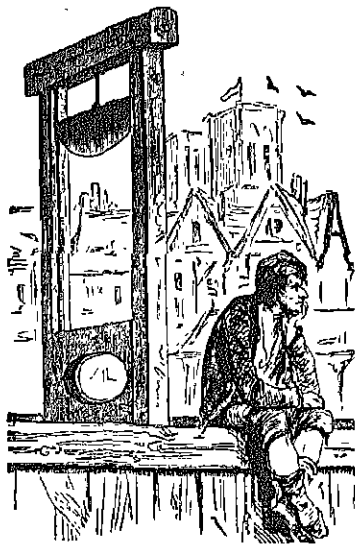
Drawn by F. LIX.

of the machine was attested in a horrid manner. The radical revolutionists were now triumphant in the Assembly and throughout France. It became their policy to destroy whatever opposed them. The accumulated



THE ROYAL FAMILY IN THE TEMPLE.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

horrors which despotism had for centuries been storing up against the day of wrath were now to be revisited upon all who exposed themselves to the madness of infuriated Liberty. The so-called REIGN of TERROR was ushered in. It was the day of blood and vengeance—such vengeance as the human race has never at any other time taken on itself for its own crimes. A revolutionary tribunal was created, and a sort of semi-legal massacre was begun of those who durst oppose, or were even suspected of opposing, the actions of the faction which for the time controlled the destinies of the state. On the 2d of September a party of revolutionists known as the *Fédérés*, claiming to be the most devoted champions of the



THE GUILLOTINE.

cause of the people, made a rush on the prisons where those priests were confined who had refused to swear allegiance to the new constitution. They assaulted the old abbey of Saint Germain, and then the convent of the Carmelites. In the former place twenty-three and in the latter one hundred and fifty-two priests were butchered. The seminary of Saint Firmin was next stormed, and there ninety-two others were slain. The revolutionists then made their way to that prison in which were confined the Swiss guards who had escaped the massacre of the 10th of August. These too were killed. For five days the work of slaughter continued in and about the prisons of Paris. No age, sex or condition was spared by the desperate and seemingly

insatiable destroyers. Three thousand persons were seized in their own houses by night and dragged off to imprisonment and death. The most beautiful city of the modern world became a horror too awful to contemplate. The rage for blood was caught in other parts, and the cities of Meaux, Rheims, Lyons, and Orleans imitated the work which was done in the capital. Every prison was emptied of its living contents, and all day long the guillotine was heard performing its task, stroke on stroke. Having destroyed those who had already been imprisoned under charge or suspicion of disloyalty, the directors of the massacre turned upon those who had as yet gone free. The Princess Lamballe, the confidential friend of Marie Antoinette, was seized, taken before the tribunal, condemned, and beheaded. The executioners placed her head on a pike, and exhibited it before the windows of the Temple, where the queen must see the bloody trophy. The hospital of Bicêtre, where about four thousand persons were confined, was taken after an eight days' siege, and not one of the inmates was spared to tell the story.—Such were the SEPTEMBER MASSACRES of 1792.

The chief leaders who were responsible for this well-named Reign of Terror were three—George Jacques Danton, Jean Paul Marat, and Maximilien Isidore de Robespierre. The first of these remarkable personages to whom destiny had assigned the office of butcher in the kingdom of Freedom, was now in his thirty-third year. His birthplace was Arcis-sur-Aube. By profession he was a lawyer; by nature, a leader of men. He had been a pupil of Mirabeau in politics, but had none of that great man's conservatism. He had taken part in founding the club of *Corde-liers*, and had operated, in conjunction with Desmoulins and Marat, in promoting the most radical views and violent measures. He early favored the deposition of the king, and was one of those who precipitated the attack on the Tuileries on the 10th of August. For his audacity on this occasion he was rewarded by the Assembly with the office of Minister of Justice, and it was in this capacity that he figured in the terrible tragedies of the following month. Around him as a leader were now gathered a large following of radicals,

who took his name and are known as the DANTONISTS.

Marat was born in 1744. In his youth he studied medicine, and then traveled in foreign countries. While in England he wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Chains of Slavery*, which attracted much attention and exhibited the radicalism of his views. From 1779 to 1788 he lived at Paris, and participated in the political and scientific controversies which agitated France. With the outbreak of the revolution he became one of the leading demagogues, and his influence over the lower classes of the populace was hardly second to that of any other man in Paris. He was, perhaps, the most inflammatory journalist of that stormy period. He was brought into public life through the club of the Cordeliers, to which he had been introduced by Danton. He soon distinguished himself for his fury against the Girondists, whom he charged with being traitors to the cause of liberty. He delivered daily harangues to as many radicals as would listen, and on one occasion in the Assembly was going to blow out his own brains as he stood in the tribune, because his hearers were apathetic and jeered at his speech. Several times he was driven into concealment by the indiscreet rage

with which he attacked the moderate party that still controlled the actions of the Assembly. After the attack on the Tuileries, however, he came into open daylight, and was soon recognized as one of the principal supporters of Danton, and a powerful member of that vigilance committee into whose hands insane Paris had committed her destiny. In person he was as contemptible as his will and ferocity were conspicuous. Less than five feet high, lean and scrawny, he exhibited a countenance as ludicrous and fierce as that of Tilly.

The third of the trio was Robespierre. He was at this time thirty-four years of age. His

family was of Irish origin and had received a patent of Nobility. He had acquired his education along with Danton and Desmoulins in the college of Louis le Grand. His first notoriety was gained as a lawyer at Arras, in a cause wherein he conducted the defense of certain parties who were prosecuted for impiety in that they had put up Dr. Franklin's lightning-rods on their houses! Robespierre was a pupil of Rousseau, whose ultra-liberal principles he fully imbibed. While still residing at Arras he was obliged, as judge of the court, to condemn a convicted criminal to



JEAN PAUL MARAT.

death. At this he was so shocked that he resigned his office and became an advocate of the abolition of capital punishment. So great was his horror of cruelty and pain that he shuddered even at the killing of a domestic fowl; nor can it be suspected that his sensitiveness to inhumanity and the shedding of blood was in any measure an affectation. In 1789 he was elected as a deputy to the States-general, where his force of mind no less than his insignificant person soon attracted the attention not only of the Assembly, but of all France. His figure was so slight as to be almost spectral. His limbs were slim and augu-

lar; his forehead projected over the temples, and his deep-set blue eyes darted a fiery determination in debate. His voice was shrill and monotonous; his mouth large; his lips thin; his nostrils wide; his chin small and pointed; the muscles of his face always drawn into knots by the tension of excitement. In the constituent Assembly his influence was frequently preponderant. He was poor; his garments were threadbare. He lived in apartments scarcely better than a hovel, and gave one-fourth of his daily pay to his sister. He was studious and temperate—a member of the Jacobins.

As late as April of 1792 Robespierre still

hands of the Assembly, and France was in the hands of Paris. It remained to be seen whether the world would be in the hands of France. The allied powers had now massed an army of a hundred and ten thousand men under the Duke of Brunswick, and the invasion began from the side of Germany. To oppose this force the NATIONAL CONVENTION—for to that name the title of Legislative Assembly had now given place—sent forth an army under General Dumouriez, who confronted the allies in the Forest of Argonne. The latter, after capturing Longwy and Verdun, were brought to a standstill, and presently driven back across the Rhine. The



MARAT THREATENING TO KILL HIMSELF IN THE TRIBUNE.

Drawn by F. Lix.

pledged for the abolition of the death penalty. He published a journal called *The Defender of the Constitution*. Though he did not participate in the attack on the Tuileries, he afterwards declared that day to be one of the most glorious in the annals of mankind. He was influential in organizing the semi-military tribunal which was instituted for the destruction of the alleged enemies of the government. In this way he became associated with Danton and Marat, and presently took into his own hands the destiny of Assembly, Paris, and France.

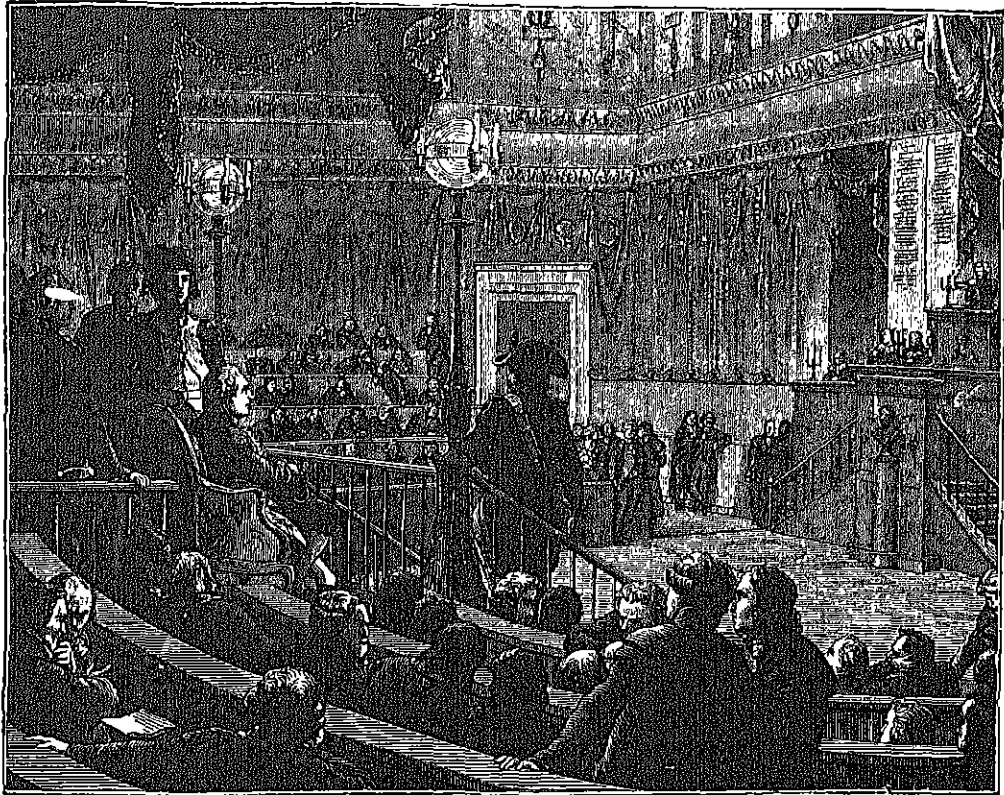
Such were the three men whom to resist was to die. The revolutionary tribunal was in their hands; the Assembly was in the hands of the tribunal. Paris was in the

Duke of Brunswick had been induced by the Emigrant Nobles to believe that the French peasants on the border, rising at his approach, would furnish supplies for the invading army; but the event showed that the common people were with the Revolution. It was from this circumstance, rather than from the shock of defeat in battle, that Brunswick was obliged to retreat. After losing about thirty thousand men he found himself back again on the east bank of the Rhine. Soon afterwards Dumouriez confronted the enemy coming out of the Austrian Netherlands, and gained a decisive victory on the field of JEMAPPES. The people rose in favor of the French, renounced their allegiance to the House of Hapsburg, and proclaimed a Belgian Republic. It was

the first formal exhibition of the revolutionary spirit beyond the borders of France.

It was on the 22d of September in this year (1792) that the Assembly was merged into the Convention. The tide of republicanism had now risen high and roared along all the shores. There was no longer any doubt as to the fate of the old form of government. On the very first day of the sitting of the Convention a decree was passed by acclamation, abolishing royalty in France. The very land-

struggle ensued between the two parties for the mastery of the Convention. The mob outside was with the Mountain, and the Girondists were hard pressed to keep their ascendancy. When the news came that Dumouriez had driven back the allied army and gained a victory at Jemappes; when it was known that the Austrian Netherlands had been recovered, and the Belgian Republic proclaimed, the radicalism of the Convention became more intense than ever. A resolution



LOUIS XVI. BEFORE THE BAR OF THE CONVENTION.

marks of the ancient *régime* were obliterated. Not even the titles of *Monsieur* and *Madame* were allowed to stand. Henceforth every person in the realm should be called *Citizen*. The FRENCH REPUBLIC was proclaimed as the only form of government fit to protect the liberties of men. To these measures all the factions in the Convention assented; but that body was constantly disturbed by the rancor of party strife. The Girondists, now known as the *Shore*, were still in a numerical majority; but the *Mountain*—that is, the Jacobins—were the most aggressive and violent. A

was passed authorizing every French general to proclaim the abolition of monarchy and the sovereignty of the people in all the countries which they should enter. "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY" was adopted as the motto of the French nation; and it was ordered that whatever power should refuse to accept the principles expressed in these key-words of emancipation should be regarded as an enemy. A decree was next passed declaring the free navigation of the Scheldt, and a French fleet ascended that river to bombard Antwerp. This action was in direct violation of the treaties

of Münster and Paris, and implied that the Convention would take upon itself the work of giving a new construction to the Law of Nations.

The helpless Louis XVI. was still a prisoner in the Temple. The Jacobins constantly sought his death. During the fall of 1792



LOUIS XVI. TAKING LEAVE OF HIS FAMILY.

Drawn by F. Lix.

many charges were preferred against him, and on the 10th of December he was brought to trial before the Convention. The accusations which were preferred by the Committee of Public Safety were that Louis Capet had invited and encouraged foreign enemies to invade France; that he had neglected the French army to the end that the allied powers might be victorious; that his conduct had occasioned the capture of Longwy and Verdun by the Duke of Brunswick in the recent invasion; that he had caused the riot of the 10th of August; that he had repeatedly forsworn himself as it respected the new Constitution of France. The king was ably defended by Tronchet, Desèze, and Malesherbes, who risked their lives by acting as his advocates. The trial lasted until the 15th of January, when the prisoner was found guilty by a unanimous vote. When it came to fixing the penalty, however, there was violent dissension. The Girondists favored exile or banishment, but the Mountain was for death.

For five days the Convention was the scene of stormy debates. On the 20th of the month a vote was taken, and the result showed that the Jacobins had triumphed. Of the seven hundred and twenty-one votes, three hundred and sixty-six were recorded for the penalty of death. The vote was *viva voce*, each member rising as his name was called and announcing his decision. Philip of Orleans, who had joined the radicals and taken his surname of *Egalité*, from the motto of the Revolution,

voted without hesitation for his cousin's death; but Thomas Paine recorded his vote in the negative. The king on being notified of the sentence, asked a delay of three days in order to prepare for death. He also requested that a priest should be sent to him, that his fam-



DEATH OF LOUIS XVI. IN THE PLACE DE LA CONCORDE.

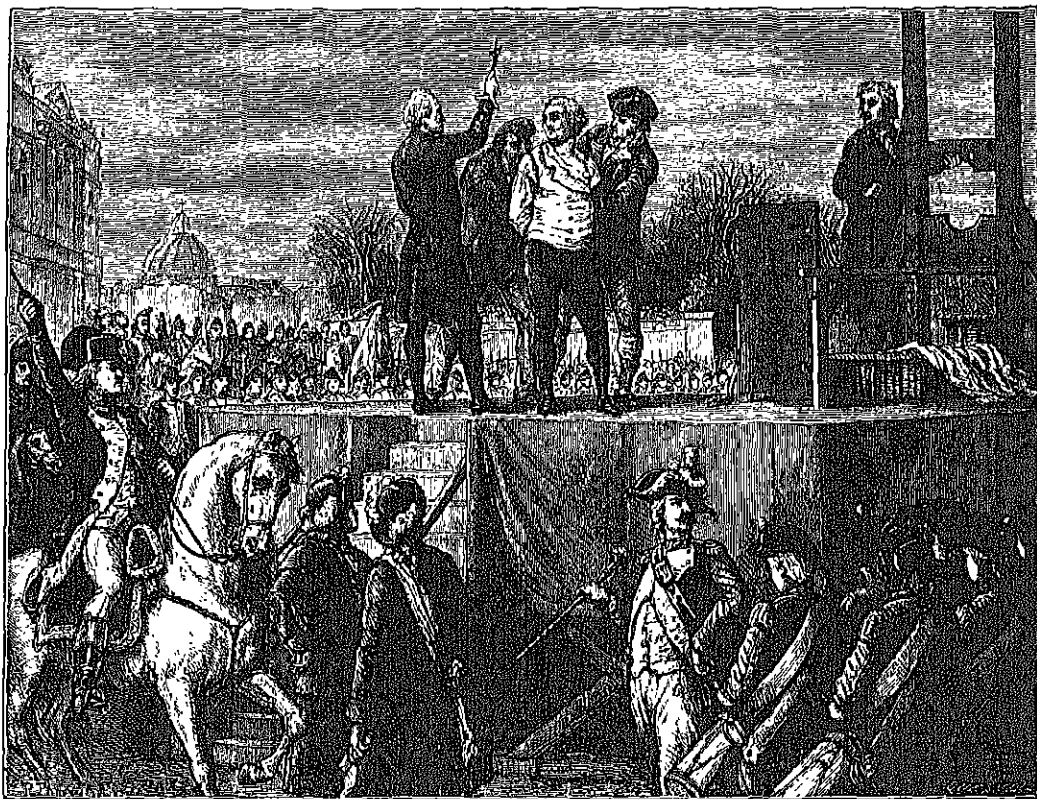
Drawn by Vierge.

ily might come to his cell, and that the surveillance of the guards might be withdrawn. The respite was denied, but the other requests were granted. The execution was set for the 21st of January. On the morning of that day Louis was led forth to the guillotine. He was accompanied to the place of his death

by his confessor, the Abbé Edgeworth. On the way to the scaffold in the Place de la Revolution there was no interruption. The people remained silent. *Nous voici donc arrivés*, said the king, as the carriage stopped before the guillotine. "At last we are arrived." *At last!* Louis met his fate with calmness. Like Charles I. he betrayed no sign of fear. On the scaffold he attempted to address the people; but his voice was drowned with the beating of drums. When the knife descended

he was put in charge of a Jacobin shoemaker named Antoine Simon. By him the prince was so brutally treated that he presently became deranged in mind and dwarfed and deformed in body. He was kept in confinement until the 8th of June, 1795, when he died of scrofula superinduced by filth and starvation.

If the previous conduct of Revolutionary France had alarmed the powers of Europe, the execution of the king filled them with madness and resentment. With such an exam-



LOUIS XVI. ON THE SCAFFOLD (NEARER VIEW).

the executioner lifted the discovered head by the hair, and cried, "Long live the Republic!"

At the time of the tragedy Louis XVI. was in the nineteenth year of his reign. His claims to the crown of France were left to his son, the Dauphin, now in his eighth year, and still a prisoner in the Temple. The Count of Provence, brother to the late king, assumed the title of Regent, in the name of his nephew. The latter, however, was destined to a hard fate. On the 3d of July, 1793, he was torn from his mother's arms and conveyed to another part of the prison, where

ple before him no monarch of Christendom could sit safely on his throne. The rulers of Europe conceived it to be necessary to the maintenance of the existing order anywhere that a coalition of all should be formed for the suppression of the French nation, or, at least, of the French Revolution.

A new league was accordingly made to which the parties were Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, Sicily, Spain, and Portugal. Indeed no European state, except Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden, remained friendly to France. The prime mover in this

second coalition against the French Republic was William Pitt, now at the height of his power in England. But the formidable array of her enemies created no alarm in France. She had long passed the stage of fear, and was ready to fight the world. In her declaration of war, however, she was careful to designate the *rulers* of the hostile states, and not the *people*, as the objects of her anger. The Convention ordered a levy of five hundred thousand men to repel the threatened invasions, and the confiscated property of the Church and the nobility was appropriated to the support of the war.

Thus began the fearful contest between Old and New Europe—a struggle which was destined to continue almost without interruption for more than twenty years, to waste the energies of the whole continent, to heap up mountains of debt on the head of posterity, to entail a train of evils from the shadow of which no nation has yet emerged. The French ambassadors were unceremoniously dismissed from almost every court in Europe, and the war began in earnest.

At the first there were several attempts to start a reaction in France. After his victories on the German frontier and his conquest in the Austrian Netherlands, Dumouriez, hearing of the peril of the king, had returned to Paris in the hope of saving the monarch's life and putting an end to the Jacobin ascendancy. In his political views he favored the establishment of a limited monarchy; but the day for a monarchy of any kind had passed, and Dumouriez, giving up his hopes, went

back to the command of the army. His conduct, however, had excited the suspicions of the Jacobins, who sent out spies to keep a watch on the general's proceedings. Nor was it long before commissioners were dispatched by the Convention with orders for his arrest. These agents were, however, themselves arrested by Dumouriez and delivered to the Austrians. He then attempted to lead his



WILLIAM PITT.

army back to Paris for the overthrow of the government; but the army was as thoroughly republican as the revolutionists in Paris, and would not obey his command. Hereupon he abandoned his camp and sought refuge with the Austrians.

The condemnation of Louis XVI. marked the ascendancy of the Jacobin faction over the Girondists in the Convention. But the latter continued to struggle in the hope of

land, who had been for some time the inspiring genius of the Gironde party, and her husband, scarcely less distinguished than she for his virtues, soon followed their comrades to death. Madame Roland herself faced the guil-

By this time the cloud of war had gathered around nearly all the horizon of France. The Convention became furious, reckless. Robespierre was placed on the Committee of Public Safety. A fearful reaction had now



THE GIRONDISTS ON THE ROAD TO EXECUTION.

Drawn by F. Lix.

lotine like a heroine. "O liberty!" she exclaimed, "what crimes are committed in thy name!" and then she died as she had lived; but her husband chose to perish by his own hands. Most of the other leaders of the Girondists escaped from Paris, and sought to organize a counter-revolution in the provinces.

taken place in his nature, and instead of his former abhorrence of bloodshed, he had rushed to the other extreme, and became the most terrible butcher of all the revolutionists. His career henceforth was shocking, appalling. He spared none. A *Law of the Suspected* was passed by the Convention, under the opera-

tion of which two hundred thousand persons were imprisoned on vague charges of conspiring against the liberties of France. Mere mistakes and misfortunes were set down as crimes, and woe to him against whom the finger of suspicion was lifted.

Meanwhile the sorrows of Marie Antoinette were ended with her life under the guillotine. On the 14th of October the "Widow Capet," as the indictment called her, was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal to answer to the charge of having conspired against France at home and abroad. Her demeanor was full of dignity. She made a few laconic replies to the questions which were addressed to her, and calmly awaited the inevitable. Only once, when she was accused by Hébert of having been privy to the debauching of her own son, did her indignation flash like lightning. It is said that

even the audacious Hébert quailed for a moment and shrank before her wrath.

On the morning of the 16th she was condemned to death. At noon of the same day she was conveyed along the streets, where thirty thousand soldiers and other innumerable throngs were assembled, and pass-

ing, unmoved by their shouts of "*Vive la République! À bas la Tyranie!*" to the place of death, mounted the scaffold and died like a queen. Her frivolity had long since given place to that heroism which the scourge of sorrow not unfrequently lashes from the soul



MARIE ANTOINETTE LED TO THE TRIBUNAL.

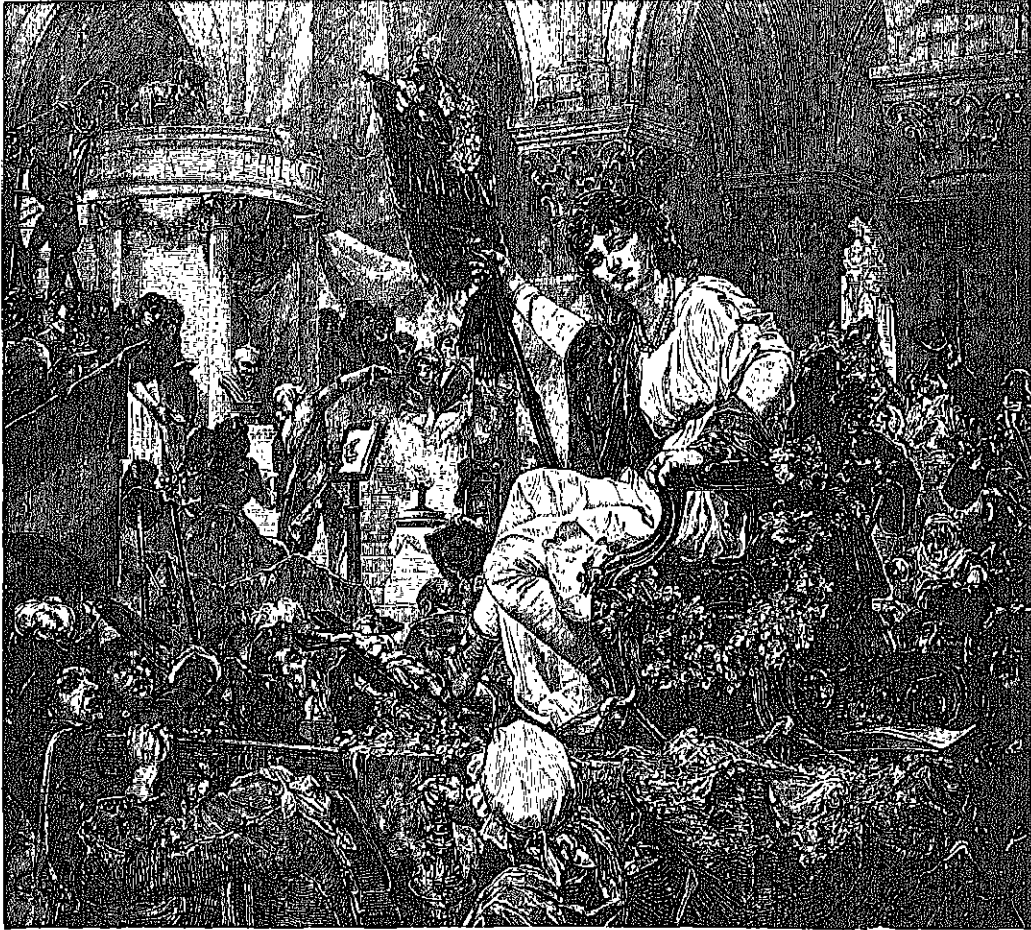
of womanhood, and in the last hour the House of Austria had no cause to be ashamed of its daughter.

In less than a month after this tragedy Philip Egalité met his fate at the hands of those whom he had flattered and supported. Like most of those who went to their death

in this epoch of blood, he died without a sign of fear. Indeed, death had well-nigh ceased to be terrible. Men came to believe that the regeneration of man, the resuscitation of society, demanded an unstinted sacrifice of life, and few hesitated to make it.

In the mean time nearly all the forms to which the French people had been accustomed were abolished. A new calendar was

tige of the ancient systems of belief. The doctrines which men had accepted for centuries were formally abrogated. Atheism was declared to be the faith of France. Immortality was denied. On all the public cemeteries was placed this inscription, *DEATH IS AN ETERNAL SLEEP*. The age was proclaimed the Age of Reason. Reason was deified. All the ceremonies of Catholicism were turned



THE FÊTE OF REASON.

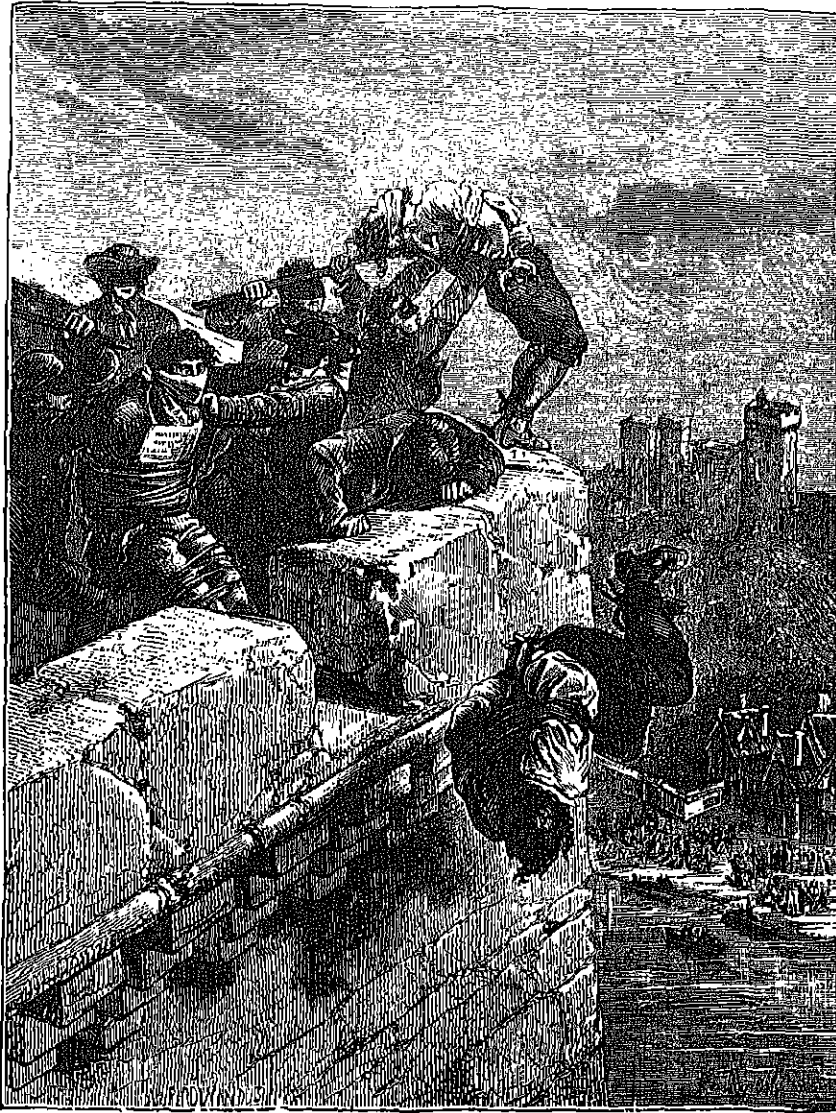
After the painting by M. Mueller.

made. The Christian Era was wiped out, and was replaced by the new *FRENCH ERA*, dating from September 22, 1792. The mythological names of the months gave place to others deduced from the prevailing phase of nature. The week was abolished, and a span of ten days substituted for the seven, the tenth day, or *Decadi*, being set apart for rest. A decree was passed against the Christian Religion, and it was sought to obliterate the last ves-

into ridicule and mockery. The churches were rifled and the treasures of silver and gold were carried with laughter and song to the bar of the Convention. Some put on surplices and capes after the manner of the priests, sang hallelujahs, and danced the *Carmagnole*. Having set down the host, the boxes in which it was kept, and the statues of gold and silver, they addressed the saints in burlesque speeches. "O, you," said one

in apostrophe, "O, you instruments of fanaticism, blessed saints of all kinds, be at length patriots! Rise *en masse*; serve the country by going to the Mint to be melted, and give us in this world that felicity which you wanted to obtain for us in the other!" On the motion

hanging from her shoulders. Her hair was crowned with the cap of liberty. She was placed on an antique seat twined with ivy, and was borne to Notre Dame by four citizens. Addresses were made and hymns sung after the manner of a religious ceremony,



DESTRUCTION OF THE VENDEANS.

of Chaumette, the Church of Notre Dame was converted into a *Temple of Reason*, and there, on the 10th of November, the Festival of Reason was celebrated. Madame Momoro, the young and beautiful wife of a Jacobin printer, was chosen to represent Reason. She was dressed in white, with a mantle of azure blue

The members of the Convention and the magistrates of Paris joyfully participated in the festival. The greatest men in France joined with the populace in shouting "*The Republic forever! Reason forever! Down with fanaticism!*"

Of all the provinces of France, the district most infected with loyalty to the old order

was La Vendée. The people of this region had not caught the fanaticism of the Revolution. On the contrary, they proclaimed Louis XVII., and took up arms in support of that prince and the Count of Provence. A formidable army was gathered, and the forces of the Republic were set at defiance. The Convention ordered the suppression of the insurrection, but the Vendéans held their ground and inflicted several defeats on those who were sent against them. At the very time when the mistaken announcement that La Vendée was no more was made in the Convention the Republican army had been disastrously routed by the insurgents. In a short time, however, reinforcements were sent against the revolted province, and the rebellion was put down in blood. For awhile the Vendéans continued the struggle in a sort of guerrilla warfare in the swamps and marshes of the country. The extermination of this resistance was intrusted to a savage officer named Carrier, who hunted down the Vendean rebels with extreme ferocity. So many persons, living and dead, were hurled into the Loire that the river was poisoned and the fishes died. In this and other horrid ways as many as fifteen thousand people were destroyed in the last months of 1793.

In other parts the insurrectionary spirit displayed itself. Lyons revolted. To that city, as to Caen, the Girondists flocked in great numbers after the downfall of their party in the Convention. They united with the Royalists, and in their first battle with the Republican army were victorious. But the tide soon turned, and Lyons was besieged. Famine aided the besiegers, and the city was presently reduced and almost blotted out. Toulon also revolted, and an army of sixteen thousand English and Spaniards was admitted into the town. An English fleet held possession of the harbor, and the place was commanded by what were considered impregnable fortifications. A siege was undertaken by the army of the Convention, and was pressed with great vigor, but without much prospect of success. After a month, a council of war was called by the French general; and while the best method of capturing Toulon was discussed, and none seemed able to give any rational advice, a young captain of artillery

arose, and in a few positive and clear-cut sentences showed the council that a certain fort was the key to the city and harbor, and that the same could be taken by cannonade and assault. It was NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. His advice was adopted, and he was intrusted with the duty of carrying the fort. This was to his liking. The fort was taken. The guns were turned upon the surprised enemy. The fleet was obliged to leave the harbor, taking on board the flying royalists of the town. Toulon capitulated, and France first heard the name of him who was soon to rise above the storm of Revolution.

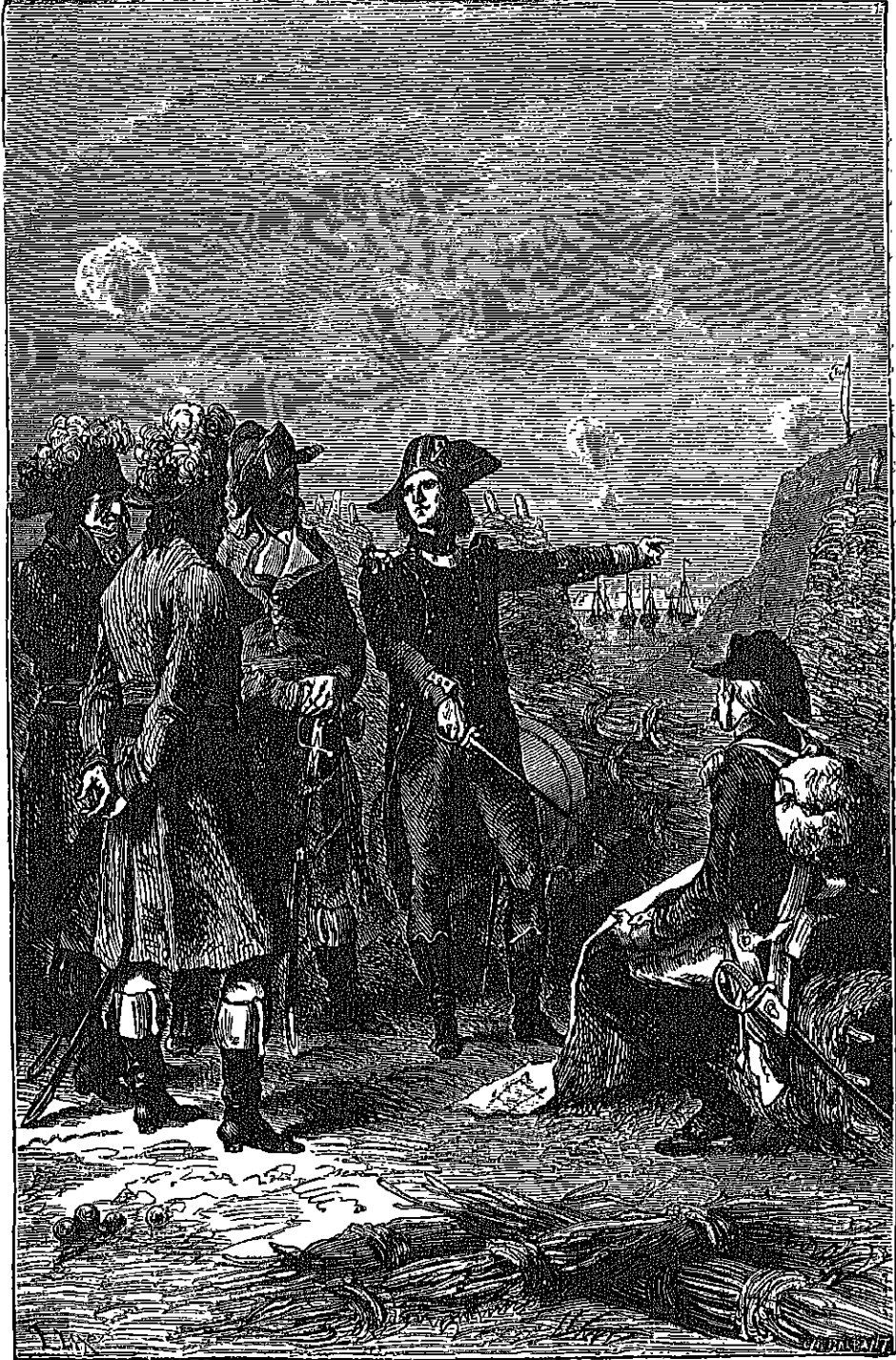
Napoleon was at this time twenty-four years of age. His birth and parentage have already been narrated in a preceding chapter.¹ The characteristics of his boyhood had been sufficiently marked. From a child he was a being different from others. He was taciturn, willful, studious, a dreamer. He dreamt the dream of war. He trained the boys of Ajaccio, and taught them how to make battle with wooden sabers. He was educated under Pichegru in the military academy at Brienne. The report of the school for the year 1784 speaks of him as "distinguished in mathematical studies, tolerably versed in history and geography, much behind in Latin and belles-lettres and other accomplishments; of regular habits, studious and well-behaved, and enjoying excellent health." In this year he was transferred to the military school in Paris, where, in 1785, he was given the rank of lieutenant and assigned to a regiment stationed at Valence. In politics he was a democrat. He corresponded with Paoli, then an exile in London, and projected a history of his native island, which he visited every year. In 1787-89 he became an intense revolutionist. He was made a captain of artillery in 1792, and was present in Paris during the insurrections of June and August. At one time he commanded a battalion of the National Guard, and while holding this trust was sent to subdue his native island, then in revolt. In the summer of 1793 the members of his father's family left Ajaccio and came to Paris, which became henceforth the home of the Bonapartes. In September of this year Napoleon was ordered to assist in the siege of

¹ See p. 575.

Toulon, where, as above stated, he first brought himself to the notice of the Convention.

After the overthrow of the Girondists, the

Terrorists were still divided into factions. The most violent party was the Hébertists, so named from their leader, Jacques René Hé-

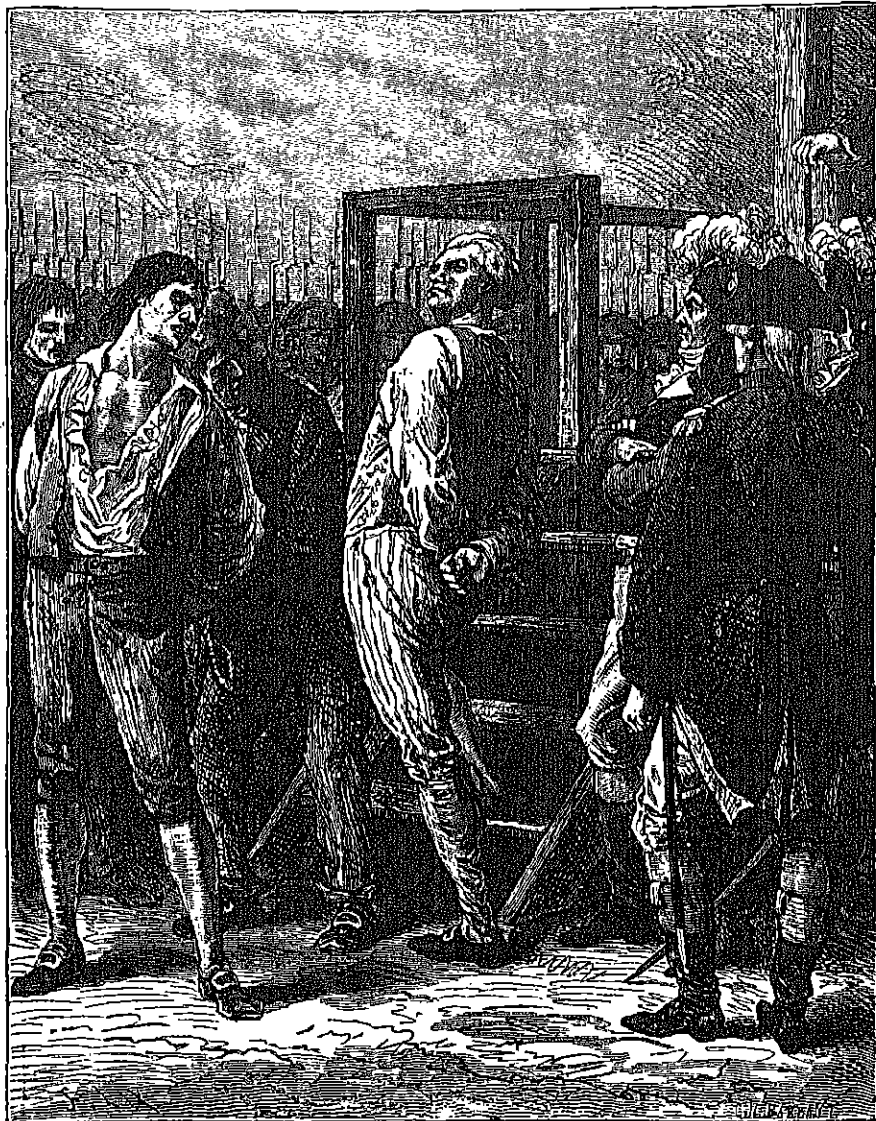


NAPOLEON BEFORE TOULON.

Drawn by F. Lix.

the Commune of Paris was broken. The shout that rose when the head of Robespierre fell into the basket marked the end of the Reign of Terror. The awful scenes of June, of August, of September, could no more be

the inmates went forth free. Decrees were passed permitting the return of banished nobles and priests, and an order was issued forbidding the further execution of prisoners of war. Worship was resumed in the churches,



DANTON MOUNTING THE SCAFFOLD.

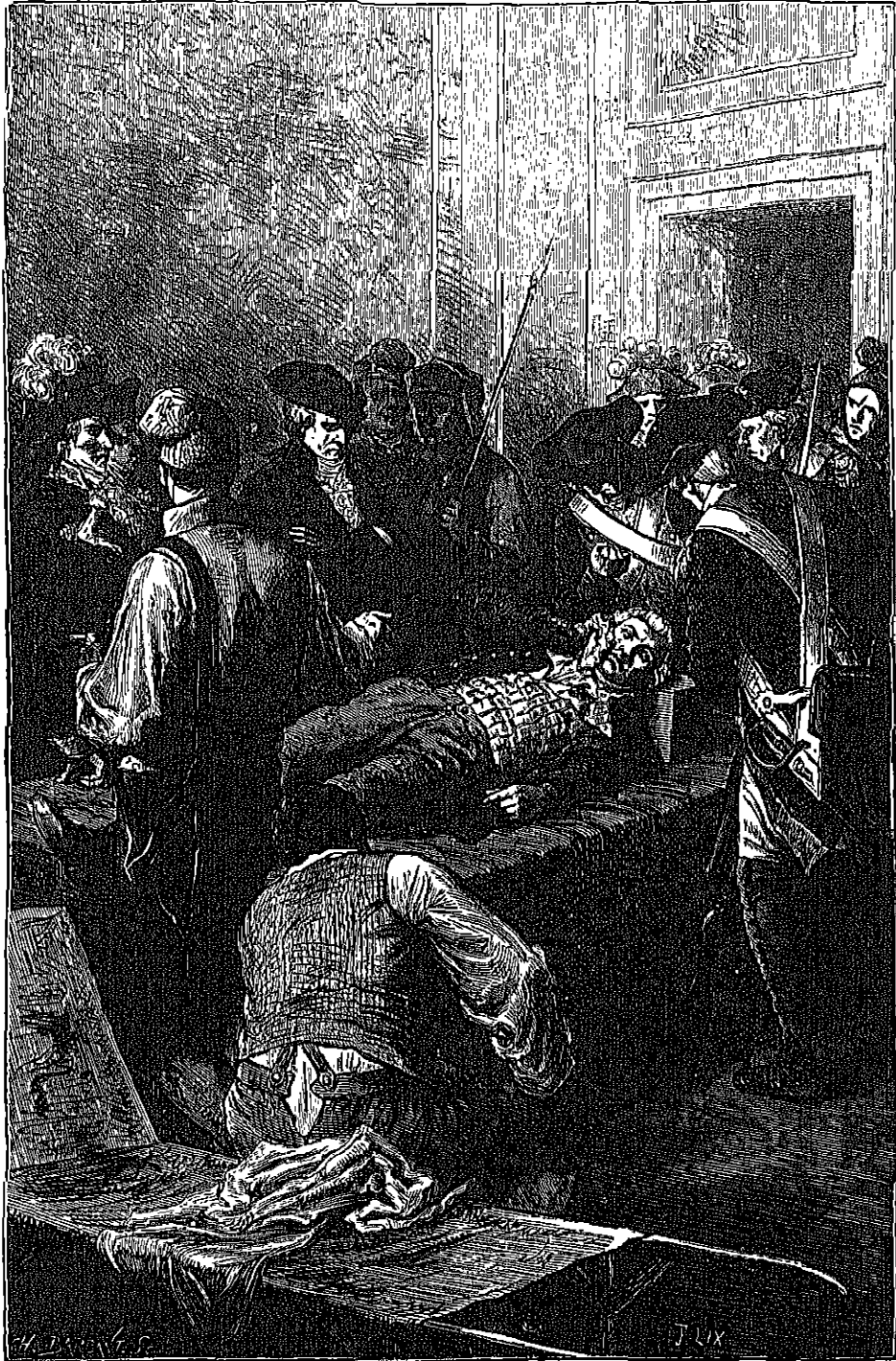
Drawn by F. Lx.

reenacted. Insanity had run its course. A large number of deputies, who had been expelled from the Convention for the moderation of their principles and conduct, were now readmitted. The prisons of Paris, in which were ten thousand persons suspected of anti-revolutionary sentiments, were opened, and

and Paris began to subside from her wild delirium.

Great was the suffering of the revolutionary city in the winter of 1794-95. The crops had failed. During the Reign of Terror industry had almost ceased. Much property had been destroyed. The Assignats or paper

scrip which the Convention had issued in vast quantities, and which had taken the place of metallic currency, depreciated in value till the bills were scarcely worth receiving. Paris, with her hands full of this money, could not purchase fuel for the poor and food for the



ROBESPIERRE IN THE HALL OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Drawn by F. Lix.

starving. Nor could the industrious find any longer that employment which was to save them from perishing. So great was the distress that at one time all the inhabitants of Paris were put on a short allowance of bread. The distress of the common people became



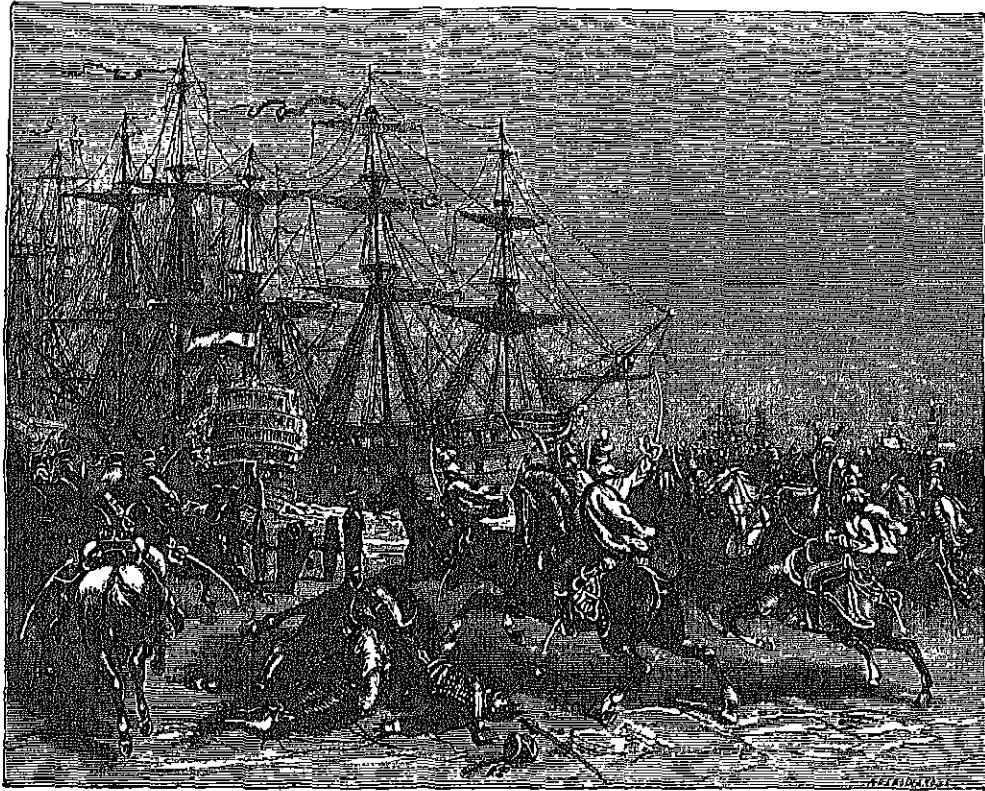
THE BREAD RIOTERS IN THE HALL OF THE CONVENTION.

Drawn by F. Lix.

so great that almost every day witnessed an insurrection. Starving crowds of desperate creatures surged through the streets. The cry of "bread, bread!" was heard on every hand. For the time the Convention was utterly unable to control or appease the mobs. By the beginning of May the situation had become desperate. A Bread Riot broke out and gathered such head that no power in Paris could stand against it. On the twentieth the rioters, consisting of a furious multitude of reckless

and promises of the Jacobins, who were in full sympathy with the insurgents, induced them to withdraw from the hall and business was resumed.

Meanwhile the old royalists and Emigrant Nobles continued to conspire with foreign rulers in the hope of undoing the whole work of the revolution. Insurrections broke out in the provinces. Exiled Royalist and Girondist in some places joined hands to stamp the Jacobins into the earth. In many towns a



CAPTURE OF THE DUTCH FLEET BY THE FRENCH CAVALRY.

men and starving women, rushed into the hall of the assembly, and for a while it seemed that chaos had returned to reign. The mob surged back and forth brandishing knives and clubs and screaming the cry of bread. One of those who attempted to protect the president of the Convention from insult and violence was himself struck down and beaten to death. His head was cut off and hoisted on a pike over the desks of the tribune, where the rulers of France were no longer the rulers, and where the rage of hunger and madness had become the only law. Finally the appeals

counter revolution, known as the WHITE TERROR, was organized to undo the horrors of the Red Terror of Paris by other deeds as horrible. Frightful massacres were perpetrated, in which the breast of Jacobinism was transfixed with its own iron.

But these audacious atrocities could not now prevail against the accomplished fact of the great revolution. Ancient France was dead, and new France, though mutilated and bleeding, could not be murdered. During all these commotions the Convention had gone on steadily raising and equipping armies. They

commissary of the Convention, shot without mercy or discrimination. This act provoked a

membership therein until he had passed the age of forty. The representative body was



JEAN LAMBERT TALLIEN.

terrible retaliation on the part of Charette, who drew out more than a thousand Republican prisoners then in his hands, and ordered them to be shot. He continued to lead the Vendéans during the winter of 1795-96, but in the following March both he and Stofflet were taken and executed. The revolt was ended; but La Vendée had sacrificed a hundred thousand of her people in her foolish struggle with the conquering Republic.

On the 27th of October, 1795, the National Convention closed its career. A new revolution had meanwhile ensued, in which the Constitution of 1793 was overthrown, and a form of government instituted less democratic than that which had preceded it. The legislative power of the Republic was vested in two assemblies called Councils, the former consisting of five hundred members and the latter of two hundred members.

The smaller body was known as the Council of the Ancients, no person being eligible to

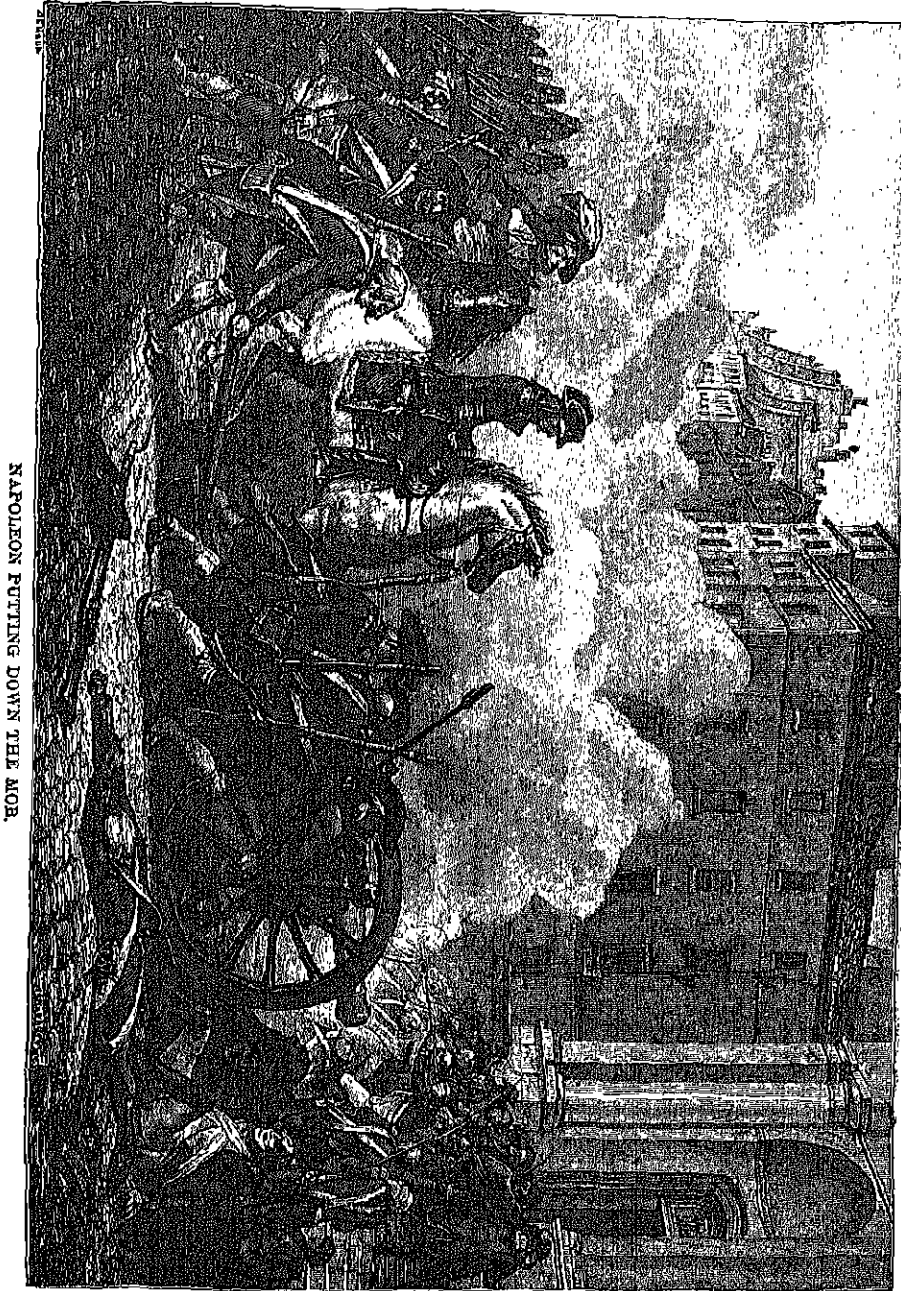
tourneur. In general the new Constitution differed from that which it superseded in this—that it raised the middle class of French



BARRAS.

people to a large share of influence in the legislative affairs of the government.

It was one thing to make, and another to establish, the Constitution of 1795. The work was especially disappointing to the Royalists, who, after the fall of Robespierre, thousand insurgents rose against the Convention, and made an attack on the Tuileries. For the moment it appeared that the government would be overthrown in its very incipency;



NAPOLÉON PUTTING DOWN THE MOB.

believing that the Revolution was at an end, had flocked home in great numbers to Paris, and now exerted themselves to defeat the work of the Convention. A force of about thirty but General Barras bethought him in the emergency of the capture of Toulon, and of him by whom that work had been accomplished. He therefore called for Napoleon

Bonaparte, and intrusted to him the defense of the Convention. The latter, though he had but a single night in which to prepare, so planted his artillery as to command the approaches to the Tuileries; and when, on the morning of the 5th of October, heavy masses of the insurgent forces, chiefly composed of the National Guards, rushed to the attack, firing volleys of musketry into the lines of defense, they were met with murderous discharges of grape, and in less than an hour the streets were cleared. The sound of Napoleon's cannon was the proclamation of order in long-distracted Paris. The insurrection of the 5th of October was the last of many mobs. The Revolution assumed a new phase,

printing. A large percentage of the people of Paris had to be kept from starvation with public supplies. The rations of the hungry mob were reduced to two ounces of bread and a handful of rice daily. Even the army was without proper supplies of food and clothing. The public works of the city and throughout France were falling into ruin through neglect. The social condition was desperate. The legitimate punishment of crime had almost ceased, and bands of brigands infested all parts of the country. Now, however, all this was rapidly changed. A new life was diffused into every department of the government. Such was the astonishing energy manifested by the Directory that confidence revived on



THE DIRECTORY.

and the bloody tragedies of 1792-93 sunk beyond the horizon. Barras resigned his command, and the same was conferred on Napoleon, who became general of the Army of the Interior. So the National Convention, after a session of three years and two months, the same being the most stormy and tragical epoch in history, passed a resolution of adjournment, and by its own act ceased to exist.

It would be difficult to find in human annals another instance of a change so beneficial as that which followed the accession of the Directory. Deplorable indeed was the condition of Paris and France on the adjournment of the Convention. The treasury was bankrupt. The depreciation of the *Assignats* had gone on until they were no longer worth the

every hand. It was as though civilization had suddenly returned to rebuild the waste places of her favorite land. Liberality marked the administration of the new governing body. A general amnesty diffused its blessings. The hurtful restrictions which had been imposed on commerce were removed. Industry sprang up anew, and Freedom washed the blood from her hands and face.

But while prosperity was thus returning to France at home, she was still obliged to make war upon most of the states of Europe. Her armies, three in number, must be maintained. The first of these, known as the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, was placed under command of General Jourdan. The second, called the Army of the Rhine and Moselle,

was intrusted to Moreau; and the third, the Army of Italy, was given to Bonaparte. The latter, from the first day of his taking the field, began to display that surprising military genius which was destined in a short time to make him the most conspicuous figure in modern history. Moreau and Jourdan, operating against the Archduke Charles of Austria, succeeded, after a hotly contested campaign, in driving back the enemy across the Neckar and the Danube. All the smaller states of the Empire were compelled to sue for peace. But Francis II. obstinately refused to make a treaty with the Republic. At length the Archduke Charles began to gain upon the French, and Moreau was thrust into a position where he was threatened with destruction. He called on Napoleon, then in Italy, for help; but the latter could give him none, and he was left to save himself as best he could. At length, however, he succeeded in extricating his army in a manner as original as it was successful. His retreat into France has been commended as among the brilliant military movements of the age.

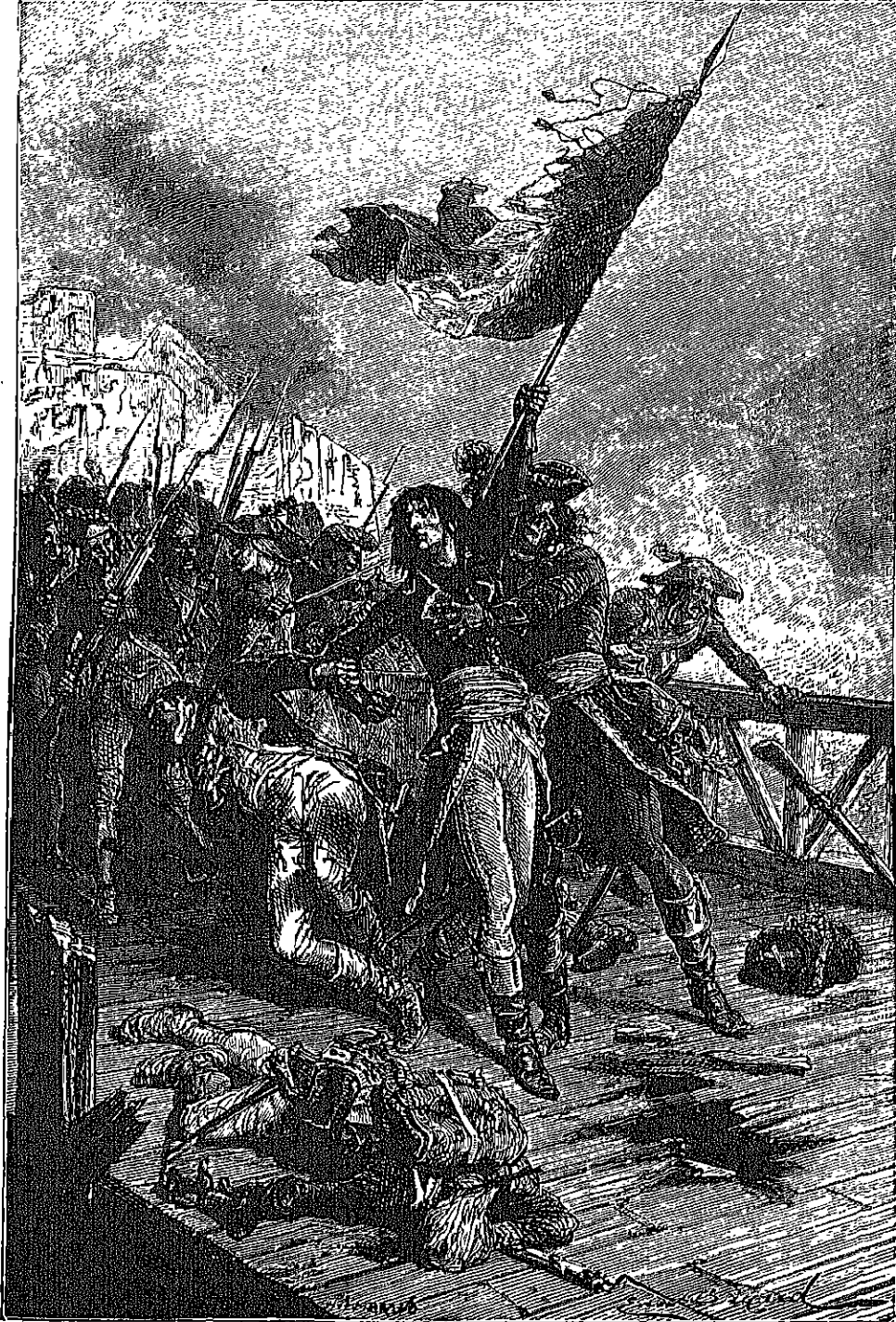
In Italy, Bonaparte began the campaign by an advance from Nice to Genoa. His army consisted of thirty-five thousand men, whom he found ragged, undisciplined, and poorly equipped. In a short time, however, he effected a complete change in his forces. The soldiers caught his own fire and enthusiasm. He pointed them to Italy, and drew vivid pictures of the spoils with which they would enrich and glorify France by the conquest of the South. In his progress he first encountered and defeated a strong division of the Austrian army in the battle of Montenotte. He next captured the fortress of Cherasco, and thus planted himself between the Sardinians and their Austrian allies. Such was his generalship that in a brief period the infirm king, Victor Amadeus, was obliged to purchase peace by ceding Savoy to the French Republic. He was also compelled to give up the county of Nice, and to expel the emigrant nobles from his dominions. As a precautionary measure Napoleon planted garrisons in the principal fortresses of the country until what time a general peace should be concluded.

Having thus settled the Sardinian question, Napoleon next turned his attention to the Aus-

trians. On the 10th of May, 1796, he encountered that enemy at Lodi in Lombardy, where he gained the first of his great victories. The battle was desperately contested, and a bridge over which the French must pass was defended with such bravery by the Austrians that for a while the victory inclined to their standard. But the French, led by Napoleon in person, who exposed himself with the recklessness of a genuine revolutionist, at length forced their way across the Adda, and swept all before them.

The conqueror now established himself at Milan, and proceeded to dictate a peace to the minor princes of Italy. From some, he exacted contributions and supplies; from others, works of art, which he sent home to adorn the French capital. It still remained for him to capture Mantua, which, in addition to being the strongest fortress in the Italian peninsula, lay directly in the way of Napoleon's proposed invasion of Austria. This place was accordingly besieged for seven months by the French. The Austrians perceiving in what manner they were threatened from the side of Italy, undertook the relief of Mantua, and sent out two powerful armies for that purpose. The first, under Marshal Wurmser, numbered seventy thousand men. The advance was made from the Tyrol, and the Austrians proceeded as far as Brescia, where they suffered a reverse at the hands of the French. Another defeat was inflicted on them at Castiglione; a third, at Roveredo, and a fourth at Bassano. A second army, under Marshal Alvinzi, also undertook to raise the siege of Mantua, but had no better success than its predecessor. Napoleon encountered this enemy at the village of Arcore, in Venetia, and after three days of desperate fighting, inflicted on his adversary a defeat so disastrous as to end the contest. As a result of these victories, Mantua was obliged to capitulate. All of Italy lay at the victor's mercy. The States of the Church were overrun, and the papal government would have been overthrown but for the clemency of Napoleon, who, disregarding the instructions of the Directory and acting on his own authority, concluded at Tolentino a treaty by which a third of the papal dominions and fifteen millions of francs were yielded to the French Republic.

Such had been Napoleon's success beyond the Alps that before the end of 1796 he could enumerate as the trophies of his campaign the destruction of four Austrian armies, the conquest of all Piedmont and Lombardy, the separation of Sardinia, Naples, Parma, Modena,



BONAPARTE ON THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLE.

Drawn by Emile Bayard.

and Tuscany from the Coalition, the acceptance of contributions from Venice and Genoa, and the addition of Nice, Savoy, Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna to the French Republic. Besides all this, the Italian war had filled the empty coffers of the Directory, made the name of Napoleon famous, and given a new luster to the arms of France.

The conqueror next undertook the invasion of Austria. The advance was made by way of the Tyrolean Alps. Beyond that barrier, the Archduke Charles, with a powerful army, awaited at Friuli the coming of his antagonist. After a series of minor engagements, the Austrians were driven back beyond the Save. The French proceeded without a check until the Emperor in Vienna began to tremble for the safety of his capital. Perceiving that he was unable to defend his dominions against the victorious enemy, he made overtures for peace. Negotiations were accordingly opened at Campo Formio, and there, on the 17th of October, a treaty was concluded. It was one of the striking spectacles of history to see the Little Corsican, a new man, a parvenu, the name of whose family until now had never been heard in the courts of Europe, dictating to Emperor Francis of Hapsburg on what terms he might save his capital from occupation by a victorious army of French Republicans.

In the mean time, a serious outbreak had occurred in Venetia. A rumor had been borne back from the Tyrolean Alps that Bonaparte had been defeated by the Austrians. Hereupon a revolt occurred. The insurgents captured the hospital at Verona, wherein four hundred sick soldiers had been left by Napoleon. All were butchered. Hearing of this atrocity, Bonaparte wheeled about and declared war on Venice. The Venetians quickly saw their mistake, and vainly strove to recover their ground. Napoleon demanded the

overthrow of the aristocracy, the liberation of political prisoners, and the condemnation of those who had destroyed his hospital. A revolution broke out in Venice. The Council of Ten was abolished, and French garrisons were introduced into the city. The Venetian fleet was taken, and the Ionian Isles transferred to the sovereignty of France. The principalities of Milan, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, together with their dependencies, were organized into the Cisalpine Republic, under the protection of the French. At the same time the Ligurian Republic was established,



GENERAL ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

having Genoa for its capital. Thus, after a career of thirteen and a half centuries, was Venice, the oldest government in Europe, stricken from existence as a separate power among the nations.

One feature of Napoleon's Italian campaign had not been satisfactory to the Directory. He had spared the Pope. This circumstance made the States of the Church a kind of nucleus for all the adherents of the old system in Italy. It was judged necessary that this nest of malcontents should be broken up, and to this end General Berthier was ordered

to march on Rome. The people of that ancient metropolis, had caught the infection of liberty, and refused to support the Holy Father and his party. Berthier was welcomed as the deliverer of Italy. The Roman Republic was proclaimed. The papal power was overthrown, and Pope Pius VI. retired to the Convent of Siena. After a year, he was taken to Briançon in the Alps, where he was imprisoned. At last, with the next change which ensued in the government of Paris, he was permitted to leave this frozen region and take up his residence at Valence, where he died in August of 1799. The republican soldiers were little disposed, when they captured the Eternal City, to spare its treasures or revere



PIUS VI.

its priestly symbols. The personal property of the Pope was sold by auction. The robes of the priests and cardinals, rich in gold lace, were burned that the gold might be gathered from the ashes. The churches of Rome were pillaged, and a carnival of violence ensued which General Berthier was unable to control. The Romans revolted, and attempted to expel their deliverers; but General Masséna, who was sent out to supersede Berthier, put down the insurrection in blood.

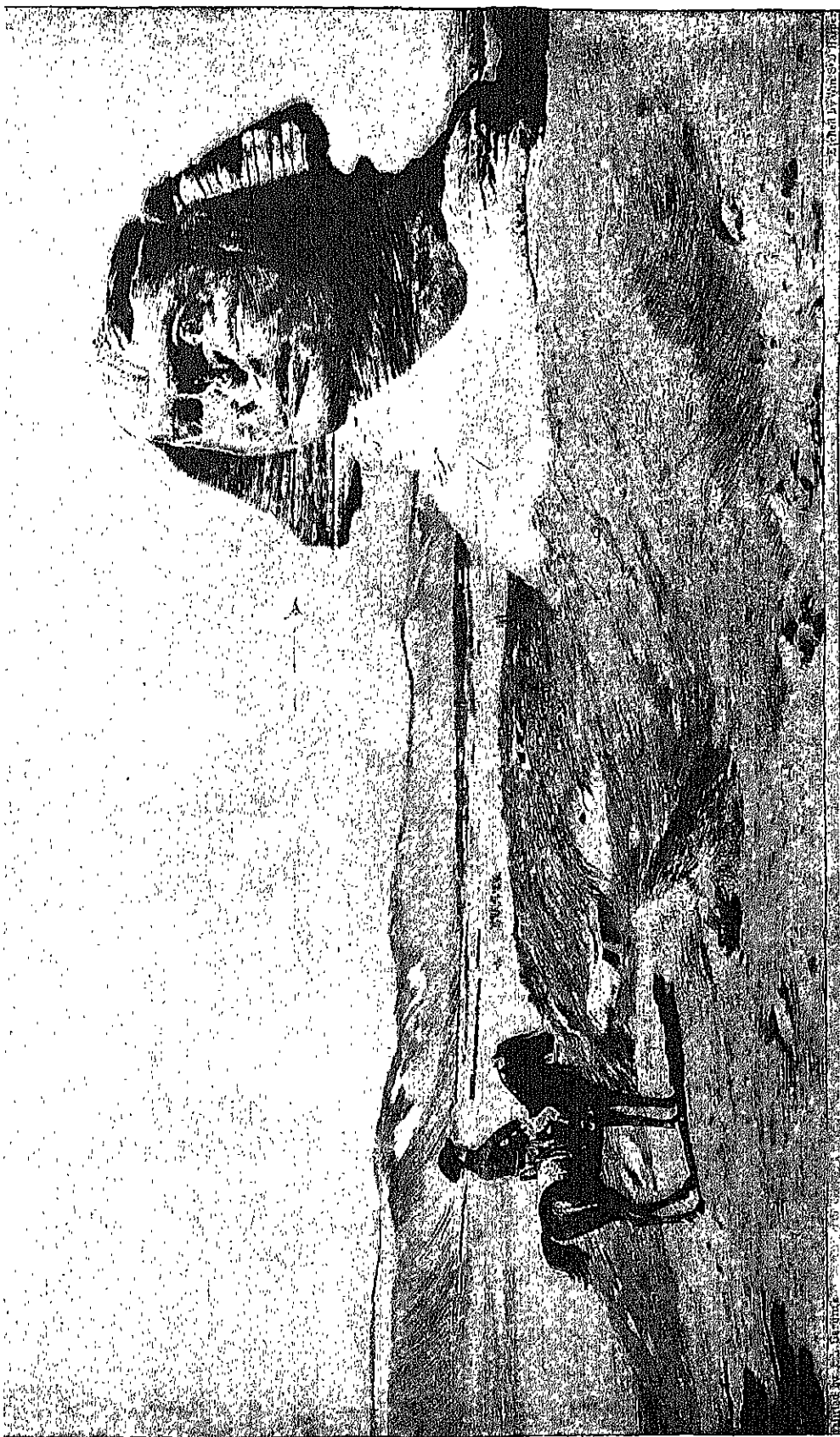
Next followed the conquest of Switzerland. In that country the revolutionary doctrines had already pervaded the people. Especially was this true in the Pays de Vaud, where the French language and institutions prevailed. This canton attempted by a revolt to free itself from the domination of Berne, but the movement was unsuccessful. Circumstances, however, furnished the Directory with a good excuse for interference. A French army was sent to Lausanne, and the independence of the Pays de Vaud was proclaimed. The Forest Cantons took up arms against the French, and several severe battles were fought. But the

Swiss were subdued, and their resistance ended in their own destruction. The Helvetic Republic was then proclaimed, and Switzerland became an ally and dependency of France.

In the mean time a quixotical attempt had been made at the beginning of 1797 to conquer Ireland. An army of twenty-five thousand men, under General Hoche, was ordered to make a descent on the Irish coast. An embarkation was effected, and the squadron proceeded to Bantry Bay; but no attempt was made to land, and the expedition presently returned to Brest. The failure of the enterprise was perhaps attributable to the character of the soldiers who had been recruited by the emptying of French prisons, and the liberation of galley-slaves. When the squadron came back to Brest, the Directory knew not what to do with their army of criminals. At length it was determined to embark them for an invasion of England. The armament again set sail, and was anchored at Figueira, in Wales, where the whole force was immediately captured by the English.

The conquest of Switzerland marked the close of the first epoch of the French Revolution. The Republic had been successful in carrying out her programme. She had induced most of the states on the borders of France to establish a form of government like her own, and to enter into treaties of alliance. By this means foreign invasion was rendered difficult. Spain and Austria had been induced to renew with the Republic the compacts which those powers had formerly made with the French Bourbons. By the subjugation of the Swiss, the Republic had gained two great military roads across the mountains, the one leading into Germany and the other into Italy. By winning over the Spanish minister Godoy, the Directory secured virtual control of Spain. Portugal withdrew from the coalition and made peace with the Republic. Only Great Britain sullenly and singly pursued the contest with her ancient rival. From this time forth it became a question whether revolutionary France would continue her victorious career, and end by the conquest of the British Isles, or whether she herself would finally succumb to the power and persistency of England.

The invasion of Great Britain was now earnestly debated by the Directory. It was



NAPOLEON BONAPARTE IN EGYPT

believed that General Bonaparte, already the principal military figure in the Republic, was equal to such an enterprise. To humble her ancient and inveterate enemy France was willing to employ all her resources, even to stake her fate on the cast of the die. Preparations were begun on a gigantic scale, and Napoleon was called to the command. His power over the minds of the French was so great that he was almost an autocrat in directing the proposed movement against Great Britain. For a while it was believed that he would undertake a direct invasion of England. But after a magnificent army had been equipped for this purpose, it was determined to begin the war by making a conquest of Egypt. This done, it was believed that France, from her base of operations on the Nile, could dissolve the whole British Empire in the East, substituting perhaps the tricolor for the pennon of St. George throughout Turkey and India. Such was the vision which, in the spring of 1798, rose upon Napoleon when at Toulon—scene of his first renown in arms—surrounded by his enthusiastic officers, accompanied by a large number of *savants*, artists, and philosophers, who, fired with the prospect of ransacking the historic tombs of the Pharaohs, had eagerly joined the expedition, he embarked with an army of forty thousand veterans for the conquest of Egypt.

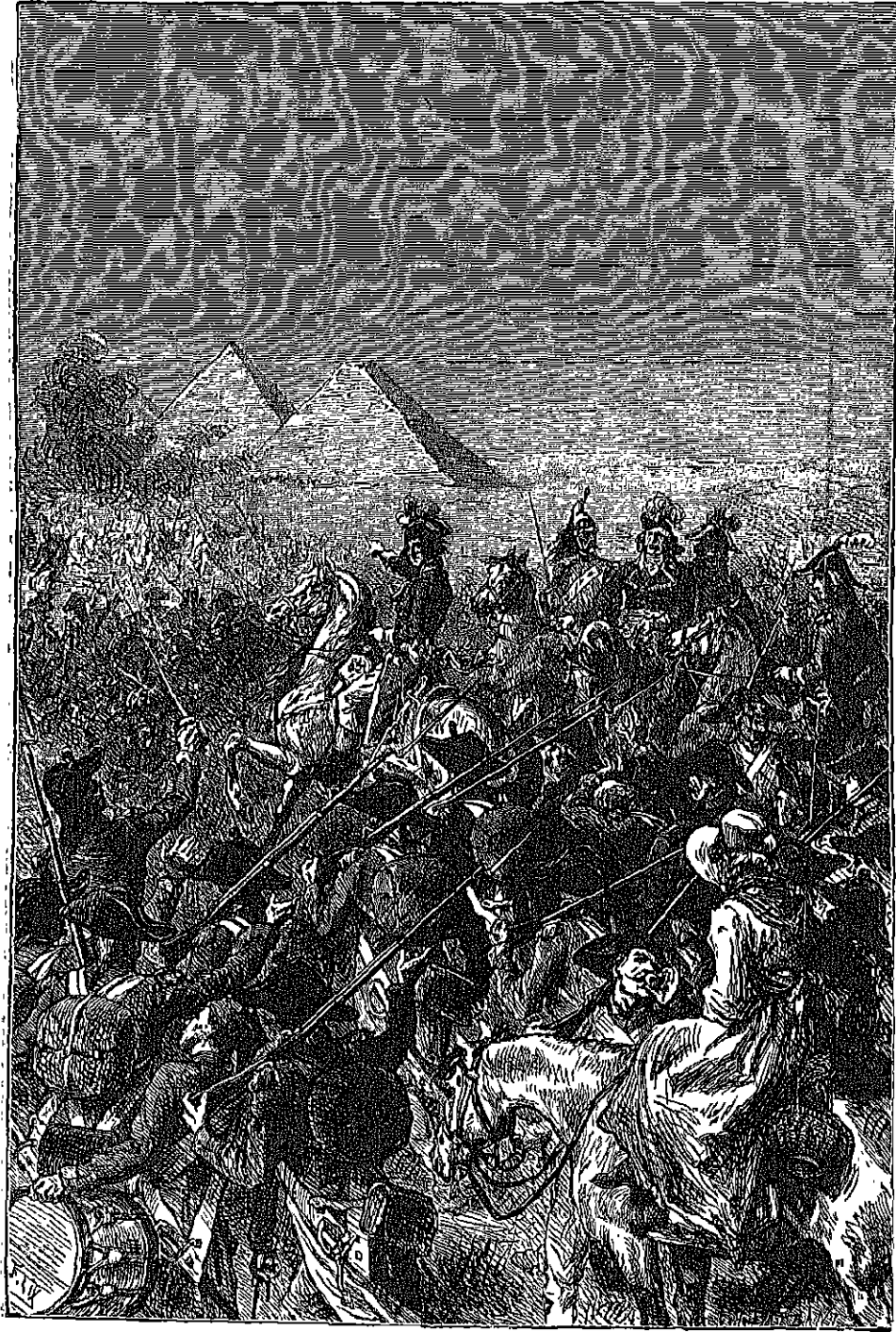
The expedition was first directed against the island of Malta. It will be remembered that at the close of the crusading epoch this place had been given to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. By them the island had been ruled for centuries. But the Order had now become mercenary, and it is said that the Grand Master had been for some time in secret correspondence with the French. At any rate Malta, with her arsenals and treasures, was given up without any serious effort on the part of the Knights to defend their ancient heritage. The fortress was garrisoned, and the expedition proceeded to Egypt. On the 5th of July Bonaparte landed and took Alexandria. He then marched towards Cairo, and when nearing that city came upon an army of Mamelukes thirty thousand strong. They were drawn up in the plain opposite the city and in sight of the great pyramids. Napoleon addressed his soldiers, to whom this spectacle of

an African army in the sands of Egypt was novel and alarming. He roused their patriotism and kindled the fires of battle by an appeal to the Past, which he represented as looking down on the soldiers of France from the summits of the pyramids. In the struggle that ensued the field was contested with the greatest bravery, but the Mamelukes at length gave way before the invincible courage and discipline of the French. The rout of the Egyptians was complete, and on the following day Cairo was taken by Bonaparte.

Meanwhile the English fleet under Admiral Nelson, who had pursued the French squadron on its way across the Mediterranean, at length arrived and found the object of its search in the Bay of Aboukir. Here, on the 1st and 2d of August, was fought the battle of the Nile, which resulted in a victory for the English as complete as that of the PYRAMIDS had been for Napoleon. The French fleet was mostly destroyed or captured, and the retreat of Bonaparte from Egypt was cut off. That general, however, had no present thought of retreating. He continued his war with the Mamelukes and Arabs, whom he everywhere defeated, until Egypt was under his authority. He then took up his march into Palestine, and undertook a siege of Acre, which was defended by an English and Turkish garrison under Sir Sidney Smith. This business occupied Napoleon for a long time, and he was ultimately obliged, after making many assaults and losing large numbers of his men, to give up the enterprise. He then fell back into Egypt,¹ to which country the

¹ It was on his way from Acre back to Egypt that the famous incident occurred in the hospital of Jaffa. That town was now suffering from a terrible visitation of the plague. The infection had made its way into the hospital, where numbers of the sick and wounded of the expedition had been placed. The wretched creatures lay on every hand. Napoleon entered the place of death in person, and perceiving the utter hopelessness of the situation—for it was impossible to carry away the diseased, or in any other way to save them from the pestilence, the famine, and the Turk—is said to have suggested to the physician, Desgenettes, that it would be a mercy for him to relieve the miserable creatures of all their woes by an overdose of opium! The reply of Desgenettes is worthy of record: "Sire, my profession is not to kill, but to cure."

sultan had sent a powerful army. On the 25th of July, 1799, Napoleon encountered the Turks at ABOUKIR, and, after a terrible battle, was completely victorious. His success was so marked that he felt justified in returning to France. He accordingly left in Egypt an



BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS.

Drawn by F. LIX.

army of eighteen thousand men under command of General Kleber, and himself returned to Europe.

During these events in the East, great changes had taken place in the West. When it was known that Nelson had destroyed the French fleet in the Bay of Aboukir, the enemies of France and the opponents of the Directory arose on every side. Turkey made

But the latter soon turned upon the Neapolitans, drove them out of Rome, and compelled Ferdinand to save himself by going on board of an English fleet. General Championnet then advanced on Naples, the defense of which had been left to an irregular force of militia and lazzaroni. This horde of creatures was under the direction of the Neapolitan bishop, who had as his urim and thum-



NAPOLÉON IN THE PEST-HOUSE OF JAFFA.

After the painting by J. A. Gros.

peace with Russia in order to make an alliance against the French. Austria and the Two Sicilies also became hostile and joined Great Britain and Russia in a new coalition against France. Ferdinand IV., king of Sicily, marched an army of forty thousand men into the States of the Church and recaptured Rome. Only the castle of Saint Angelo remained in possession of the French.

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mim a vial containing what was alleged to be the dried blood of St. Januarius. Whenever any important action should be taken by the Neapolitans this blood would liquefy! The bishop made himself necessary to the state by reporting when the miracle took place. When Championnet demanded a surrender the blood of the saint refused to liquefy. But when a certain prince who favored the French threat-

ened to kill the bishop if the omens were not more auspicious, the miracle was quickly performed. The Neapolitan banditti surrendered; the city was occupied by the French, and a new Republic, called the Parthenopean, was proclaimed.

Early in the spring of 1799—Napoleon

in the encounter. At length, however, the tide turned, and the Archduke Charles succeeded in driving back the French across the Rhine. At this juncture the French forces in Italy were ordered to take part in the Austrian campaign; but they were so much delayed by the capture of Martinsbrück and

Münsterthal that Jourdan had already retreated before they were able to come to his rescue. In April a conference was held at Rastadt, but the Emperor, elated by his successes, suddenly broke off the negotiations, recalled his ambassadors, and permitted those of France to be murdered before they could make their way from the town.

In the mean time General Gauthier, to whom the Directory had intrusted the reduction of Tuscany, had succeeded to the extent of driving the grand-duke out of the country. The capture of Verona was undertaken by the French under General Schérer, but the latter was repulsed in several engagements before the city, and



FERDINAND IV.

being then occupied with the siege of Acre—war was declared by France against Austria. A powerful force was sent into the field by the Emperor, the command being given to the Archduke Charles. The Directory ordered General Masséna to throw forward the Army of the Danube against the belligerents, and at the first the Austrians were worsted

then decisively defeated in the battle of Magnano. Such was the ill-success of Schérer that he was superseded by Moreau, who strove hard to retrieve the late disasters, but was himself defeated in a battle at Cassano by the allied forces of Italy under the Russian veteran Suvarof. The latter took possession of Milan, and Moreau was about to be

destroyed with his whole army when orders came from Vienna to Suvarof to leave Milan and lay siege to Mantua. By this fortunate diversion of the enemy's forces Moreau was able to extricate himself from his peril and fall back to Coni. Here he posted himself in a strong position, and called on Genoa and France for reinforcements. General Macdonald came up from Naples with one army and effected a juncture with Gauthier at Florence. Both might then have joined Moreau; but Gauthier, thinking himself strong enough to meet the enemy single-handed, gave battle to Suvarof, near the Trebia, and was overwhelmingly defeated. The French arms had not suffered so great a reverse since the proclamation of the Republic. The recovery of all Italy by the allies immediately followed. Turin was taken; then Pignerol; then Susa. A division of the Russian forces even passed the mountains and committed ravages in Dauphiné. Moreau was superseded by Joubert, but the latter was routed and killed in the battle of Novi. The Cisalpine Republic was no more, and the whole country renewed its allegiance to the Emperor.

After his success in Italy, Suvarof marched into Switzerland to coöperate with another Russian army under Korsakoff. But his coming was too late. Korsakoff had already suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Masséna. Marshal Soult had also distinguished himself by winning a great victory over the Austrians under General Hotze. The Russians fled into Zurich, where they and their Swiss sympathizers were almost exterminated before Suvarof, coming up by way of the St. Gothard pass, arrived on the scene. He found himself in the midst of the victorious French, through whose lines he barely succeeded in making his way into the territory of the Grisons. There he hastily gathered together the remnants of his forces and then quit Western Europe for Russia.

Such was the course of events in the West,

and such was the condition of affairs, when, after his victory over the Turks at Aboukir, Napoleon found it desirable to return to France. It was known to him that there was great dissatisfaction with the government of the Directory; and he was especially desirous, in case of another revolution, to be in a position where he might take advantage of whatever might ensue. On the whole his fame had not been dimmed by his failure in Syria; and the destruction of the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir had not been charged to his account. The people had come to believe in his genius and his invincibility in battle; and



JEAN VICTOR MOREAU.

if there were many who feared his ambition there were more who rejoiced in his victories, and waited for the rising of his star. So, in August of 1799, accompanied by five of his leading generals, he sailed from Alexandria, and returned—not without great danger of capture—to France.

At the time of his coming the Directory was discordant, quarrelsome. The government tottered; revolution was rife. In the change which was now at hand the most influential personage was the Abbé Sieyès, who from being one of the prime movers in the great agitation of 1789, had survived all the vicissi-

tudes of the Revolution, and was now the leading member of the Directory. He was a friend and admirer of Bonaparte, and was perhaps persuaded in his own mind that the democratic tendency in France had overleaped itself and fallen on the other side. Nor is it certain that the general himself was not privy to the conspiracy which was formed against the existing frame of government. At any

which had been established by the Revolution. The popular assembly resisted the project, but the body was dispersed by a company of soldiers. That portion of the members that had favored the change then reassembled and passed a resolution for the abolition of the Directory, and the substitution of the proposed consular form of government.

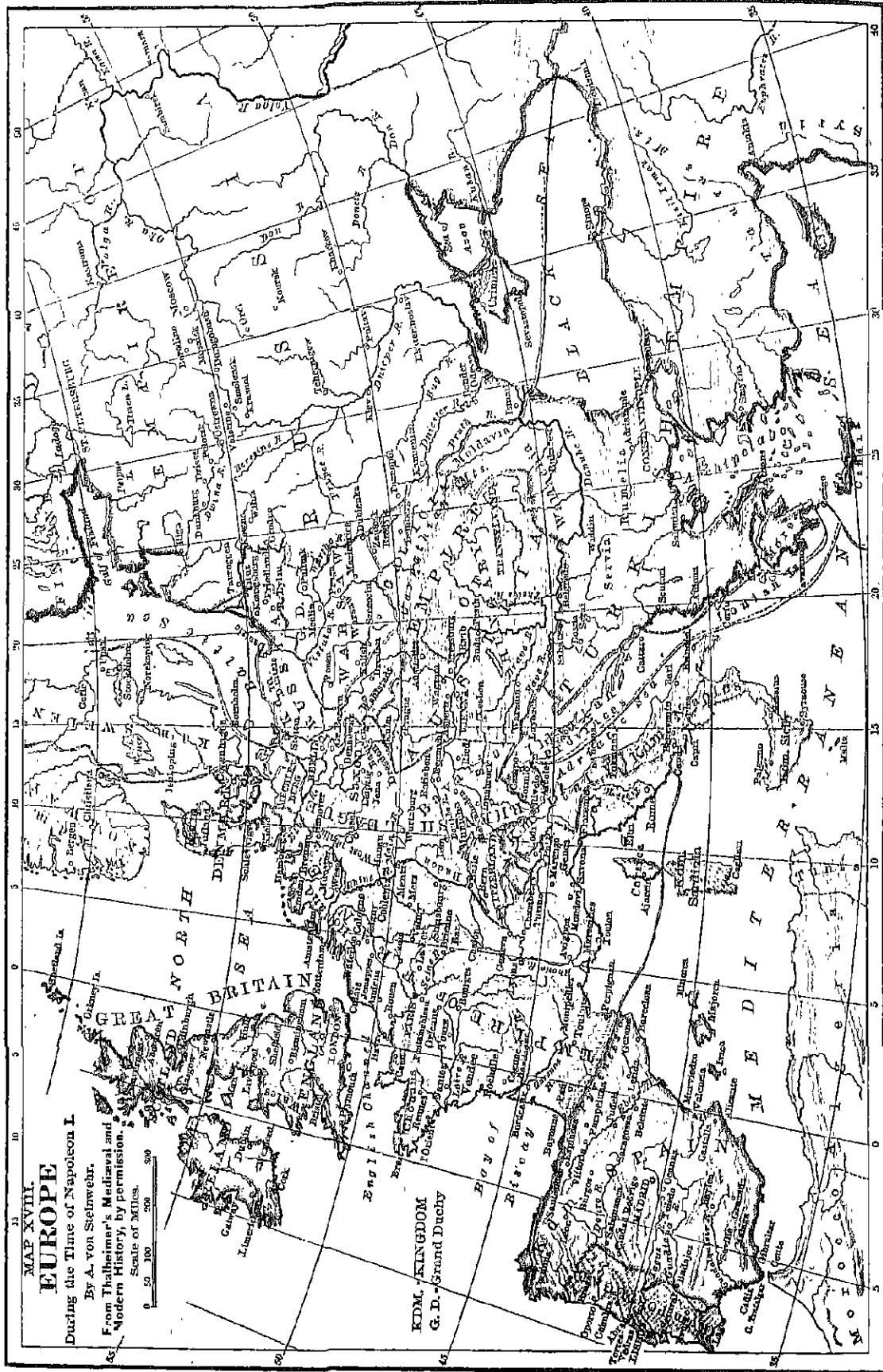
Napoleon Bonaparte, the Abbé Sieyès, and Roger Ducos were chosen Consuls, and a Committee of Fifty was appointed from the Five Hundred and the Ancients to revise the Constitution. The plan reported was much less popular than that which it supplanted. The CONSULATE took the place of the Directory. A Senate of eighty members, chosen for life by the Consuls, was substituted for the Ancients. A Tribunal of one hundred and a Legislature of three hundred members were created instead of the Five Hundred, and were to be chosen from a body called the Notables of France, this body in its turn to be elected from another of ten times the number, called the Notables of the Departments, and these in *their* turn to be from another called the Notables of the Communes, elected by the people. It was evident from the first that the real power of the government was henceforth to be



MARSHAL SUVAROFF.

rate, a movement was started even before Napoleon's arrival for the abolition of the Directory and the substitution thereof of three Consuls as the executive body of the state. The scheme involved the fate of the Republic; for the new plan contemplated the transfer of the right of originating laws from the Council of Five Hundred to the Consuls, thus virtually reversing the theory of government

lodge with the Consuls, and that the First Consul—Napoleon—was to be the head of the state. But it can not be denied that France was well pleased to have it so. She believed that under this "Constitution of the Year VIII," as the scheme devised by the Committee of Fifty was called, her favorite general would beat back all her enemies and crown her with glory—a thing for which she and he were equally hungry.



MAP XVII.

EUROPE

During the Time of Napoleon I.

By A. von Steinwehr.

From Thallheimer's Medizinal and Modern History, by permission.

Scale of Miles.

0 50 100 200

KDM. KINGDOM
G. D. Grand Duchy

CHAPTER CXX.—CONSULATE AND EMPIRE.



It now enter upon the epoch of the ascendancy of France. She became great. Within the circle of Napoleon's sword her map was extended almost to the limits of Western Europe. The enormous force which she had gathered from her emancipation was expended in beating down the hereditary monarchies that lay against her borders. She came to regard herself as a sort of avenger, a nation apart from the rest, hated because she was better. Finding at the head of her armies and councils one before whose frown the greatest monarch of Christendom durst not stand, she worshiped him as the impersonation of her spirit and glory. She disputed not his will, because it was her own. She cheered his tyranny, because the tyrant was—herself.

It was on the 29th of December, 1799, that Napoleon became First Consul of France. His sun arose as that of the century set. Finding himself impeded by his colleagues, he managed to have them dismissed, and Cambacérès and Lebrun appointed in their place. The latter, though not inferior in ability, were more conformable to his will. He began his administration with an activity so prodigious as to be without a parallel in history. Every act, moreover, struck home to the heart of the existing condition. He established him-

self in the Tuilleries, and surrounded himself with a court which, though very different in material and character from that of the Bourbons and Hapsburgs, was hardly less splendid. He quickly restored confidence in the government, and added to that which the nation already had in himself. He abolished forced loans, and introduced business methods in the

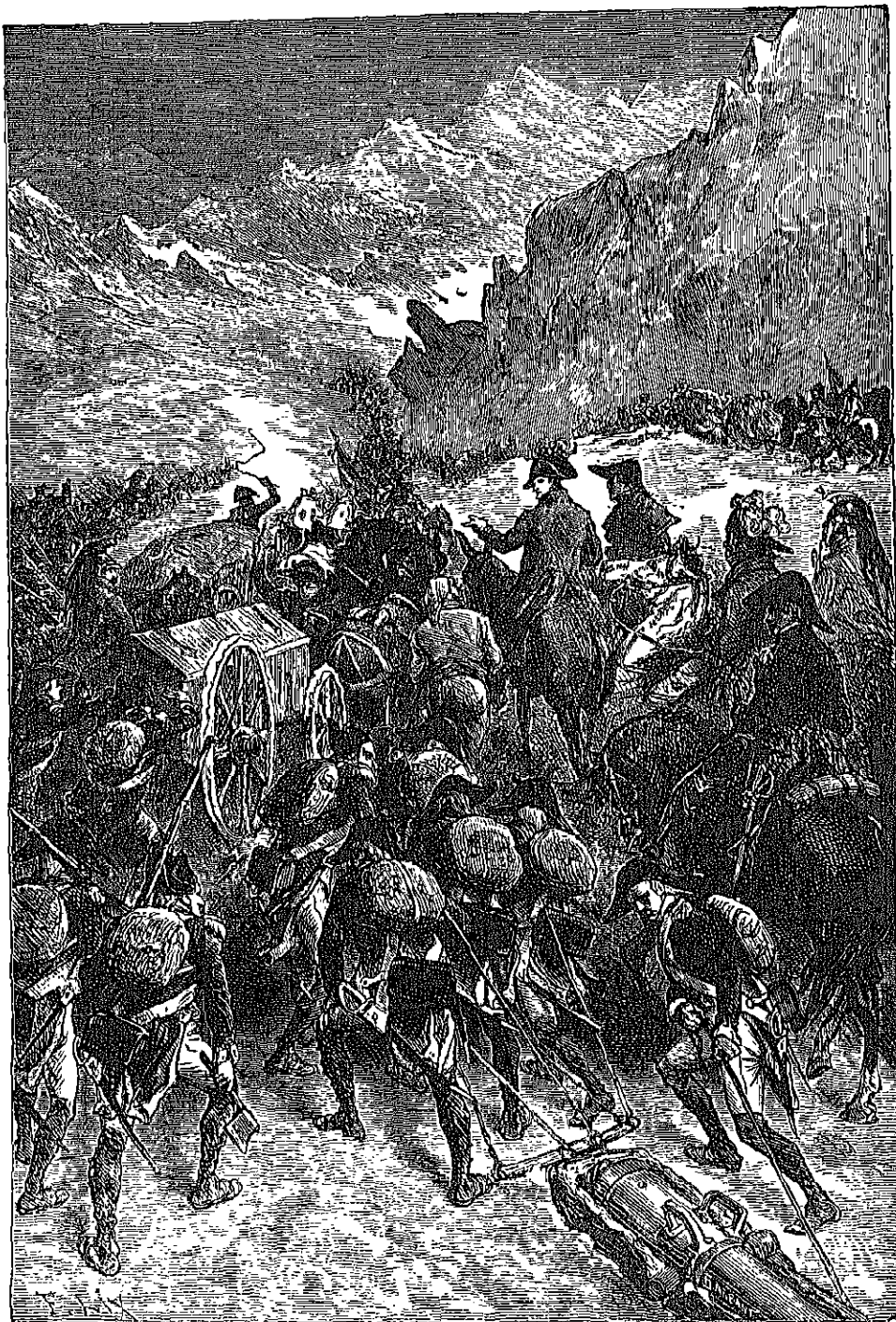


THE FIRST CONSUL.

management of the finances. He released the political prisoners, especially the priests whom the fury of the Revolution had condemned to confinement. He showed to the people that a government could be both tolerant and strong.

He aimed to satisfy all classes of Frenchmen, being himself content with their devotion to France and loyalty to the Constitution of the

Year VIII. Next turning his attention to foreign affairs, he zealously sought to establish peace with all nations. He wrote pacific let-



BONAPARTE CROSSING THE ALPS.

Drawn by F. LIX.

ters to George III. of England and Francis II. of Austria, expressing to both sovereigns his earnest wish to enter into friendly relations. His appeal, however, was made to deaf ears. The two monarchs addressed made to him the preposterous answer that they would enter into negotiations on condition of the restoration of the Bourbons! They might as well have gone one step further and asked for the restoration of the Merovingians, or perhaps the Pharaohs! The answer was just the sort to consolidate France, and to make sure the ascendancy of

his army, which he had sent forward by way of the St. Gothard and Mont Cenis. He thus planted himself in the rear of the Austrian lines. Pressing forward with all expedition he reached Milan, which city immediately surrendered. While this movement was in progress, a British fleet, which for two months had been besieging Genoa, compelled that place to capitulate, thus in some measure counterbalancing the success of Napoleon at Milan. But the latter was in no wise disposed to leave events so evenly balanced. He wheeled about



BATTLE OF MARENGO.

Napoleon. The war was at once renewed; and the First Consul took the field in person for the recovery of Italy.

In that country the allies had now possessed themselves of every place formerly held by the French with the exception of Genoa and Riviera. Napoleon quickly, and as if in defiance of nature, forced his way across the Alps by the pass of the Great St. Bernard, and before the Austrians were well aware of his movements, debouched into Piedmont. Here he was joined by the other divisions of

and bore down upon the Austrians, whom, under command of General Melas, he encountered, on the 14th of June, at the village of MARENGO, in Piedmont. Here was fought the first great battle of the nineteenth century. The attack was made by the Austrians, who fell with great force upon two divisions of French occupying the village. Pouring his whole force of thirty-one thousand men upon his adversaries, Melas succeeded in driving them out of Marengo and sending them in full retreat. At this crisis, however, Bo-

naparte came up in person, and the flight of his soldiers was at once checked. The corps of General Desaix also arrived on the field and bore down on the Austrian right. For a while the battle raged furiously, but at length the army of Melas began to stagger, and a charge of Marshal Kellermann's division completed the rout. The Austrians lost seven thousand in killed and wounded, three thousand prisoners, twenty pieces of artillery, and eight standards. The French loss was also heavy, the veteran Desaix being among the

This was precisely the sort of campaign in which France delighted.

In the mean time the valiant Moreau had added new luster to the French arms in Germany. Beginning with Würtemberg and Bavaria, he pressed the Austrians back and back to Munich, which he wrested from the enemy, and was about to strike a still more decisive blow, when the news came that the First Consul had concluded a treaty with Melas in Italy. It was believed that this would lead to a general settlement between Austria and France,



DEATH OF DESAIX.

Drawn by F. LIX.

killed. So complete was the triumph of Napoleon that he was able, in a conference at Alessandria, to dictate to Melas, reeling from the blow which he had received, a peace according to his liking. The Austrians were obliged to give up twelve of their principal fortresses in Northern Italy, including Genoa, Turin, and Milan, and to retire beyond the Mincio. The Cisalpine Republic was at once reorganized, and the triumphant Napoleon, after an absence of less than six weeks reëntered Paris amid the huzzas of the populace.

and Moreau withheld his hand awaiting such an event. Late in the year, however, when the expectation of peace had proved delusive, the contest was renewed. The Austrians, in great force under the Archduke John, pressed down upon Munich, while at the same time General Klenau was ordered to take such a position as should cut off the retreat of the French. Moreau concentrated his forces at HOHENLINDEN in Upper Bavaria, and there, on the 3d of December, 1800, he was attacked by the Austrians advancing through the for-

est. A terrible battle ensued, which resulted in a complete victory for the French. The Imperialist army was ruined, losing eight thousand in killed and wounded, ten thousand prisoners, and a hundred guns. So great a shock was given to the Austrian cause that the Emperor gladly consented to negotiations. A peace conference was held at Lunéville, and on the 9th of February, 1801, a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which the independence of the Batavian, the Swiss, the Cis-

undertook to drive the French out of Egypt. In that country Marshal Kleber was assassinated on the same day of the battle of Marengo, nor was the suspicion wanting that the Turk who did the deed was instigated by the English authorities. The general's death, however, did not induce the withdrawal of the French army. The command was transferred to Menon; and against him General Abercrombie was sent out with a powerful force. Landing from the bay of Aboukir, the En-



BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN.

alpine; and the Ligurian Republics was recognized by Austria. It was also stipulated that the duchy of Modena should be added to the Cisalpine Republic; that Tuscany should be erected into the kingdom of Etruria, and that France should receive back from Spain her vast American province called Louisiana. Thus did the First Consul of the French begin the work of making a new map for history both in Europe and America.

In the autumn of 1800, the island of Malta had been retaken by the English. They then

glish gave battle, and gained, on the 18th and 21st of March, two victories, though in the latter engagement Abercrombie was killed. Another army came into Egypt by way of the Red Sea from India, and Rosetta and Cairo were soon taken by the English. Alexandria was besieged; but Menon held out against his assailants until they agreed, as the price of his capitulation, to convey his army intact to the ports of France.

By this time the conduct of England had given so much offense to the allies that the-

Coalition began to fall to pieces. The Czar, Paul I., withdrew from the compact, and asserted that Russia would again uphold the Armed Neutrality of 1780. Having become Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, he found still additional cause of animosity towards England on account of the retention by the latter of the island of Malta. The Czar accordingly busied himself in the general affairs of Europe, and succeeded in bringing about a Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden—all agreeing to

England was moved solely by the determination to maintain at all hazards her commercial and maritime supremacy—for in that lay her greatness.

At length, however, after the punishment of Denmark by England, after the conclusion of separate treaties between Russia and Spain and Russia and France, negotiations were successfully opened by the First Consul with the court of St. James. A change of ministry occurred, and the new advisers of George III. were favorable to peace. A conference was

held at AMIENS, and there, in March of 1802, a general treaty was concluded. In the first place, England made peace with France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic. She agreed to give up Egypt to the Turks, and the island of Malta to the Knights of St. John. Of all her conquests, she was to retain only Ceylon and Trinidad. The ports of the Mediterranean were to be surrendered to the original owners, and the Ionian Islands to be erected into a Republic, and placed under the protection of Turkey and Russia. As to France, she was curtailed in nothing. The First Consul, in the negotiations at Amiens, showed himself to be as great a diplomatist as he was a warrior. He was



MARSHAL KLEBER.

arm themselves for the maintenance of the rights of neutral States. The Coalition being thus disrupted, Napoleon was able to conclude peace with Naples, Portugal, and Turkey. Only England remained irreconcilable; and even in her case, after the recovery of Egypt, there seemed little substantial ground for continuing the war. She was angered, however, on account of the Quadruple Alliance, and could not be appeased until her fleet under Lord Nelson had fallen upon and almost destroyed that of Denmark in a naval battle before Copenhagen. In all her conduct

now by far the most conspicuous figure in Europe. In France, his power and popularity were unbounded. In August of 1802, the polls were opened in all the precincts of France, and over each voting-place was placed this question: *Napoleon sera-t-il Consul à Vie?*—Shall Napoleon be Consul for life? And of more than seven millions of suffrages only a few hundred were recorded in the negative. France was satisfied with her ruler.

The activity of the government in civil matters now became as great as the energies of the Republic had been prodigious in war.

Social order was reëstablished. Paris became glorious. The sunshine flushed the Place de la Revolution, and the memories of the bloody tragedy, in which Feudal France had perished to make way for the France of the future, began to sink behind the horizon. A commission of the ablest lawyers was appointed to make a revision of the civil code, and the work which they produced was the greatest and most enlightened of modern times. Instead of the three hundred local statutes in which the laws of Old France had been buried, a single *corpus*

emigrant nobility were permitted to return to France, and were, as far as practicable, restored to their confiscated estates. Freedom was declared in matters of religion, and the Church of Rome was allowed to recover her station as the leading hierarchy.

The year 1802 was marked by the desperate revolt of the republican Negroes of St. Domingo against the French Republic. The leader and soul of the movement was the celebrated black patriot, François Dominique Toussaint, surnamed L'Ouverture, who, from



REVOLT OF THE NEGROES IN SAN DOMINGO.

juris civilis—the Code Napoleon—was brought forth, as perfect in execution as the conception was grand. The industrial development of the country was undertaken with equal zeal. Public works were encouraged as never before. A great military road through the Simplon Pass into Italy was constructed under direction of the government. Institutions of learning were endowed, and France more than ever asserted her intellectual supremacy among the nations. A general amnesty was decreed, by the terms of which a hundred and fifty thousand of the

being a slave, had become president of the little independency established by his countrymen. His bearing excited the contempt of Bonaparte, who sent his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, to reduce St. Domingo to its former condition. The latter arrived in the island, and to his astonishment was most fiercely resisted. Toussaint put his assailants at defiance, and for several months fought desperately to repel the invasion. At last, however, he was beaten down and captured. He was conveyed to France, shamefully treated,

Joseph Bonaparte was appointed Grand Elector, and the office of Constable was conferred on Prince Louis. More meritorious by far was the elevation of eighteen of Napoleon's generals to the rank of Marshal of France. Pope Pius VII. was sent for to come to Paris and attend to his part of the mummerly on the day of coronation, which was fixed for the 2d of December, 1804. The ceremony took place at the altar of Notre Dame, where the Soldier of Fortune knelt with Josephine to

tinguished himself in our war of the Revolution, in which he served under Count Rochambeau, from which service he returned to France to be elected to the States-general in 1789. He was twice president of the National Assembly, and was acting in that capacity when the flight of Louis XVI. was announced. Afterwards he served with Custine on the German frontier, and being accused of causing the surrender of Metz, was condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal and sent to the guil-



THE CORONATION IN NOTRE DAME.

receive the crown which he had conquered and which he persisted in putting on his own head. Of her who shared his glory on this day, something may be appropriately added.

Marie Josèphe Tascher, wife of Napoleon I., was born in the island of Martinique, in June of 1763. Her father was a naval officer serving under the Marquis de Beauharnais, at that time governor of the island. After receiving a good education, she was married in December of 1779 to the Viscount de Beauharnais, brother of the governor. The husband dis-

lotine on the 23d of July, 1794. Nine years previously he had been divorced from Josephine, rather for his own gallantries than from any misdemeanor committed by her. The latter took up her residence in Paris, and in 1790 was reconciled to Beauharnais, whom, after his arrest she tried to release, and for whom she came near giving her life. For she barely escaped the guillotine. She became acquainted with Napoleon in 1795, and was married to him in March of the following year. She acquired over his mind an ascendancy

which none other ever possessed, and generally used her influence to soften his morose disposition, calm his asperity, and moderate the movements of his perturbed spirit. She was disliked by the Bonapartes, especially by Napoleon's sisters, who sought to mar the relations between her and her husband, and particularly to prevent her joint coronation with him by the Pope. Her being childless gave to them and to others of like mind, a political weapon which they were not slow to use, and with which they ultimately effected her undoing.

Thus on the banks of the Seine was established a new Empire. *Charlemagne had come again.* The Emperor of the French was quick to catch the analogy. He, too, would assume the iron crown of the Lombards. In the spring of 1805 he repaired to Northern Italy, and on the 26th of May was crowned at Milan as king of Italy. The Cisalpine Republic was converted into a kingdom, over which as viceroy the Emperor appointed his step-son, Eugene Beauharnais. At the same time the Republic of Liguria was added to the dominions of the Empire.

As it related to the war with England the Emperor made prodigious exertions, and these were answered with like preparations on the part of the British government. That government was now under the energetic direction of William Pitt, who was in the heyday of his renown, the acme of his power. The attitude of Russia had recently been changed from one of friendliness toward France, or at least of indifference to the conflicts in Western Europe, by the assassination of Paul I., who met his fate on the 28d of March, 1801. He was succeeded on the throne by Alexander I.,

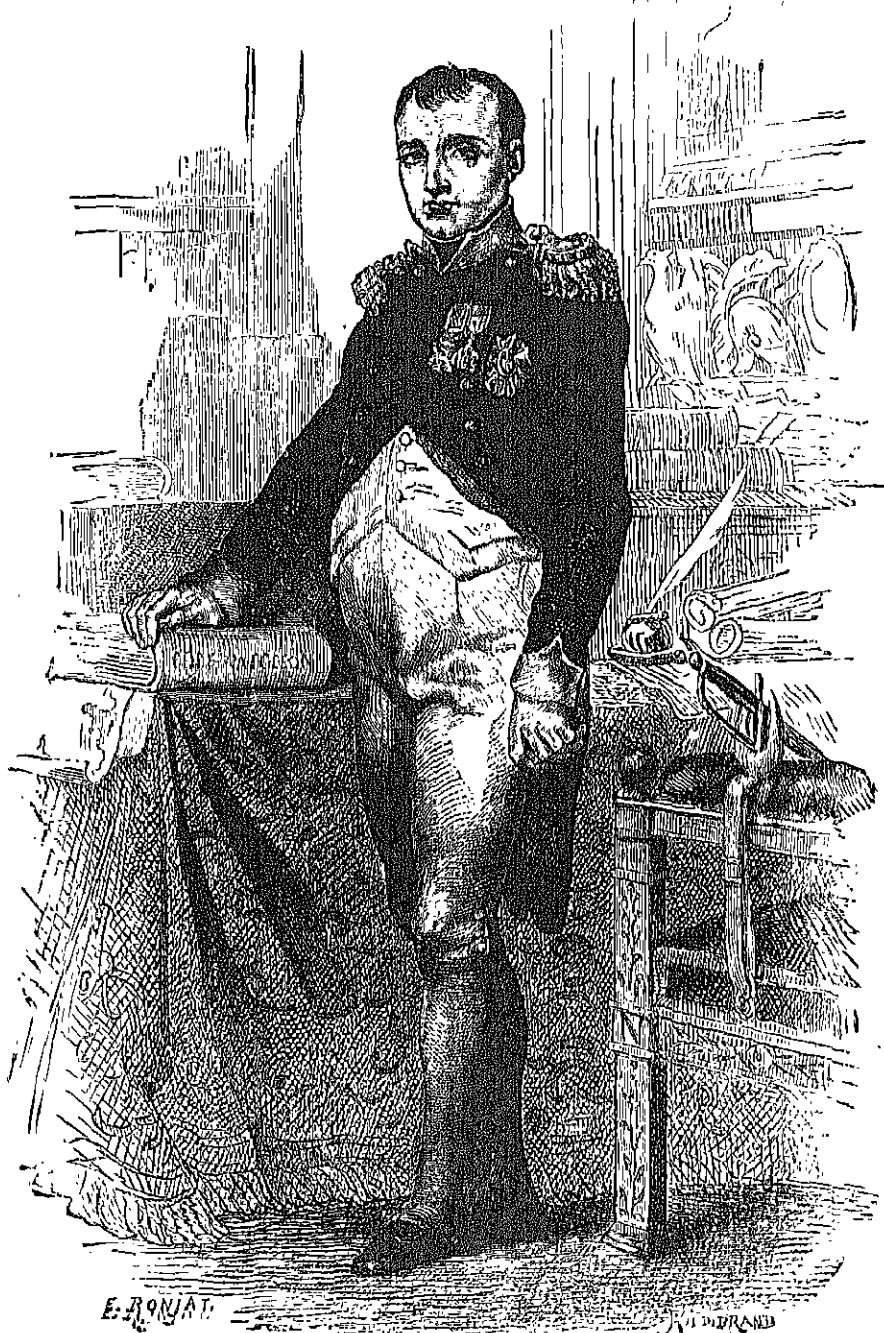
who had strong proclivities in favor of England. This fact enabled Pitt to carry out his project of an Anglo-Russian alliance. A Third Coalition was formed, the principal parties to the same being England, Russia, and Austria. Prussia was solicited to become a member of the compact, but that power, still dominated by the uncertain and wavering, not to say treacherous, policy of Frederick William III., assumed the ground of neutrality, and would



JOSEPHINE.—From the painting by Gerard.

again keep aloof from the conflict. This fact, together with her geographical position, doomed Prussia to become the principal theater of the war, and to suffer its ravages more than did the belligerents themselves. It thus happened that while Napoleon was preparing his immense expedition for the ostensible invasion of England—while he filled the Seine with transports, and massed large bodies of troops along the Channel—the horizon of Germany

suddenly grew black with the clouds of war, and the Austrian General Mack, with an army of eighty thousand men, advanced on Munich. energies upon the Austrians. He was now in his element. He had the confidence of France. He could hurl her intrepid soldiery like a



EMPEROR NAPOLEON I.

Drawn by T. Ronjat.

Whatever may have been Bonaparte's original design, he now gave up the project of attacking the British Isles, and turned his whole thunderbolt against any power that had the temerity to give him battle on the land. He took the field in person, and before the Aus-

brians were well aware of his movements planted himself in their rear, cutting off the communications of Mack with Vienna, and preventing a junction with the Russian army. So masterly was his generalship that the Austrian commander, thus hopelessly isolated at Ulm, was driven to a humiliating surrender. An army of thirty thousand men, with all its equipments, baggage, artillery, and colors, became prisoners of war. Another division, numbering twenty thousand, which had succeeded in breaking out of Ulm, was surrounded and taken at Nördlingen. The Austrian business was completed at a stroke; and the House of Hapsburg had cause to curse the day when it rashly provoked the Emperor of the French.

Before the end of October, Napoleon was on his way to Vienna. On the 13th of the following month, he entered that ancient capital. Meanwhile the czar had succeeded in inducing Frederic William III. to join the coalition. Alexander went in person to Berlin, and he and the Prussian king, after the manner of their kind, went to the tomb of Frederick the Great, embraced each other in that solemn presence and swore to fight Napoleon to the last. But the Prussian soon had cause to lament his folly. He knew too well his own impotence in a struggle with such an adversary as Bonaparte. That victorious son of fortune now crossed the Danube to oppose the advance of the Archduke Charles, who, hearing of the desperate straits to which Mack had been reduced, and hoping to render him assistance before it should be too late, hurried out of Italy with a powerful army, and came into Moravia. Here, on the 2d of December, 1805, just one year to a day from Napoleon's coronation, the two armies met at the town of *AUSTERLITZ*, on the river *Littance*. The Austrians had already formed a junction with their Russian allies; but this was precisely the thing which Bonaparte most desired. Scarcely could he restrain his ardor for the decisive con-

lict. His own forces were compactly arranged in a semicircle, having its center at Brünn, while those of the allies were badly posted in broken masses around the outside of the arc. The French made the onset with the early morning. Just as the battle began, the sun, as if to harbinger the victory of Napoleon, burst in splendor through the mists that had hidden the position of the combatants. The onset of the French was irresistible. In a short time the allied lines were broken,

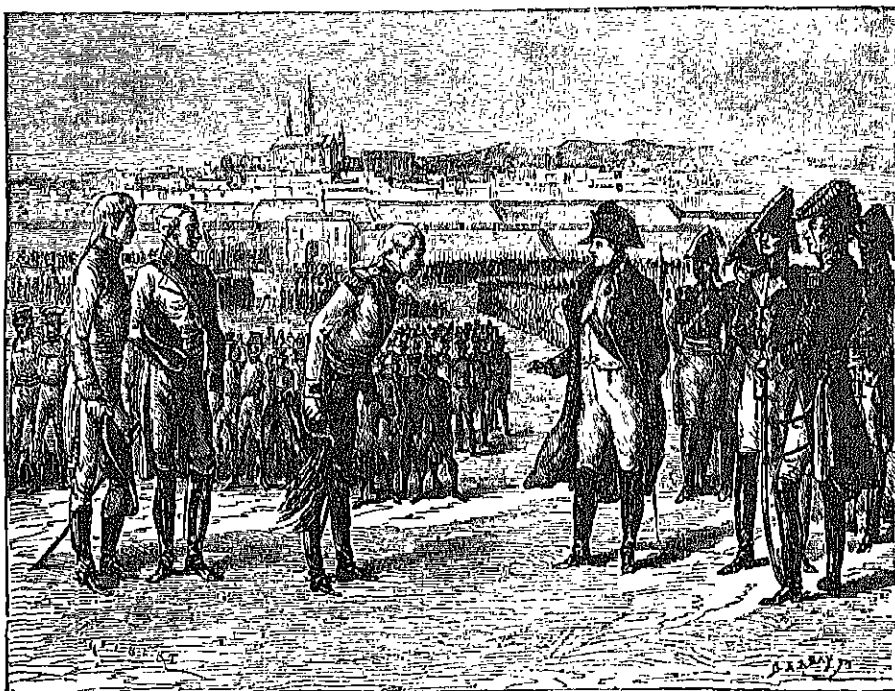


PAUL I.

crushed, trampled in utter rout and ruin. Thirty thousand Austrians and Russians were killed, wounded, or taken. It was as though the whole fabric of the Third Coalition had been shattered at a blow.

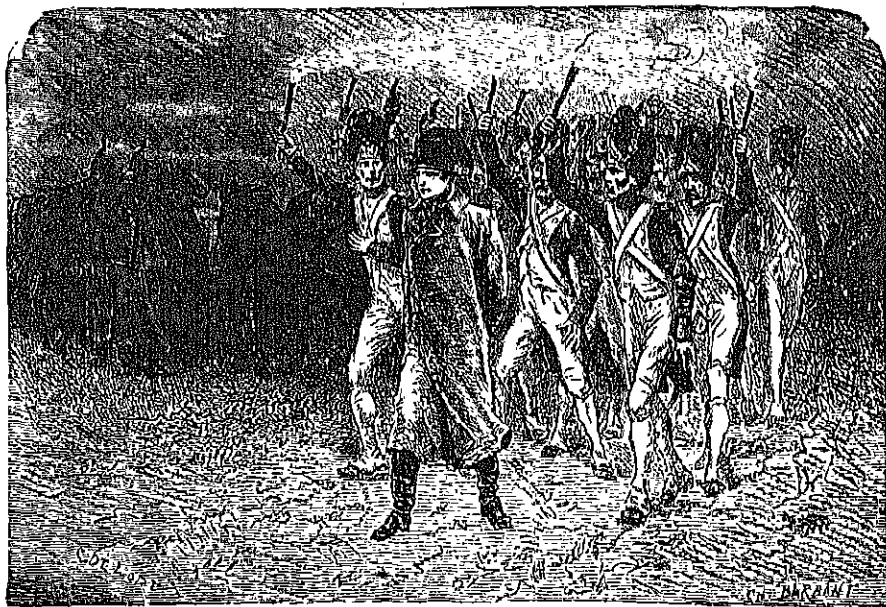
The battle of Austerlitz ended the war on the side of Germany. The allies might well have renewed the contest, for their resources were abundant, their reserve population inexhaustible. Indeed, they still had eighty thousand men in the field; but what were they—so reasoned the monarchs—if they might be annihilated in a single battle? As for the

Czar Alexander, he at once began his march | tory message to the victorious Bonaparte.
for Russia. Francis II. eagerly sought peace; | The latter, on receiving the Prussian king's



CAPITULATION OF MACK.—Drawn by J. Gilbert.

and Frederick William III., who less than a | letter, indulged in some grim humor, saying
month previously had taken his terrible oath | that Frederick William had intended his con-



THE EVENING BEFORE AUSTERLITZ.—Drawn by C. Delart.

with the Czar Alexander, tore up his compact | gratulations for Alexander, but that Fortune
with that sovereign, and sent a congratu- | had changed the address to himself!

It only remained for the defeated to ask for peace. A conference was held at Presburg, on the Danube, and there, on the 26th of December, 1805, a treaty was concluded by France and Austria. Napoleon spared not the vanquished in dictating the terms of a settlement. Francis II. was obliged to give up Venice, the last possession of the German Empire in Italy, to the victor. The Tyrol and Vorarlberg went to Bavaria, and the elector of that principality, as well as the elector of Würtemberg, was recognized as a king. Such was their reward for their devotion to the French cause. Thus, in a campaign of only two months' duration, the House of Hapsburg lost three millions of subjects and a revenue of fourteen millions of florins. To Austria the war had proved the most disastrous in her history.

The year 1805 did not close without a great disaster to France on the sea. On that element England added another to the list of her splendid victories. On the 21st of October, the combined squadrons of France and Spain, numbering thirty-three ships of the line and seven frigates, were overtaken off Cape TRAFALGAR, at the north-west entrance to the strait of Gibraltar, by the British admiral, Lord Horatio Nelson, already distinguished for his great victory over the French in the bay of Aboukir.

He brought into the engagement a fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line and four frigates. The conflict that ensued ranks among the great naval battles of the world. Nelson clad himself in the insignia of the orders to which he belonged, and by his heroism courted death almost as much as he strove for victory. Never was the conduct of the British seamen more honorable to their country and themselves than on this memorable day. In beginning the engagement, Nelson displayed from his pennon,

where it might be read by the whole fleet, this motto: "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY." Utterly fearless, but with a premonition of his fate, he entered the struggle to conquer or die. Both were in reservation. An hour after the battle began, when the French and Spaniards were already shattered by his merciless fire, but still sternly contesting the victory, he was struck in the shoulder by a musket-ball, and fell mortally

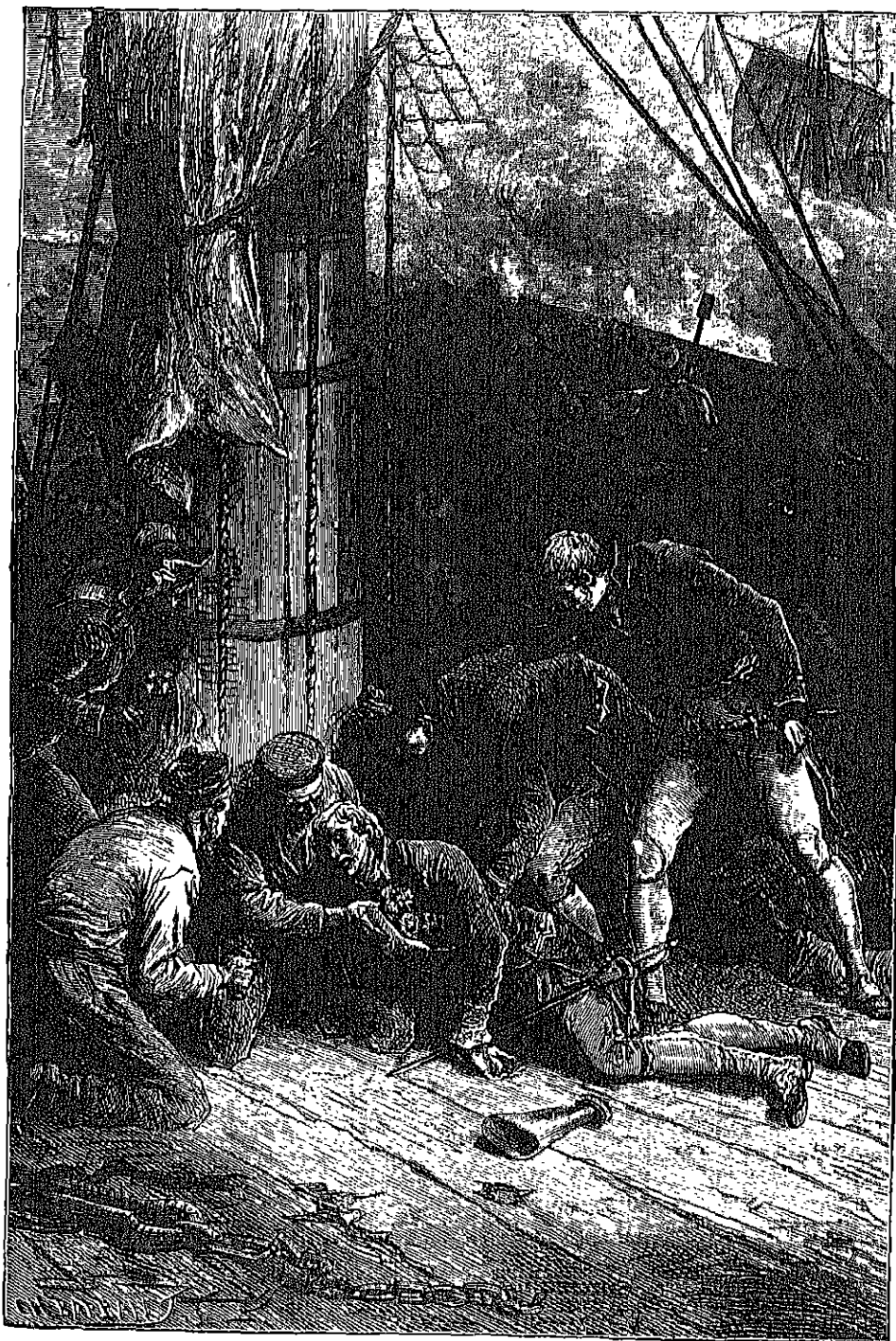


ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.

wounded. "They have done for me at last, Hardy," said he to the captain of the ship. He was carried below, whither he was presently followed by Hardy with the news that already fifteen of the enemy's ships had surrendered. "That is well," said the dying hero, "but I had bargained for twenty." Then his thoughts turned to the woman who had obtained the mastery over his spirit—Lady Hamilton, wife of Sir William Hamilton, for whom he had formed a deathless attachment, and on whose account he had recently been

divorced. "Take care of Lady Hamilton, Hardy; take care of poor Lady Hamilton," said he, as the death-dew dampened his brow. And then: "Doctor, I have not been a great

sinner. Remember that I leave Lady Hamilton and my daughter Horatia as a legacy to my country." So he died. England buried him in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the pageant



DEATH OF NELSON AT TRAFALGAR.

surpassed any spectacle ever before witnessed in the kingdom.¹

In January of the following year the great British minister, William Pitt, died. For many years he had been the leading statesman of England. At the first he had sympathized with the French Revolution, but was afterwards driven by the overwhelming Tory sentiment of Great Britain to promote and support the various wars which that kingdom undertook with France. To his genius must be attributed the various Coalitions which were formed against Napoleon, one of which had been recently wrecked by the battle of Austerlitz. The last illness of Pitt was the result of his anxiety and grief on account of the surrender of Mack at Ulm and the destruction of the allied army by Bonaparte on the Danube. He was succeeded in the ministry by Charles James Fox, his rival, by whom negotiations for peace were begun, only to be broken off by his death a few months afterwards. As soon as the Treaty of Presburg was concluded, Napoleon paid his respects to Frederick William of Prussia, whose tergiversations well merited the treatment which he was destined to receive. The conqueror now compelled him to close his ports against the ships of England and to occupy Hanover, the German dependency of the British crown. The kingdom of Naples, also, was punished for having recently espoused the cause of Austria, in violation of an existing agreement to remain neutral. An army under Masséna invaded the Neapolitan dominions on the very

heels of the retiring Austrians and Russians. Ferdinand VI. fled from his capital; but his wife, Maria Caroline, daughter of Maria The-



PITT THE YOUNGER.

¹ Some circumstances of Nelson's death furnish an ample illustration of the greatness and the immensity of England. Before going into his last battle, Nelson made a brief codicil to his will.

resa, showed herself worthy of her mother's name by attempting a defense of Naples

He said: "I leave Lady Hamilton as a legacy to my king and country." And again: "I leave my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson, to the beneficence of my country." And again:

against the French. She raised an army of brigands and beggars, and opened the prisons to swell her forces; but the troops which she thus raised were of so desperate a character that the city turned to Masséna as to a deliverer. All opposition was put down, and Joseph Bonaparte—brother to Napoleon—who had accompanied the expedition, was proclaimed king of the two Sicilies. At the first his hold upon his alleged kingdom was pre-
 CARPENTIER



CHARLES JAMES FOX.

rious. General Stuart, commanding an English force in Italy, defeated the army of King Joseph in the battle of Maida, and the peasants who were strongly attached to Queen

"These are the only favors I ask of my king and country at this moment when I am going to fight their battle." This will fell into the hands of the hero's brother, the Rev. William Nelson, D. D., and was by him concealed in his own interest! The king made him Earl Nelson of Trafalgar and Merton, and he was given a pension of six thousand

Caroline rose in revolt against the existing government. It was not long, however, until these disturbances were ended by Masséna, who, by his energy, restored order and secured, at least for the time being, the authority of Bonaparte.

By this time Napoleon had conceived the design of establishing the members of his family in most of the high places of Western Europe. He converted his sisters into princesses; his brothers, into kings. He rewarded his generals, as many as distinguished themselves in his service, with dignities and titles. Talleyrand was made Prince of Benevento; Bernadotte, of Ponte Corvo; Berthier, of Neuchâtel. The conqueror contemplated a general revision of the map of Europe. He abolished the so-called Roman Empire of the West, which had had a nominal existence since the days of Octavius Caesar. The sixteen German principalities, which had constituted the principal members of the Imperial power, were induced to form a sort of loose union, called the Confederation of the Rhine; and between this new power and France the relation of a protected and a protecting state was established. On the 6th of August, 1806, Francis II. published a proclamation in which he declared that it was impossible for him any longer to act as Emperor for the German states. The princes of those states were accordingly absolved from all allegiance to the House of Hapsburg, whose representative, though he still retained the title of Emperor, would henceforth

confine his authority to his hereditary kingdom of Austria. Thus, after the lapse of a thousand and six years from the time when, on Christmas day, in the Church of St. Peter,

pounds. At length the will of the real Nelson was known, and to it and the hero's dying request neither England nor England's king ever paid the slightest attention! The funeral of Nelson and Trafalgar Square are everlasting memorials of how eager the British people are to honor themselves at the expense of their great dead.

the shout was raised, of "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus!" who had just then received from the hands of the Pope the golden crown with the title of Emperor of the Romans, that strange political fabric known as "The Empire," was obliterated.

The next move made by Napoleon was the proposed restoration of Hanover to England. The electorate, it will be remembered, had been recently and forcibly annexed to Prussia—this with a view to precipitating a war between that country and Great Britain. Such was the evident contempt which the French Emperor now showed for Frederick William that the Prussians rose in wrath at such indignity, and determined to fight to the death rather than endure any longer the treatment to which they were subjected. Doubtless the war which they undertook with France—considering the tremendous power which that nation had now acquired—was ill-timed and foolish. Nothing could have been more pleasing to Napoleon than this act of an enemy whom he despised. With startling rapidity he bore down upon the armies of Frederick William, and while they were still confused with the problem of his whereabouts, planted himself on their left wing, thereby cutting off communication with the Russians. The first battle was fought and won by Bernadotte at Schleitz, and the next engagement at Saalfeld had a like result. These actions were the first notice which the Duke of Brunswick had of the fact that Napoleon was in his rear. Endeavoring to extricate himself, he began a retreat accompanied by Frederick William and his fugitive brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange. In order to cover this movement Brunswick left one division of his army, under Prince Hohenlohe, at JENA, on the Saale. Here, on the 14th of October, the prince was attacked by Napoleon in person,

who, after a short and terrible battle, almost destroyed his antagonist. On the same day the other division of the Prussian army, under the Duke of Brunswick, was confronted at AUERSTADT by Marshal Davoust, and by him routed and dispersed. The double defeat proved to be as ruinous to Prussia as had been the battle of Austerlitz to Austria. Whatever was wanting to the completeness of the overthrow was added by Marshals Murat and Ney, who captured Erfurt and made prisoners of fourteen thousand men, who had been left as its defenders. Universal dismay settled



COUNT MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD.

over Prussia. Stettin and Custrin were taken without a show of defense. Magdeburg, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, was assailed by an inferior force and given up without a struggle—this though the garrison were twenty thousand strong. General Blücher, reputed to be an able and courageous commander, was cut off at Lübeck, and obliged to surrender his whole command, numbering twenty thousand. The House of Hohenzollern staggered and fell to the earth. The Elector of Saxony, seeking to save himself at whatever sacrifice of honor, left Frederick William to his fate, made peace with Napoleon, was named by him a king and given a

place in the Confederation of the Rhine. Bonaparte proceeded to the Prussian capital, entered the city in triumph, and did what things he would.¹

On the 21st of November he issued his celebrated "Berlin Decree," by which the British Isles were declared to be in a state of blockade. All intercourse with England was prohibited, and all British merchandise, whether found within the limits of hostile states or in those which were neutral, was subjected to confiscation. Harsh and high-

be blockaded, and the British cruisers were ordered to board and search all vessels which were destined, or supposed to be destined, to those ports which were closed by the paper blockade.

Before the news of this proceeding reached Napoleon he had gone into Italy. On the 17th of December, 1807, he issued, as a further retaliatory measure, his celebrated "Milan Decree," by which it was declared that all vessels submitting to the "Order in Council" should henceforth be regarded as lawful

prizes of war. These tremendous fulminations by the two great powers of Western Europe indicated with sufficient clearness the respective policies of France and England; that of the one being to monopolize the sea and to drive therefrom the commerce of all nations, save her own, and that of the other, to close, as if by an omnipotent fiat, all the ports of the civilized world against the ships of her who had claimed the mastery of the sea. Both were equally against the laws of nations and humanity.

At this juncture the Polish question came into view as an important factor in the European complication. Poland, or at least the patriotic party in that country, had always looked upon the French as their friends. It was clearly

the policy of Napoleon to take advantage of this sentiment in detaching the Poles from Russia, and his agents busily sowed the seeds of insurrection. At this time the Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, was in the ascendant, but he refused to be a party to a movement by which he believed his country had nothing to gain. The Russian armies, however, pressed to the west in the fall of

the body of the philosopher of Sans-Souci had been laid to rest. But the conqueror forbore not to send the sword and belt and Black Eagle of the Order to which Frederick belonged as trophies to Paris.



MARSHAL DAVOUST.

handed as was this measure, it was fully justified by the previous conduct of Great Britain, whose actions, as it related to neutral commerce, had been in defiance of both the laws of nations and the manners of civilized states. The British ministry continued the retaliation by issuing an "Order in Council," by which all the ports of Europe, from which the ships of England were excluded, were declared to

¹The chief interest of Napoleon during his brief stay in Berlin centered in the works and haunts of Frederick the Great. He inspected what mementoes soever that warlike king had left at Potsdam, and paid a visit to the modest tomb where

1806, and before going into winter-quarters gained some advantages along the outposts of the French. For a short time there was a cessation of hostilities; but as early as February both armies were again in the field. On the 8th of that month, they met at the town of EYLAU, in East Prussia, and here was fought one of the most bloody battles of modern times. Napoleon had eighty-five thousand men and three hundred and fifty guns; while the Russian and Prussian allies numbered seventy-five thousand, with four hundred and sixty guns. The carnage was dreadful on both sides, the Russians losing about twenty thousand in killed and wounded, and the losses of the French being nearly as great. Both parties—the French with better reason—claimed the victory; if, indeed, a victory that might be called which consisted in retaining a field where nearly forty thousand human beings had been stretched on the earth in their own blood. So much was Bonaparte staggered by this sanguinary battle that he fell back to

the Vistula and made overtures for peace. In the interim, however, Frederick William had been persuaded to enter into a new compact with Great Britain and Russia. In his infatuation he refused to accept Napoleon's proposition, and continued war. When the campaign of 1807 was fairly opened, the tide again set strongly in favor of the French. On the 14th of June was fought the great battle of FRIEDLAND, in which Bonaparte was victorious. Ten days afterwards, Dantzic surrendered, and an army of thirty thousand Frenchmen, for some time occupied in the siege of that fortress, was liberated for service in the field. Then followed the capture of

Königsberg, by which event further resistance on the part of Prussia was rendered useless.¹

The Czar, too, grew tired of the conflict, and offered to treat for peace. Napoleon readily assented to the proposal, and it was agreed that the two Emperors should hold a conference on a raft moored in the river Niemen, at TILSIT. The meeting was brief and historic. The Czar frankly assured Napoleon that his own dislike of England was as great as his. Whereupon Alexander was informed that, if that were true, peace were made already. And such was the event. Bonaparte was easily satisfied on all collateral points, the



NAPOLÉON AT THE TOMB OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.
Drawn by G. Welter.

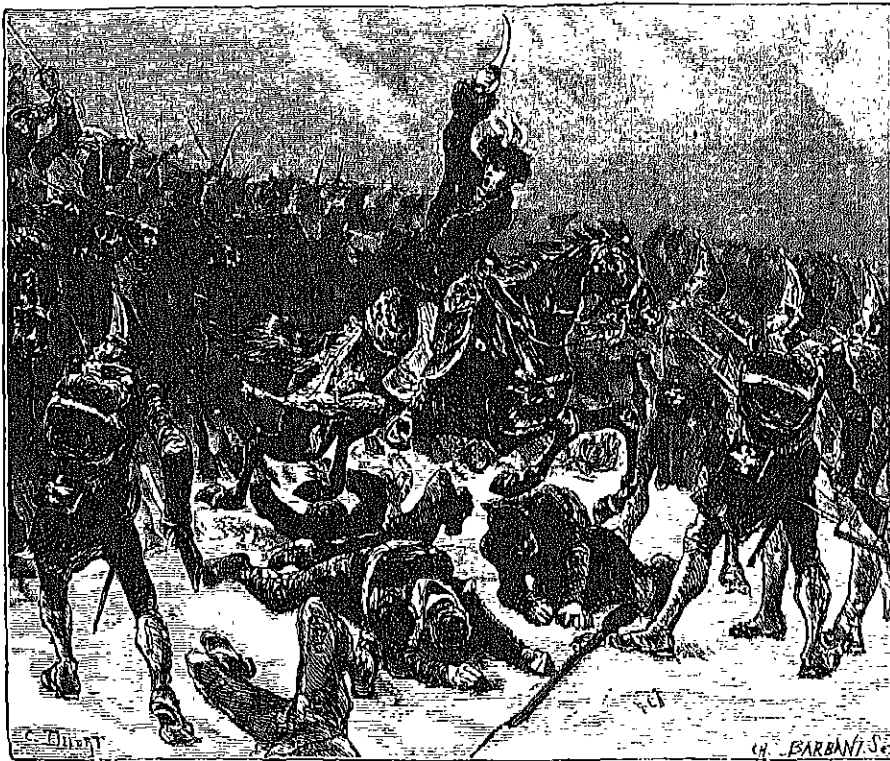
main thing being granted. To break the power of England, to humble her pride, to ruin her commerce, to make her as insular as she had been in the days of the Plantagenets—such had become the master passion in the volcanic breast of Bonaparte. In the treaty of Tilsit it was agreed that Prussia should be

¹ It was at this juncture, when it seemed that her country was on the verge of utter ruin, that Queen Louisa, the accomplished and beautiful wife of Frederick William, went in person to the head-quarters of Napoleon at Tilsit, and made to him in behalf of fallen Prussia such an appeal as woman has rarely made to man; but the outcry of her broken spirit was in vain. Nothing could move the inexorable Bonaparte from his purpose.

despoiled. A portion of her territory and that of Brunswick was erected into the kingdom of Westphalia, and conferred on Jerome Bonaparte. Louis, another brother of the Emperor, was recognized as king of Holland, while Joseph was acknowledged in his sovereignty over the Two Sicilies. That portion of Poland which by the First Partition had been assigned to Prussia was made into the grand-duchy of Warsaw and given to the king of Saxony. The territories of Frederick

a Bonaparte as king of Spain, should such an arrangement be made by the Emperor of the French.

Thus was concluded the war between France and Russia. The former power was thus set free to contend with England and Sweden, the only two powers with which she was still belligerent. At this time the English government was desirous of drawing Denmark into the alliance against Napoleon; but that power persisted in her neutrality, and it was



ATTACK OF MURAT'S DRAGOONS AT THE BATTLE OF EYLAU.

Drawn by C. Delort.

William III. were thus reduced to little more than half their limit at the date of his accession. As for Russia, she was to receive all of Turkey in Europe except Constantinople and Roumelia. The Czar was also given *carte blanche* to conquer from the Turks in Asia whatever he would and could. The kingdoms of Northern Europe were to unite in a new league with a view to breaking the commercial dominion of England, and of this league Russia was to be the head. The Czar was to become with Napoleon the joint arbiter of the Mediterranean commerce, and to acknowledge

believed that, as between the two, she would have preferred France. For this reason—if for any reason at all other than sheer malignity—a British fleet was sent out, without any declaration of war, to attack the Danish capital! The squadron was under command of Lord Cathcart, who, on the 2d of September, 1807, fulfilled his orders by beginning a bombardment of Copenhagen. For three days he poured upon the city the vomit of his nefarious mortars, demolishing three hundred and fifty buildings, injuring two thousand others to the extent of rendering them unin-

habitable, and killing about two thousand people. No act for which Napoleon has been held to judgment at the bar of history was so arbitrary, unprovoked, and outrageous as this bombardment of Copenhagen by the British. Two months elapsed before war was declared against Denmark.

The conduct of Great Britain soon bore its legitimate fruits. True, she succeeded almost immediately in conquering the Danish West Indies; but this success could illy compensate her for the storm of indignation which her wanton destruction of the capital of Denmark waked on the continent. Napoleon turned this revulsion in European feeling to good account. Even Austria was induced to join with Russia and France in a league against Great Britain. All the states of Europe, with the exception of Sweden and England, were brought into the alliance, and

for the time it appeared that England would be crushed under the weight of a coalition as ponderous and surcharged with animosity as any which had ever been organized against France. A declaration was issued by the allied powers

by which the ports of France, Italy, Denmark, Prussia, the Rhine states, Holland, Austria, and Russia were closed to the ships



QUEEN LOUISA OF PRUSSIA.—After the painting of G. Richter.

of England and Sweden. For a time the remarkable spectacle was presented of a trade established between London and Hamburg by way of Constantinople!

The war in the North was chiefly contested

between Sweden and Russia. The former country was ruled by the incompetent and fanatical Gustavus Adolphus IV., whose conduct was such as to encourage the design of Napoleon and Alexander to make a partition of the Swedish dominions. The French minister at St. Petersburg published a declaration that Gustavus IV. had ceased to reign; but that prince, supported by England, with an army of ten thousand men, under Sir John Moore, and a subsidy of six millions of dollars, undertook to defend his throne. Such, however, was the strange conduct of the king

of France. For several years Portugal, which had been ruled by the House of Bragança since 1640, had been completely under the influence of England. Her willingness to continue in this relation was the antecedent of a movement by Bonaparte looking to the expulsion of the Braganças from the kingdom. In November of 1807 a French army under General Junot was sent into the peninsula to carry out this design. On his appearance the élite Portuguese court became alarmed and determined to save itself by flight. In January, 1808, the half crazy

queen, Maria I., together with her son, who was Prince Regent, and the rest of the alleged royal family, took ship and sailed for Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, where it was proposed to reëstablish the fugitive House in a position somewhat sheltered from the winds of Europe. When Junot arrived before Lisbon he made, in Napoleon's name, the now familiar proclamation that "the House of Bragança had ceased to reign."

Meanwhile affairs had been approaching a crisis in Italy. Pope Pius VII. had never been able to get on smoothly with the illustrious personage whom he had crowned in Notre Dame. Napoleon's view



CHARLES IV., KING OF SPAIN.

that in about a year he was declared insane, was confined, and obliged to abdicate. In March of 1809 the crown was given to his uncle, Charles XIII. The latter, wisely determining to save something out of the wreck of his country, sought peace, and was able to secure the forbearance of the allies by ceding to Russia the Aland Islands, Finland, and a part of West Bothnia.

While Russia was thus employed in her war with Sweden, Napoleon had been busy with the affairs of the South. The year 1808 was mostly occupied with the work of converting the Spanish peninsula into a depend-

ency of the Catholic religion was that it should be good for something, and the criterion was that it should subserve his purpose. One of his strong desires was that the Holy Father should cancel a marriage which Jerome Bonaparte, brother to the Emperor, had made in 1803 with an American lady, Miss Elizabeth Paterson, of Baltimore. Napoleon needed Jerome for one of the thrones which he was setting up for the Bonapartes in various parts of Europe, and this American marriage was in the way.

In proportion as Jerome's fitness for power was manifested, in that degree did his impe-

rious brother become anxious that the marriage, which had been duly solemnized by a Roman Catholic bishop, should be annulled. Pius stood fast to the usages of the Church, and an army of French was sent to occupy Rome. For this the Pope excommunicated Napoleon; but the bull was as harmless and ridiculous as that of one of his predecessors against the comet. The Emperor retaliated by at once annexing the better part of the States of the Church to the kingdom of Italy.

While these events were taking place in Portugal and the Italian peninsula, the Spanish Bourbons fell into an imbroglio which gave to Napoleon the needed opportunity for interference in the affairs of that moribund kingdom. At this time Spain was ruled by Charles IV.; he by his wife; she, by her favorite, the minister Manuel de Godoy; he by his own interests and lusts. After having enriched himself by all kinds of corruption, generally at the expense of the king and country, he was honored by Charles with the title of the "Prince of the Peace," and was given a virtual control of the kingdom. It came to pass that Prince Ferdinand, heir apparent to

the throne, was justly offended at his father, mother, and Godoy: at the first, because he was a fool; at the second, because she was false; at the third, because he was treacherous and depraved. A conspiracy was made in Ferdinand's favor, and when Godoy learned that the north of Spain had already been occupied by an army of a hundred thousand French, he advised the king to abdicate in favor of his son and to fly with the remainder of the court to America. This advice was taken, and Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed

and accepted at Madrid. As soon, however, as thus much was done, Charles IV. sickened at the prospect, and instead of embarking for America, sought the aid of Napoleon in regaining the crown which he had relinquished.

It was the appeal of a sick sheep to a lion. The lion repaired to Bayonne, and thither the whole Spanish court, including Ferdinand VII., was induced to come. It were long to relate the methods by which Napoleon at length induced both father and son to resign



JOACHIM MURAT.

to himself their rights to the Spanish throne; but he succeeded in accomplishing his purpose. Ferdinand was to have the kingdom of Etruria instead of that of Charles V. The elder dupe was to receive the castle of Chambord and a pension of seven and a half millions of francs. Ferdinand, who had at last sense enough to perceive what part he was made to play, ventured on a rupture, and for his pains was imprisoned along with his brother Carlos in the castle of Valençai. Thus did the Spanish House of Bourbon "cease to

reign." It was a business which put Napoleon in the poorest light of any event in his career, and was redeemed from absolute littleness and contempt only by the insipid character and worthlessness of those whom he deposed.

The military subjugation of Spain had been intrusted to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law. He had himself aspired to the crown of Spain, and had cause to believe that his ambition would be gratified; but the Emperor

which he had presumed to make of the kingdom of Spain. His maneuvers at Bayonne, by which the last of the Bourbon dynasties had been supplanted, must be made good by the sword.

Such were the beginnings of the Peninsular War. It was an inauspicious day for Napoleon when he undertook it—the beginning of the end. Here it was that his limitless ambition turned to folly. Had he paused before entering into the machination at Bay-

onne, it appears that no power could have shaken his dominion over the better part of Western Europe. He was arbiter of states and nations. In his relations with Spain he stooped to intrigue and started a new and needless complication which, with all his genius, he was never able to solve—a new outgoing of hostile causes which he could never trammel up. For a long time the peril was not imminent—perhaps not appreciated by himself; but in the course of three or four years he had good cause to curse Bayonne and all its recollections.

The war between the French and the Spanish insurgents began with the capture by the Spaniards of a small squadron in



JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF SPAIN.

decided otherwise. Instead of Murat, Joseph Bonaparte was called from his kingdom of Naples to occupy the Spanish throne, and his crown of the Two Sicilies was given to the disappointed Murat. The acknowledgment of Joseph was obtained from the Council of Castile; but a junta in Seville refusing to accept the new order of things, made a declaration in favor of Ferdinand VII., and took up arms in his support. In many other Spanish cities the national spirit was aroused, and it became at once evident that Napoleon would have serious work to confirm the disposition

the harbor of Cadiz. Then followed the overthrow of a French army under Marshal Moncey, who was marching on Valencia. Shortly afterwards was fought the battle of Medina del Rio Seco, in which the Spaniards were routed with great losses; but in the battle of Baylen, in Andalusia, General Dupont was defeated and captured with a division of the French army twenty thousand strong. Then, for the space of two months, from June to August, 1808, followed the memorable siege of Saragossa. The garrison and the inhabitants of the town defended themselves with a

heroism hardly equaled in the annals of Spanish warfare, and at last the French were repulsed and obliged to abandon the siege. But in the following December they returned to the attack, reinvaded the city, and in February of 1809, compelled a surrender. The



TAKING OF SARAGOSSA.

Drawn by C. Delort.

losses of the assailants had been tremendous, and fifty-four thousand people perished in the city.¹

The attention of Great Britain was at once turned to the Spanish peninsula, and it was resolved by the ministry to make the same the theater of a great struggle. This purpose was favored by a revolt in Portugal. Encouraged by the comparative success of the Spaniards, the Portuguese took arms against the French and inflicted a decisive defeat on General Junot. The latter was brought into such straits that, in a convention at Cintra, he was obliged to obtain as a favor the poor privilege of retiring from the country with the rem-

nant of his army. Napoleon deemed it prudent to enter into a still closer alliance with Russia. He and the Czar accordingly held a kind of royal congress at Erfurt, in September and October of 1808, at which were present the kings of Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Westphalia, and a multitude of minor dignitaries, by whom the political condition of Europe was considered. The status of Italy and the peninsular kingdoms, as already fixed by Napoleon, was ratified by the Czar, who, on his part, was given the right of annexing Finland, Wallachia, and Moldavia. The sovereigns then drew up a letter addressed to the demented George III. of England, requesting that monarch, or



HEROIC DEFENSE OF SARAGOSSA.

Drawn by F. Lix.

nant of his army. The Russian allies of the French did not fare much better at the hands of the insurgents. The Czar's fleet was blockaded in the Tagus, and obliged to surrender to the English fleet, which then took possession of Lisbon.

Already had the condition of affairs in the Spanish peninsula become so critical that Na-

¹The defense of Saragossa has furnished the theme for three celebrated stanzas in *Childe Harold*. During one of the assaults, in June, a Spanish girl, named Augustina, better known as the Maid of Saragossa, saw a soldier fall at his gun. She seized the match from his quivering hand, discharged the piece herself, and thenceforth became the spirit of the defense. Nothing could daunt or distract her from her purpose:

"Her lover sinks—she sheds no ill-timed tear;

Her chief is slain—she fills his fatal post;

those who acted in his name, to consent to a general peace. If England had really desired the pacification of Europe, she might well have acceded to this proposal; but she chose to refuse on the ground that the House of Bourbon had not been represented in the Erfurt congress. Thus, for the sake of an antiquated dynasty, not one of whose living representatives was capable by merit of being mayor of a town, the war was indefinitely prolonged.

Her fellows flee—she checks their base career;

The foe retires—she heads the rallying host;

Who can appease like her a lover's ghost?

Who can avenge so well a leader's fall?

What mail retrieve when man's flushed hope is lost?

Who hang so fiercely on the flying Gaul,

Foiled by a woman's hand before a battered wall?"

As soon as the refusal of the British government was known, Napoleon, in his usual electrical manner, took the field in person. He crossed the Pyrenees at the head of his army, bore down like an avalanche on the revolted Spaniards, swept their juntas as with a besom, gained victory after victory, and in less than a month entered Madrid in triumph. Here he made haste to strike down and obliterate the mediæval institutions with which the Spanish kingdom was cumbered. He issued an Imperial decree abolishing the Inquisition, sweeping out of existence two-thirds of the convents, and abrogating those feudal rights and privileges which were still exercised by the Spanish nobility. The English army in Spain was at this time under command of Sir John Moore, who undertook to save himself and his forces by retreating into Galicia. Thither he was pursued by Marshal Soult, who overtook the retreating British, and was by them defeated in the battle of CORUNNA. The victory of the English, however, was dearly purchased by the death of Sir John Moore, who was struck down by a cannon-ball, and was hurriedly buried by his disheartened soldiers—an incident which has furnished the theme of Charles Wolfe's famous poem.¹ Sir Charles Napier, who commanded one of the British divisions, also fell under five severe wounds, and was left for dead in the hands of the enemy. The English retreat was continued to the coast, and the army embarked for other fields. The province of Galicia submitted to Soult, but the latter was so staggered by his recent defeat that military operations were for a while suspended.

While these events had been taking place in the peninsula, England had been slowly but surely at work sapping the foundations of the Coalition against herself and Sweden. Her efforts had been especially successful in Germany. Austria was at heart disloyal to France—as she had ever been. To her the Peace of Presburg had been a delusion and a snare. There was still penetration enough in

the brain of Francis II. to discern the coming break with Bonaparte. So the Austrian silently armed for the event. So great were the resources of this ancient kingdom that a tremendous army, well equipped and well disciplined, was brought into the field. Superficially there was peace. England, employing her usual argument, gave Francis four millions of pounds to go to war. The moment seemed auspicious for the Hapsburg to thrust its head like that of an ancient turtle from under the *testudo*. Napoleon was busy with his Spanish campaign. How could he make war in two places at once? So reasoned the Past in the



SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

court of Vienna; and then the bugle sounded. The Austrian army, under command of the Archduke Charles, was thrown into Bavaria. The event soon showed how completely, even after years of experience, the Austrian monarch had underestimated the genius of his adversary.

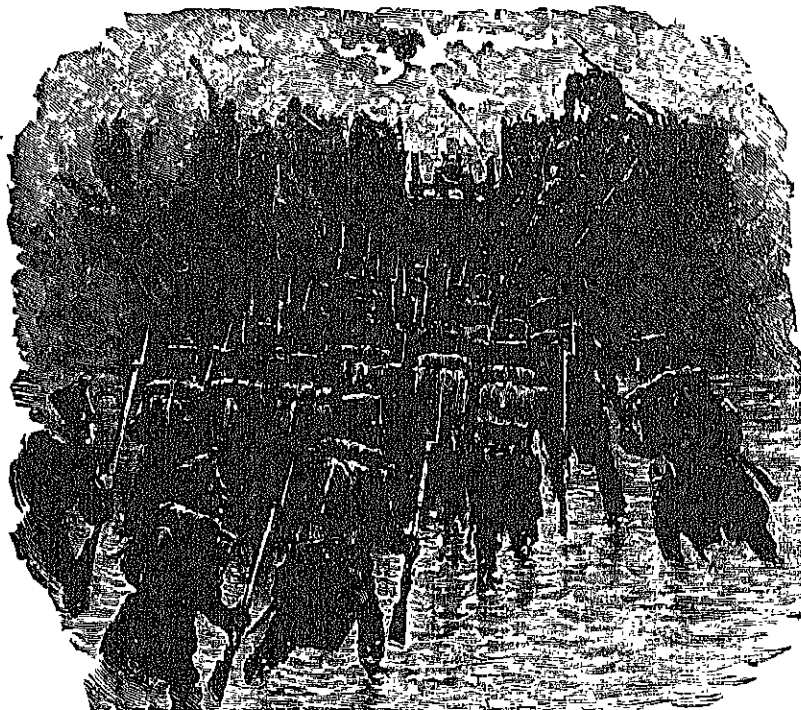
While yet at Madrid, Napoleon gathered into his wakeful ear the rumor of what was doing in Germany. Leaving the Spanish business to Marshal Soult, he hastened to Paris, arriving there on the 13th of April. In three days more he was at Stuttgart and Carlsruhe. In two days more he had established his head-quarters at Ingolstadt. As if

¹ "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried."

by magic he drew to himself an army out of Württemberg and Baden. With these forces

retreated towards Bohemia, as if to save themselves by distance. The way to Vienna again

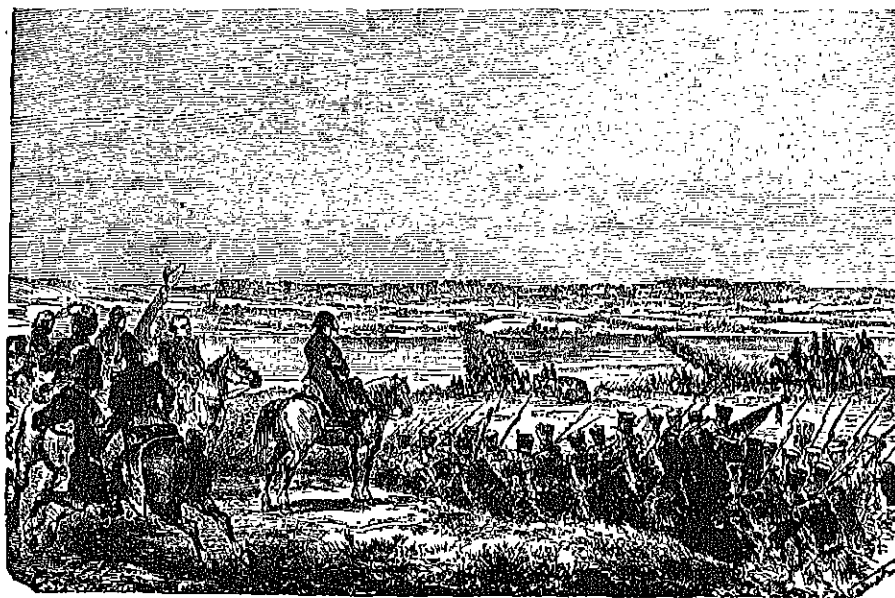
lay open, and the conqueror trod that way with his usual audacity. On the 12th of May the Austrian capital surrendered, and the French entered in triumph. On the 21st and 22d Napoleon was worsted in two battles at Aspern and Essling; but on the 5th and 6th of July he gained one of his most glorious victories on the bloody field of WAGRAM. In the first struggle the Austrians were routed with great slaughter, and driven back to the



RETREAT OF THE ENGLISH AFTER CORUNNA.

under the hot inspiration of battle he flung himself upon the Austrians, and in five days

heights of Znaym, where, on the second day, they were again defeated and ruined. On



NAPOLEON AT THE BATTLE OF WAGRAM.—Drawn by Th. Weber.

gained as many victories! Resistance was disorganized. The broken columns of Austria

both sides the losses had been tremendous. Of the Austrians fully twenty-five thousand

men were killed, wounded, or taken, and the French loss was almost as great. Archduke Charles and Count Radetsky, commander of the Austrian cavalry, saved what they could from the wreck and fell back with the remnant of their forces into Moravia. Napoleon was again completely master of the situation.

It now only remained for the humiliated Francis II. to sue for peace, and to obtain it on the best terms he could. A conference was held between the victor and the vanquished at SCHÖNBRUNN, and there the conditions of a new peace were settled. Austria was obliged to cede to French Italy the Illyrian provinces about the head of the Adriatic. In the next place, that part of Austrian Poland which had fallen to Austria by the First Partition was taken away and divided between the Czar and the king of Saxony. The king of Bavaria received Salzburg, with the territories thereunto belonging. The Austrian Emperor was compelled to renounce his alliance with England,



COUNT JOSEPH WENZEL OF RADETSKY.

Great Britain. Berthier was created Prince of Wagram. The recusant Pope Pius VII. was deposed and imprisoned. Having refused to accept from Bonaparte's hands the possession of the Vatican palace and the spiritual dominion of christendom—these in lieu of the temporal authority which he still claimed over the States of the Church—he immured himself in the Quirinal, set his Swiss guards around, and claimed to be a prisoner. On the latter score Napoleon became willing to satisfy the Holy Father with a real imprisonment beyond the Alps. Accordingly the palace was surrounded by the French soldiers in the night, and Pius was taken forth with as much gentleness as violence was capable of showing. He was conveyed as a prisoner to



POPE PIUS VII.

and to become a partner in that "Continental System" which Napoleon had projected as a counterpoise to the maritime dominion of

Grenoble and afterwards to Fontainebleau, where for awhile he was relieved of the cares of state. As a further punishment the Ete-

nal City was reduced to the second rank in the Empire.

The time had now come for sorrow to settle on the childless Josephine. That decree of the French Senate by which Napoleon was made Emperor of the French had declared the crown to be hereditary in his family. But of what use was such a decree to Napoleon, who had no child? An alleged "state necessity" thus arose that a provision should be made for the succession. Out of this was

fiant, unscrupulous. It was not likely that affection would now stand in the way of his ambition. So it was decided in the councils of his imperious will that the Empress should be divorced.¹ This purpose was at length broken to her who was to be supplanted, and she yielded to the inevitable. Why should she resist? After thirteen years of intimate contact with that relentless and unbending spirit she knew too well the uselessness of resistance. Of course he did whatever might

be done to palliate the fall of her whom he had loved with a certain tyrannical fondness. It was ordered that she should continue to hold her imperial rank and titles and receive a pension of two millions of francs.

And what next? After Josephine whom? Would the Man of Destiny choose a peasant? Some girl like her of Domremy? Nay. A new sentiment—to which may the manhood on this side of the sea forever remain a stranger—had taken possession even of Bonaparte. The parvenu had become an aristocrat. The charity student of Brienne was fascinated with dynastic glory. The child of the Republic was dazzled with the fictitious splendors of a defunct royalty.



THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE.

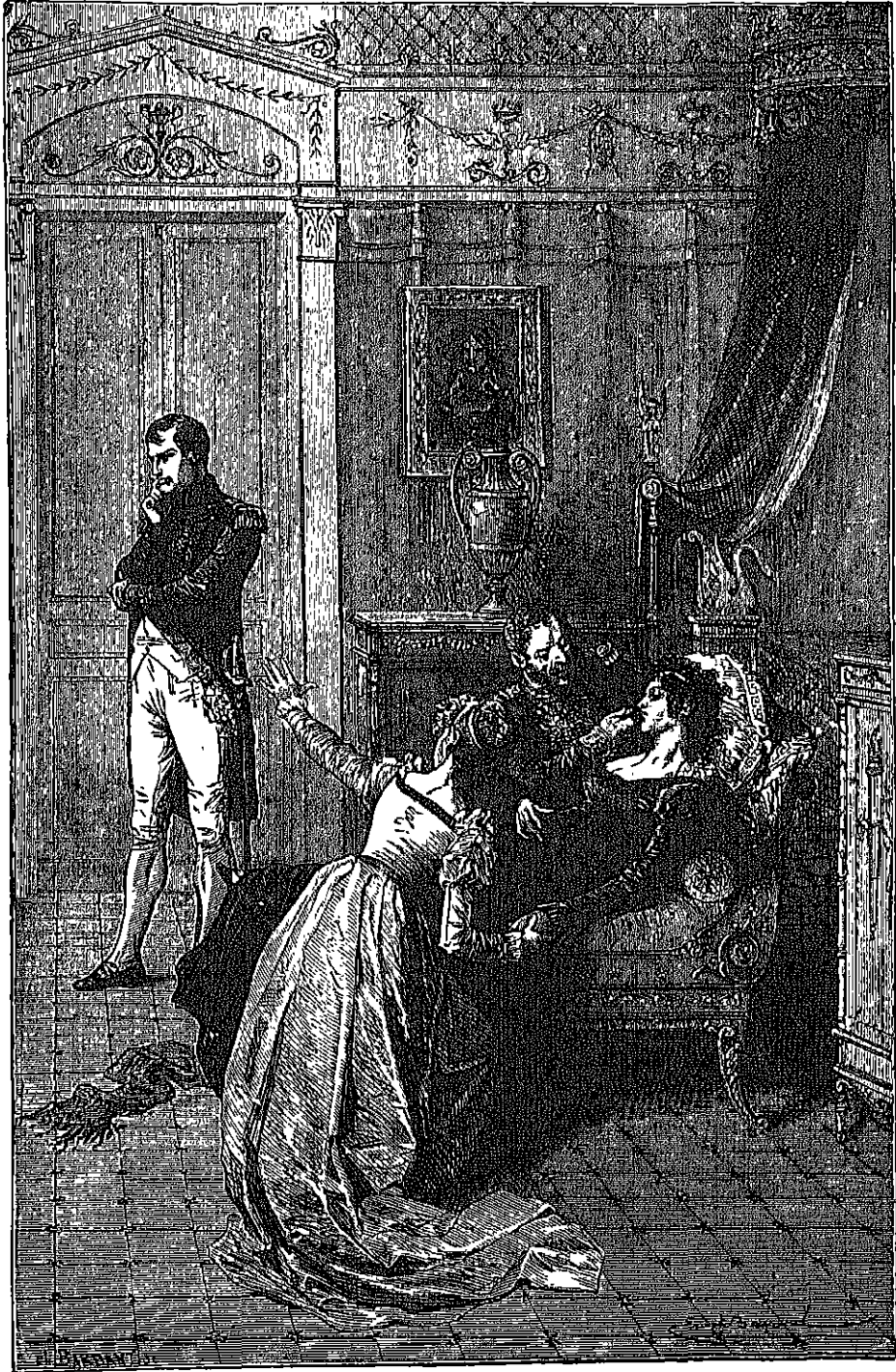
born the suggestion that Josephine be divorced and another Empress be substituted in her place. In itself the measure was distasteful to Bonaparte, to whom for many years Josephine had been an inspiration, and between whom and himself few clouds had arisen to mar the confidence of either. But he had become callous to many sentiments that might have moved him in former years. For nearly two decades he had been almost constantly at war. He had trampled the banded powers of Europe under his feet. He had become proud by unparalleled success—haughty, de-

The tremendous eagle of France swept down into the thicket of the Past, starting the solemn owls with the brush of his

¹ It is illustrative of the far-reaching vision and secret purposes of Napoleon that, when, at Milan in 1805, he was crowned King of Italy, Josephine was not permitted to share the ceremony. She was not crowned Queen of Italy. For she was childless; and Napoleon's heir must be King of Rome. "If I crown her,"—so was he already saying to himself—"that may itself be a bar against the possible; and nothing must be a bar against the possible. I must reserve the crown of Italy for the mother of the King of Rome that is to be."

mighty wings, and mated with a daughter of Hapsburg! The *Princess Maria Louisa* of Austria, child of Napoleon's well-beloved

friend and brother, the good and faith-keeping Francis II., was chosen to become Empress of the French and mother of the King



NAPOLÉON ANNOUNCING TO JOSEPHINE HIS DETERMINATION TO DIVORCE HER.

Drawn by Emile Bayard.

of Rome! We will become the son-in-law of our true ally, whose subjects we lately met on the field of Wagram! Thus will we establish our Imperial House, and on his mother's side our coming King of Rome shall be descended from an ancient and royal House! Even so.

Perhaps the Emperor Francis was secretly averse to giving his daughter in marriage to Bonaparte; but he smoothed his front and

Josephine the cause of his downfall. Such authors would meet an unexpected difficulty if asked to show a single fact arising from this event which contributed to the overthrow of Bonaparte. Things went on as before. He was neither stronger nor weaker; but if either he was stronger. For on the 20th of March, 1811, the hoped-for King of Rome was born, and the hundred guns, whose thunders on that night aroused all Paris to a pitch of unpre-

cedented enthusiasm, proclaimed that the Imperial and dynastic programme had been fulfilled.¹

Among those whom Napoleon had raised to power along with himself, a conspicuous place must be assigned to his brother Louis, King of Holland. The crown was conferred upon him somewhat against his wishes, by an Imperial proclamation at St. Cloud, June 5, 1806. For three years he had successfully governed the country which had been placed under him; but the relations between him and Napoleon were never thereafter smooth, rarely amicable. The Emperor insisted that his brother should regard himself as a Frenchman, and should rule in the interest of France; but Louis, with

equal persistency, devoted himself to what he conceived to be the interests of the Dutch. The latter, after the English, were

¹The night of the birth of Napoleon II. was turned into a fête. The Emperor had ordered that a salute of forty-nine guns should announce the birth of a daughter; a hundred guns, a son. All Paris was in the brilliantly lighted streets. Minute by minute the cannon boomed. The fiftieth gun would, of course, be the announcement. The forty-ninth was fired, and the echoes died. Paris held her breath with suppressed excitement. And then the fortieth! The King of Rome was born. Perhaps Josephine heard the shout at Malmaison! Did she wish that the firing had ceased with the forty-ninth?



PRINCESS MARIA LOUISA.

smiled complaisance. On the 11th of March, 1810, the marriage was celebrated at Vienna, and on the 2d of the following month at Paris. Maria Louisa assumed the place to which she had been assigned by "state necessity," by the pride of one monarch to establish and the hope of another to save a dynasty.

Those writers who have not yet learned that the law of universal causation is the prevailing force in history, and have been anxious to make mankind believe that a system of petty retributions and human spites is the governing principle in events, have been accustomed to find in Napoleon's divorce of

the most sea-faring people in Europe. To them, as to the British, commerce was the first consideration. This fact made Holland very averse to maintaining that Continental System by which the dominion of the sea was to be rendered worthless by the dominion of the land. King Louis was thus placed between two fires. Vainly he strove to perform his duties in a way that should prove acceptable both to his English-loving subjects and English-hating brother. With the latter he had a stormy interview at Paris in December of 1809. The Emperor was at one time on the eve of making him a prisoner, but forbore. He deemed it prudent, however, to occupy Amsterdam with a division of French troops, and when this measure was resisted by Louis, Napoleon threatened to annex Holland to France.

For a while the king seemed to yield. Intercourse with England was cut off, and the reluctant Dutch were obliged to build a great navy in the interest of the French. In the course of time the pressure of Napoleon's demands became intolerable, and Louis was



EMPERESS MARIA LOUISA.

named as his successor his son, Napoleon Louis, and Hortense, the mother, as regent. In a short time, however, the Emperor's threat was executed, and Holland, together with the Hanse towns, was annexed to the Empire.

Further changes belonging to this period in the Napoleonic ascendancy were the absorption of the electorate of Hanover into the kingdom of Westphalia, of the Swiss Valais into France, and the bold struggle of the Tyrolese to gain their independence. This brave people had, in the long strifes and animosities of France and Austria, been made the plaything of the combatants. It will be remembered that by the treaty of Presburg the Tyrol was assigned to the kingdom of Bavaria. This transfer of sovereignty was exceedingly distasteful to the Tyrolese patriots, who found in their countryman, Andreas Hofer, a leader worthy of the greatest cause. In 1809 an insurrection broke out, and the French and Bavarians were expelled from the country. Napoleon found it necessary to

send two armies into the Tyrol to suppress the revolt. The first under command of Marshal Lefebvre overthrew the Austrians at Wörgl;



THE KING OF ROME.

driven to abdicate the throne, which he did on the 1st of July, 1810. Before leaving the country for his retirement in Austria he

and the second defeated the Tyrolese in the battle of Feuer-Singer. But Hofer, nothing daunted, rallied his countrymen and gained a decisive victory at Innsprück. Then followed the battle of Wagram and the evacuation of the Tyrol by the Austrians. Nevertheless the Tyrolese sustained their cause, and Marshal Lefebvre was defeated. A provisional government was established with Hofer at its head; but after the peace of Vienna the Tyrolese were commanded by the Austrians to submit to their former rulers. Hofer accord-

his eyes and himself gave the order to fire. He died as he had lived, a stranger to fear and without a stain of reproach.

In other acts, besides the putting away of Josephine and the virtual deposition of King Louis of Holland, were the weaker elements in Napoleon's character manifested. His encouragement—even his friendliness—to the intellectual greatness of France was somewhat restricted. The genius of the French was expected to bow to himself, his plans, his dynasty. He was willing that the Consulate



INSURRECTION OF THE TYROLESE.

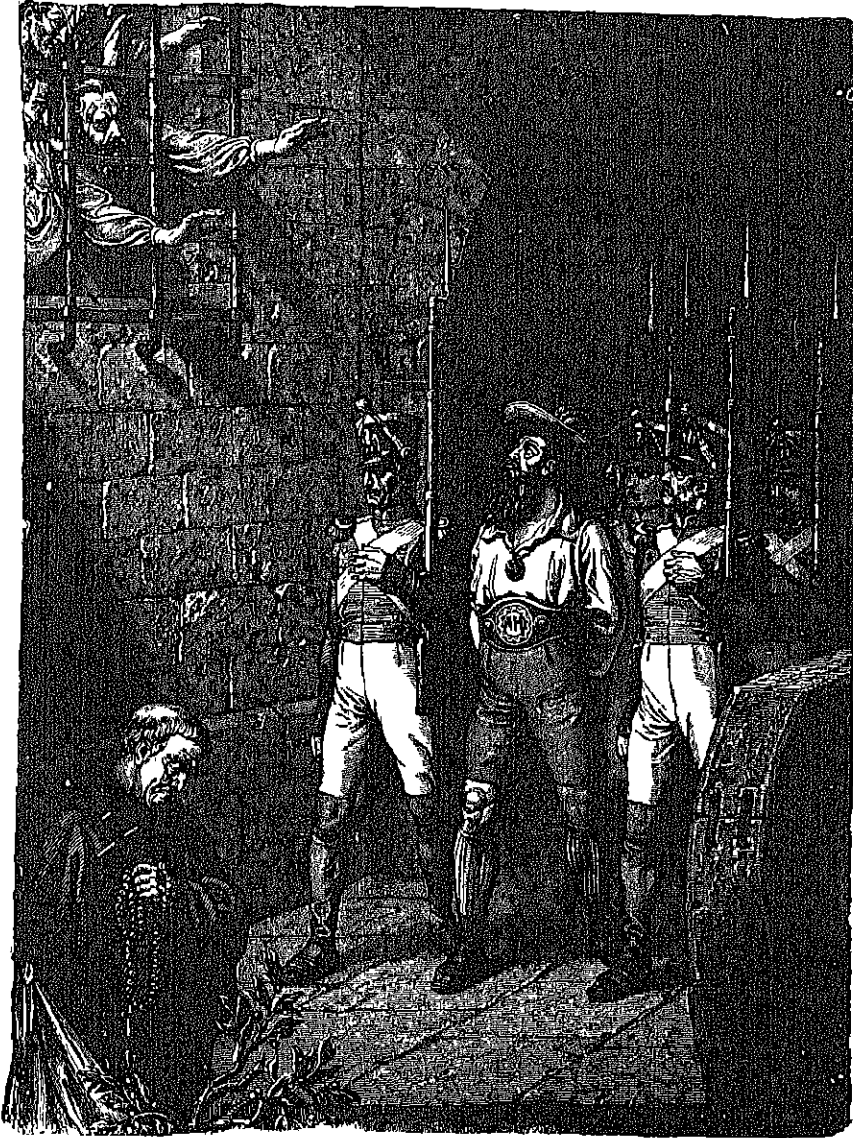
After the painting by Defregger.

ingly surrendered his authority to Eugene Beauharnais, viceroy of Italy. A month later, however, being deceived by false information as to the intentions of Austria, he again took up arms, but was defeated and driven a fugitive into the mountains. In January of 1810 he was betrayed to General D'Hilliers and taken a prisoner to Mantua. Here he was tried, and though a majority of his judges would have saved his life a condemnation was secured under orders from Napoleon. On being led to his execution Hofer refused to have a bandage placed over

and Empire should be praised without stint, but was averse to criticism and angered with opposition. Himself quick to penetrate the designs of others and a laconic satirist of other men's ambitions, he was nevertheless vulnerable to the same weapons when leveled at himself and his schemes. This disposition led him not infrequently to illiberality and even to the persecution of some of the greatest men and women of that Republican France to which he had fallen heir. Among those who braved his ire and felt the weight of his iron hand the most noted was the celebrated

Madame de Staël-Holstein, who may fairly be reckoned the most intellectual woman of the eighteenth century. She was the daughter of Necker, the great finance minister of Louis XVI. Even from childhood she dis-

of France, the union did not much conduce to her happiness. She became an author. She sought to stay the ravages of the Reign of Terror, and was instrumental in saving several distinguished persons from the guillotine; her-



ANDREAS HOFER LED FORTH TO EXECUTION.

played a genius of astonishing precocity. With girlish enthusiasm she hailed the Revolution as the beginning of the age of humanity. Just before the outbreak she was married to Baron de Staël-Holstein, the ambassador of Sweden to the court of Versailles. Though she was thus thrown into the highest society

self she barely saved. For Napoleon she conceived an early and strong dislike, nor could any thing avail to soften her prejudice. The abyss widened, deepened, became an impassable gulf. In 1802 Madame de Staël was forbidden by the government to come within forty leagues of Paris. This was wormwood

Two years afterwards her father died. Then she was broken-hearted. Nearly all the remainder of her life was passed under the cloud of banishment, but out of her sorrows were born the beauties of *Corinne*, the delicate criticisms of *Germany*, the life-like pictures of the *Revolution*.

After the capture of Saragossa by the French, the Peninsular war was continued with great obstinacy on both sides. The English and the Portuguese rallied to the support of the malcontent Spaniards, in the hope of expelling Joseph Bonaparte from the throne and country. On the 27th and 28th of July, 1809, a terrible battle was fought at TAL-AVERA between the French under Jourdan and the English under Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. The French were finally repulsed, but the English suffered so greatly from sickness and the bad

conduct of their Portuguese allies that Wellesley was obliged to give up what he had gained and fall back beyond the Tagus. In the succeeding campaign the French were generally successful, overrunning Catalonia and capturing Girona after a hard siege of six months.

Wellesley was so hard pressed that, on learning of Napoleon's purpose to throw a large army into the peninsula, he fell back to a range of heights surrounding the town of Torres Vedras. These he fortified with ex-

traordinary skill, and here planted himself like a lion at bay. Three lines of defense were drawn around the town, and forts and redoubts were constructed at intervals, rendering the situation well-nigh impregnable. The theory of Wellington was that, by holding Torres Vedras, Lisbon would be protected, and a free entrance to the allied armies into Portugal and Spain would be assured. Napoleon, on his part, after concluding the

peace of Schönbrunn, was able to devote almost his whole energies to the work of recovering Portugal. He collected a vast army of three hundred and sixty-five thousand men, and sent forward the first division, under Marshal Masséna, to clear the way by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. Both of these strongholds were taken, and in the autumn of 1810 Masséna established himself at Santarém, where

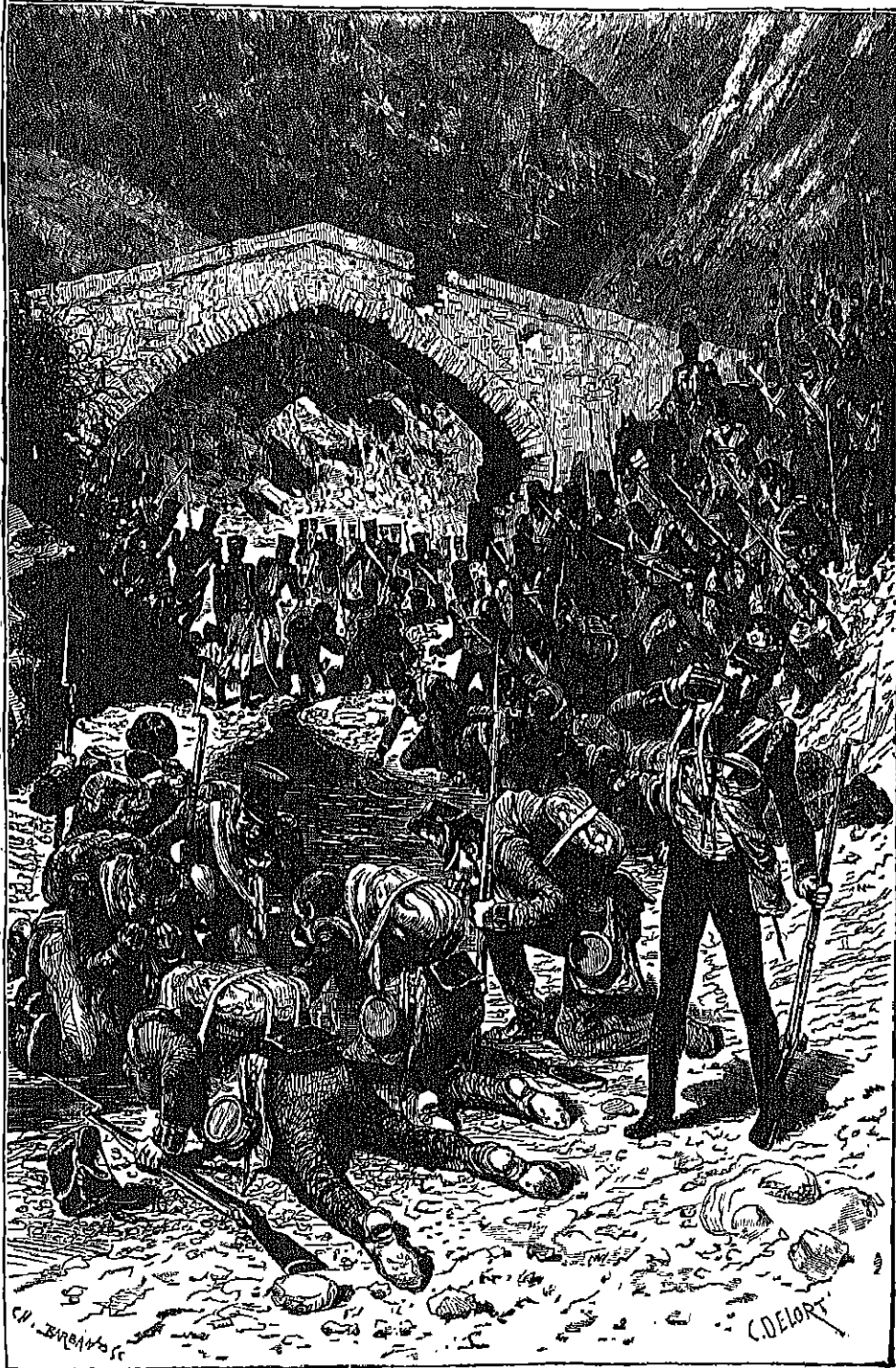


MADAME DE STAËL.

he passed the winter. Wellington refused to go into the field to oppose these movements of the French, preferring to act on the defensive behind the batteries of Torres Vedras.

By the opening of the following spring, the English were sufficiently reinforced to assume the offensive. An army was put into the field, and both Almeida and Badajoz were besieged with great vigor. A battle was fought at Fuentes de Oñor, in which Masséna was defeated. On the 16th of May, General

Beresford, with thirty thousand Spanish, British, and Portuguese troops, attacked an inferior force of French, under Marshal Soult, at ALBUERA, and gained a decisive victory. The force thus defeated was the reserve of the French army, at that time engaged in the



TRUCE DURING THE BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

Drawn by C. Delort.

siege of Badajos. After the battle, reinforcements were hurried forward to Soult, and Wellington, acting with his usual caution, raised the siege of Badajos and again retired to his defenses. At this time the fugitive Spanish government was maintaining a precarious existence at Cadiz; but even this place was besieged by the French, who had already become masters of Seville, Cordova, Granada, Malaga, and most of the other principal places in Spain.

With the beginning of 1812, the war was renewed with the greatest fury. Wellington

obliged to give up Andalusia and New Castile and to abandon the siege of Cadiz. Even Madrid was taken by the English; but the event proved that the so-called national or anti-French party among the Spaniards had almost as much antipathy towards their deliverers as for the enemy. As a result of this feeling, strengthened, as it was, by some reverses to the English arms, the British presently withdrew from Madrid, and the city remained in the hands of the French. Thus, as the year 1812 drew to a close, the Peninsular War was still undecided, hanging in a

dubious balance, stained with the blood of counter victories.

In the mean time, the East of Europe became profoundly stirred by the changed and changing policy of Russia. In that country the anti-French sentiment at last prevailed over the purposes and pledges of Alexander, and brought the great power of the North again into antagonism with France. True, the Czar adhered to his alliance with Napoleon until after the treaty of Schönbrunn, to which he was a party. Notwithstanding the fact that Alexander looked with ever-increasing jealousy and alarm on the



E. ROYAT.

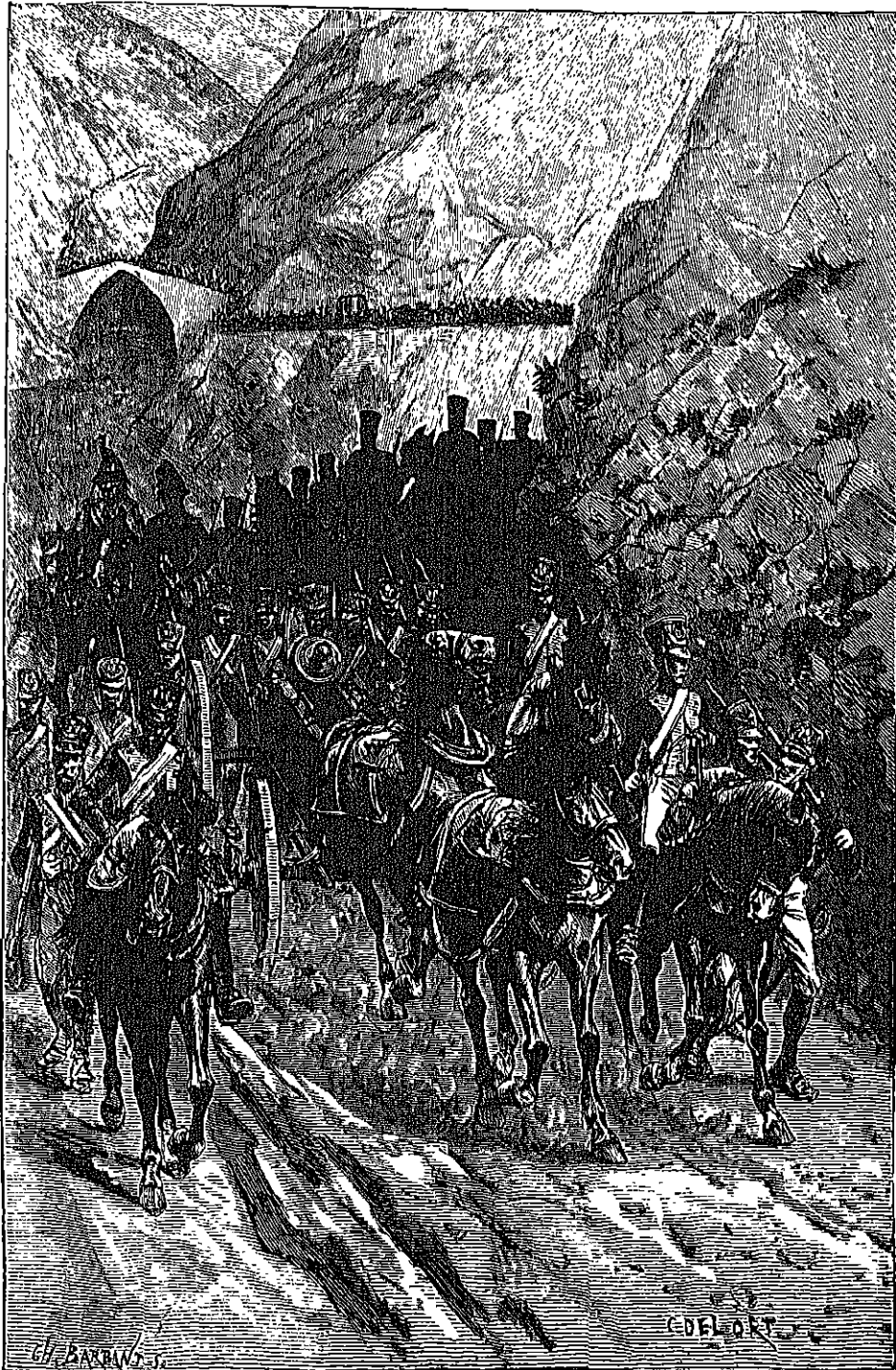
MARSHAL ANDRÉ MASSÉNA.

took the field, and again laid siege to Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo. The latter place was defended by Masséna, who exerted himself to the utmost to beat back the inveterate Wellington, but without success. On the 19th of January the place was carried by storm, and the French were obliged to save themselves by a retreat. Badajos was also wrested from the French, and a powerful English army was thrown into the interior of Spain. On the 22d of July a great battle was fought four miles from SALAMANCA, in which the French were defeated with great losses. So serious was their reverse that they were

growing and never appeased ambition of Bonaparte, he continued, at least outwardly, to observe the compact which he had made with the French Emperor at Tilsit until the latter part of 1810. By this time the urgency of his counselors, and the distress of Russian commerce on account of the continuance of the continental blockade, led him to violate his treaty stipulations by a renewal of intercourse with England. Nor were there wanting to the Czar several causes of complaint which might well be urged in justification of his course. On the West the peace of his dominions was menaced by the growth of

the duchy of Warsaw. A more tangible fact of offense was the annexation to the French Empire of Oldenburg, a fief of the Romanoffs.

The plan of Napoleon to unite Denmark, Sweden, and Warsaw in a sort of Northern confederation, like that of the Rhine, and his



RETREAT OF MASSÉNA AFTER THE BATTLE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO.

Drawn by C. Delort.

evident purpose to support this policy with an army, which he established between the Oder and the Vistula, gave additional ground for alarm and discontent in Russia. Fortified with these excuses, and backed by an overwhelming national sentiment, Alexander determined to break with France. He planted an army of ninety thousand men on his bor-

In this condition of affairs the crisis was hastened by the conduct of Sweden. The childless Charles XIII., at that time king of the Swedes, had in 1810 adopted as his son and heir that Charles John Bernadotte upon whom, as one of his marshals, Napoleon had conferred the title of Prince of Ponte Corvo. This act of Charles was doubtless born of a

desire to be on good terms with the French Emperor, but that sovereign could not have been worse served. As a matter of fact, Bernadotte had never been loyal to Napoleon, except in so far as his own interest seemed to be subserved thereby. At length he became crown prince and regent of Sweden, and in that capacity distinguished himself by his lukewarm support or direct opposition to the Continental blockade—a course for which he sought to excuse himself by the alleged necessity to the Swedes of English goods. British ships began to be admitted into the harbors of Pomerania, and for this the Swedish vessels in the harbors of Germany were seized and their crews imprisoned. As a further retaliation a French army, under Marshal Davoust, was sent to occupy Pomerania and enforce the blockade. This work he performed with his



BERNADOTTE.

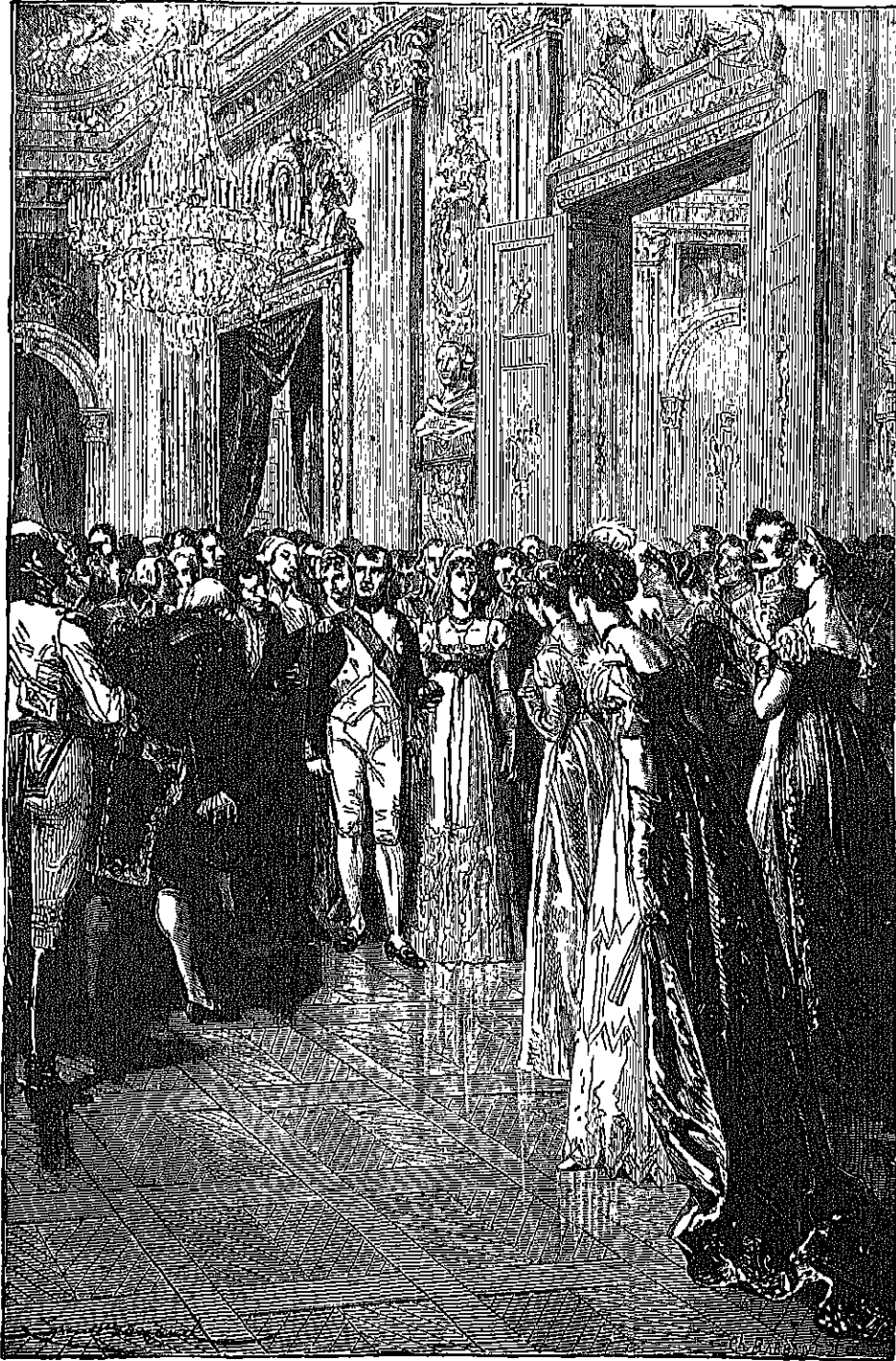
ders. He interdicted the importation of French merchandise at the same time when he was removing the restrictions on British commerce. With the Sultan he concluded a treaty at Bucharest, by which a cession was made to Russia of Bessarabia, Ismail, Kilia, and a part of Moldavia, together with the fortresses of Bender and Chotzim. Thus did the Czar clear his mighty deck for action.

usual energy; the Swedish officers were expelled from Hamburg, and Bernadotte, finding himself hard pressed, appealed to the Czar for aid. Thus, at the very time when Alexander, from other causes, was about to go to war with France, the Swedish appeal came to hasten his decision, and precipitate a crisis in Eastern Europe.

For the coming struggle the two Emperors

made gigantic preparations. The earth trembled under the tremendous armies which were organized. Napoleon determined to invade

Russia, trample the Romanoffs under his feet as he had done the Bourbons, the Hohenzollerns, the Braganças, the Hapsburgs. Could



NAPOLEON IN DRESDEN.

Drawn by Emile Bayard.

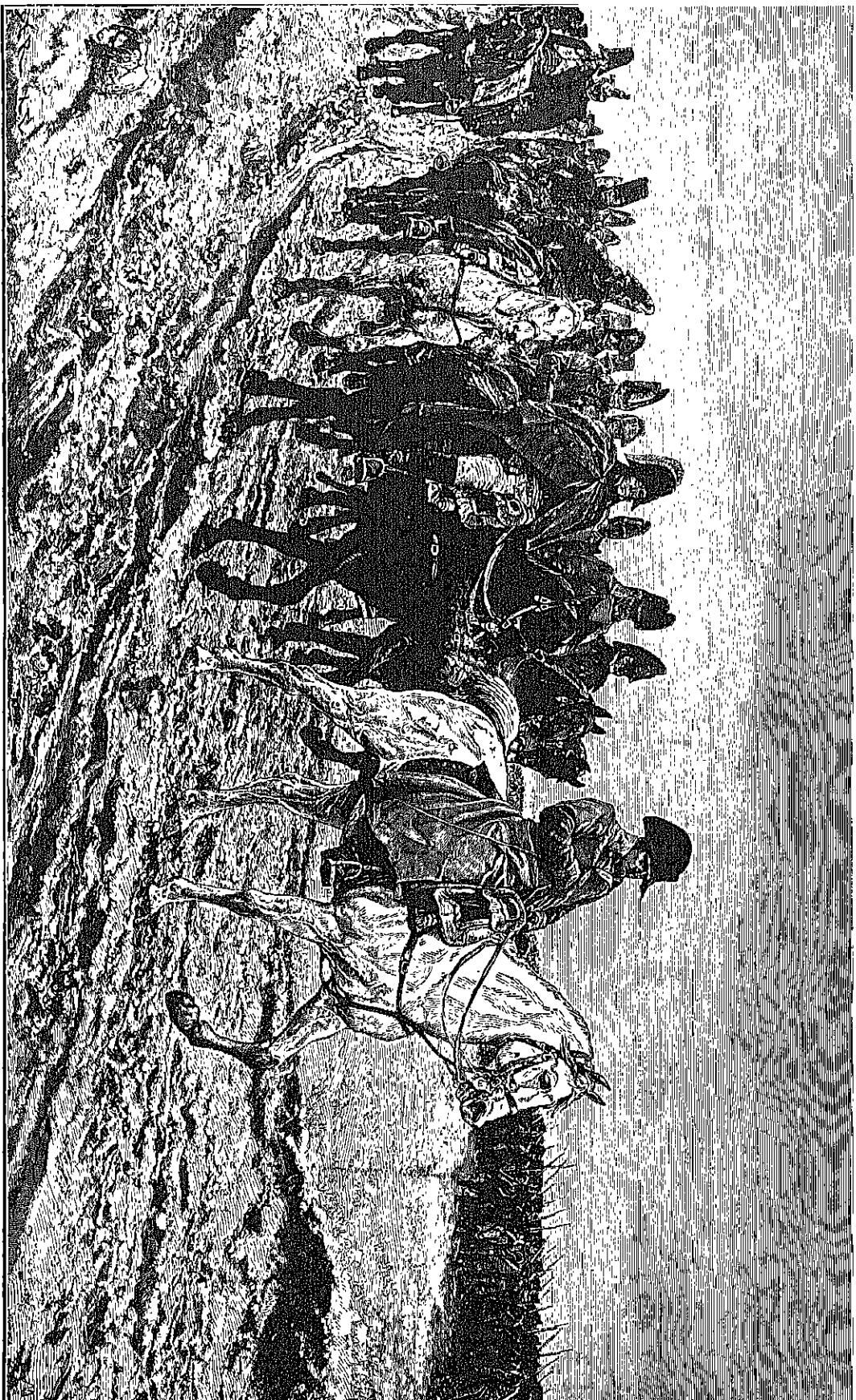
he, from Moscow or St. Petersburg, as he had done from Berlin, Vienna, and Milan, thunder forth his imperial decrees? Such, at any rate, was his fixed and haughty purpose. The crisis between the two great powers of continental Europe was precipitated in the spring of 1812, and the struggle of the giants at once began. On the one side was France, backed by the better part of the Western States. She had pride, power, ambition, resources, civilization, Bonaparte. On the other side was Russia. She had savage force, vast domains, barbarous populations, inaccessible cities, rivers winding the steppes and forests for thousands of miles. She had courage, patriotism, physical hardihood: she had the Cossacks; she had knowledge of herself, which her enemy had not and could not have. And then she had snow. She had winter—real winter—that horrible yellow-black winter, blowing in from the frigid zone with all his hyperborean terrors, to which the men of the South were strangers. Could they endure the rigors of such a campaign? the desolation and awful solitudes of such a land? the close embrace of deadly conflict with such a race of shaggy bears, so hardly as to continue the fight when shot through the head, and riotous in the open air at forty degrees below zero? The sequel would show.

In the early spring Napoleon made his headquarters at Dresden. There for a season he held his court. Around him were gathered a majority of the princes of Europe. His loving father-in-law, Francis II., of Austria, was of the number. Here the preparations for the great expedition and the future settlement of Europe were completed. Napoleon gave a series of entertainments in which the energy and pride of his natural and the magnificence of his acquired character were strangely blended. Having completed his arrangements he gave the word of command, and on the 29th of May, 1812, the Grand Army set out on its long, long march. It was the most formidable military display of modern times. Could Bonaparte have reached his antagonist in his then condition of strength and struck him on ground of his own choosing the Emperor of all the Russias must have staggered and fallen dead from the shock. Arriving on the Russian frontier Na-

poleon made a declaration of war. The Czar was charged with having willfully and wantonly violated the solemn compact into which he had entered at Tilsit, and was held up before mankind as the guilty cause of the conflict. On the 22d of June the French forces gathered on the banks of the Niemen. The Grand Army numbered more than a half million of men. On the opposite banks the Russians had collected a force aggregating about three hundred thousand. It was evident to the Czar and his subjects that they were for the present unable to cope with their adversary in the field. But they had the spirit of battle, and when on the 24th of June the invasion began by the passage of the Niemen, the French were at once somewhat impeded in their progress. Napoleon's theory of the invasion was to obtain possession of the watershed between the Dvina and the Dnieper, and to traverse this ridge to a point from which he could at his option turn to the left against St. Petersburg or to the right against Moscow.

At the very beginning of the campaign Bonaparte was confronted by a new and unfamiliar enemy—Nature. Hitherto he had made war with men and nations. Now he was obliged for the first time to begin a struggle with the blind forces of the world. It was a branch of warfare on which education could throw no light, to which experience could give no insight, and in which genius was of no avail. In a war with nature Napoleon could no longer claim that Providence was on the side of the heaviest guns.

Soon after the beginning of the march into the interior, violent tempests and hurricanes beat the French camps as with a scourge. All Lithuania bellowed, pouring out storms and floods. The roads became impassable. The artillery trains (the Grand Army had twelve hundred guns) sank into the mire. The services of the sappers and guards were in constant requisition. Cold blasts, terrible in their bitterness for summer time, chilled the French soldiers to the heart. Hundreds of horses died from exposure to climatic changes to which they were not hardened. The advance of the two army corps led by King Jerome and Prince Eugene was greatly retarded by the unfavorable conditions.



ADVANCE OF THE GRAND ARMY.—After the painting by Meissonier.

Meanwhile the Russians, commanded by the old veteran Kutusoff, adopted the plan of falling back and wasting the country before the advancing French. By the middle of July the invaders were already embarrassed by the want of food. The first battle occurred on the evening of the 16th of August, at the town of SMOLENSKO. The place was strongly defended and was reduced to a heap of ruins before it was taken. So stubborn had been

hated French. At the village of BORODINO Kutusoff made his stand, and there on the morning of the 7th of September was begun the bloodiest battle of modern times. A thousand cannons poured out their horrible vomit of death. Under the sulphurous smoke that hid the heavens from view more than a quarter of a million of men fought like tigers in the arena. All day long and until darkness put an end to the work, the bloody struggle



SAPPERS OF THE GRAND ARMY.

Drawn by A. Beck.

the resistance of the Russians that the French purchased the victory at the price of nearly twelve thousand men. Kutusoff again retired before the army which he durst not meet in the field. In the course of his retreat towards Moscow he destroyed the towns of Dorogobourg, Viazma, and Gjatsk. After falling back to within a short distance of the capital he determined to risk a general battle.

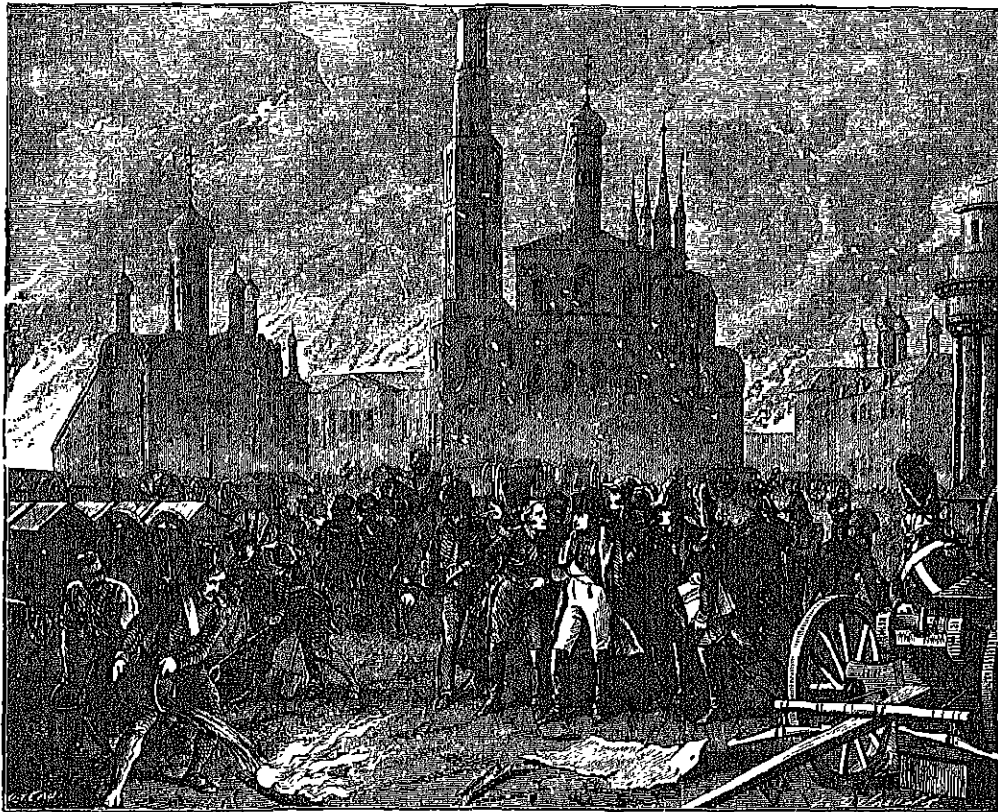
The Russians, indeed, were growing desperate, and many preferred to die rather than give up their ancient and sacred city to the

continued. But the Russians, though still clinging to the skirts of the field, were defeated. They left more than forty thousand of their dead and wounded to attest the valor with which they had resisted the avalanche; and the French losses were almost as great! No such gory field had been seen since those ancient days of carnage when the great conquerors of antiquity mowed down nations in a day.

Kutusoff with his shattered army fell back on Moscow. Perceiving that he would be un-

able to hold the great city against the onset of the foe, he passed through with only a brief delay, and drew after him the great body of the inhabitants. Though he had been defeated, the Russians still had unbounded confidence in their veteran chief, and they followed him with what property they could bear away into the great plains east of Moscow. On the 15th of September, Napoleon rode into the ancient capital. The city was deserted; the streets were as silent as the avenues of a cemetery.

the Russian grandees had left behind them. But Napoleon had been for a few hours only in the Kremlin when volumes of smoke were seen rolling up from a mass of buildings called the Bazaar, situated near the Kremlin. It was the announcement of a conflagration. At this very moment the equinoctial gale arose and blew the fire with fearful violence into other districts. Other quarters of the city were also seen aflame, and some wretches who were caught skulking in basements and questioned under



BURNING OF MOSCOW.

The conqueror took up his residence in the Kremlin, the splendid but now abandoned palace of the czars.

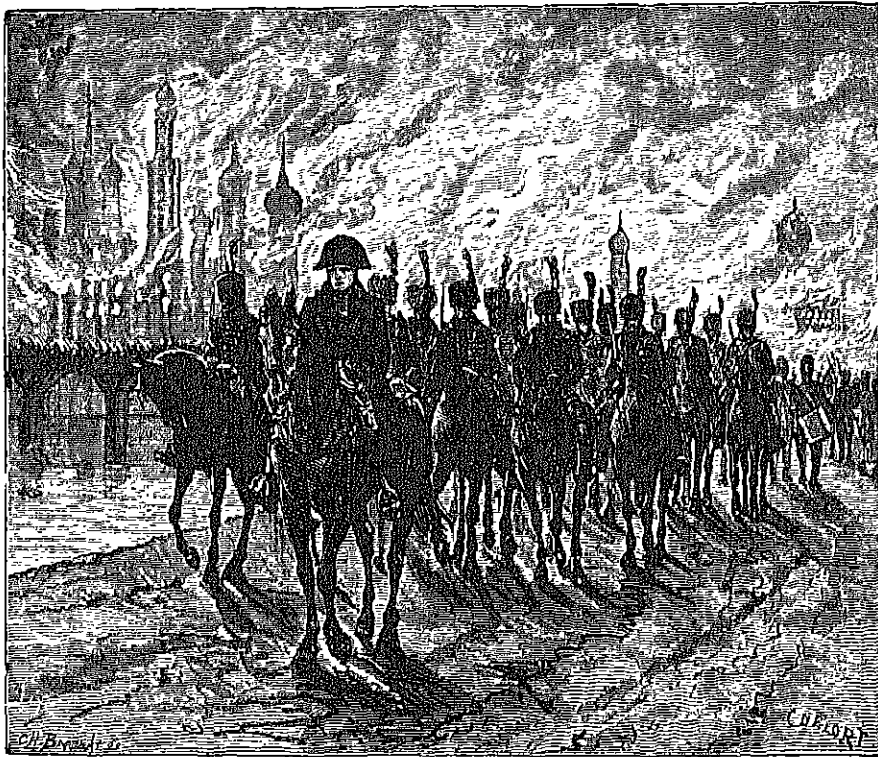
But a drama was soon to be enacted very different from that which had been exhibited in the palaces of Frederick William and Francis II. To the French soldiers—to Bonaparte himself—the Russian capital promised rest and comfort after the hardships of the campaign. Tired with marching and fighting and starving, they hoped now to spend the winter in the comfortable, even luxurious quarters which

pain of instant death, revealed the fact that before the flight of the population the governor, Count Rostopchin, had given orders and made every preparation for burning Moscow to ashes. At once the whole French army was called into requisition to save the burning city. But the flames swept east and west, north and south, and nothing could stay their ravages. For five days the horrible conflagration rolled on, and at the end of that time but little was left which the flames had power to destroy. Napoleon returned to the Krem-

lin, and from that place undertook to negotiate with Alexander. The Czar heeded not the appeal. He had wisdom enough to perceive that Napoleon's call, however bravely expressed, was the cry of weakness. What shall that conqueror do in the dead of winter in the ashes of a burnt-up Russian city? The case is clear. If he stays there he and his grand army shall starve. If he retreats, we and our Cossacks will be upon him.

The Czar refused to treat while the enemy remained in Russia. The time, the circum-

more terrible than bayonets, the shuddering soldiers of France. By night and by day the terrible Cossacks swooped down upon the staggering columns and cut them right and left. The line of the retreat was heaped with the carcasses of men and horses. Thousands were frozen to death in a single night. At the beginning of the retreat Napoleon still had a hundred and twenty thousand men; but every day reduced the roll of his furnishing columns until hardly a division was left to struggle on through the snow.



THE GRAND ARMY LEAVING THE KREMLIN.

Drawn by G. Delort.

stance brooked no delay. Winter was at hand. Snow was already falling, and the roads would soon be rendered impassable, if not wholly obliterated by the drifts. So on the 19th of October, Napoleon, at length overtaken by his destiny, turned his back on Moscow and began his retreat to the Niemen. Then the Cossacks rose by thousands on his flanks and rear. Then the dispirited French struggled through the heaps of snow, dropping dead of hunger and fatigue. Then the winter came howling out of the North and smote with darts of ice

On arriving at the Beresina the ruined army, hard-pressed by Kutuzoff and Wittgenstein, attempted to cross at the bridge of Borisov; but this passage had already been seized by the Russians. The construction of two new bridges across the stream became a necessity, and this work was undertaken by the French with the courage of despair. On the 26th of November the structure was sufficiently advanced to permit the beginning of the passage. On the following day the French continued their march—or escape—to the right

bank of the river, but on the morning of the 28th the Russians fell upon the rear with such fury as has rarely been witnessed in battle. | Finally a battery of twelve guns was so planted as to command the bridge, and the retreat became a rout. The French fell by



CROSSING THE BERESINA.

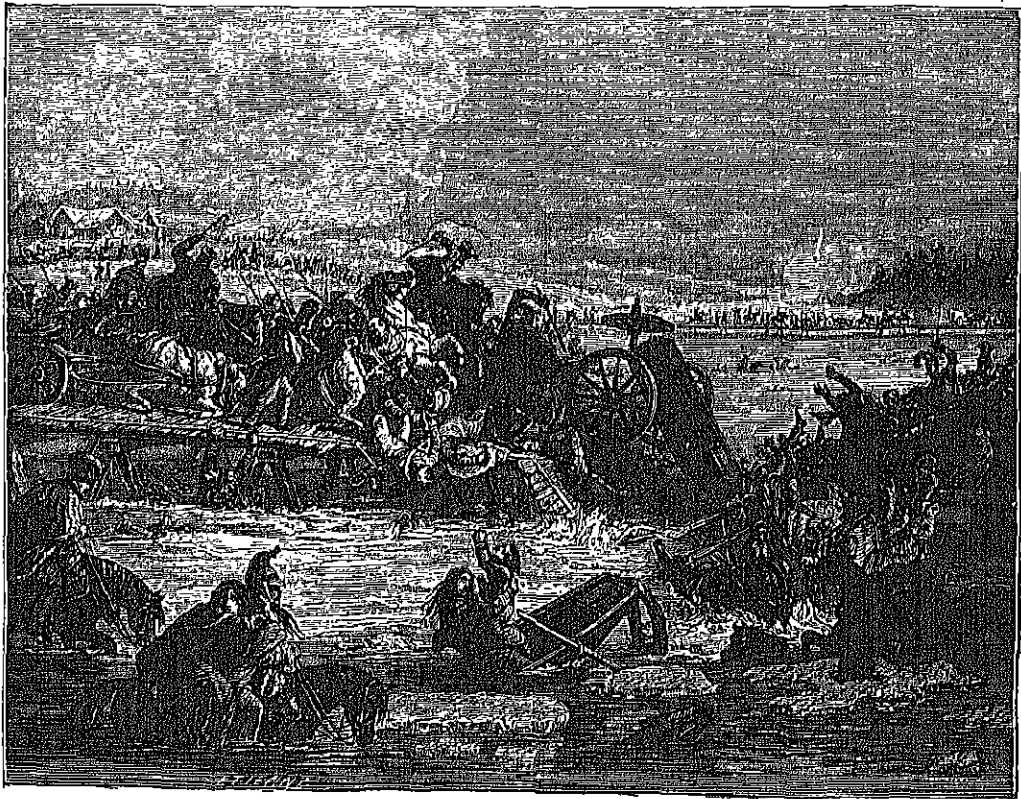
Drawn by E. Bayard.

thousands. The sick, wounded, and stragglers were still unsaved—exposed to the murderous fire of the Russians. On the 29th orders were given that the bridge should be burned. The flames were kindled, but still the tide of fugitives rushed upon the burning timbers until at last the whole went down with a crash into the merciless waters.¹

The defense of the réarguard of the Grand Army was intrusted to Marshal Ney, whom Napoleon, with no wasted compliment, was wont to call "the Bravest of the Brave."

which he was leaving, was *the last man to cross the bridge!*

With the passage of this river the dying remnants of the Grand Army were no more assailed by the enemy; but the sufferings of the French were not yet ended. The country which they now entered was nominally friendly, but the event showed that the Lithuanians were as much disposed to look to their own interests for the future as to try to save the remnant of the French from perishing. The latter continued to drag themselves wearily



BREAKING DOWN OF THE BRIDGE AT BERESINA.

Out of the wreck he saved as much as could be rescued from destruction; and when at last a mere handful of despairing, frozen, half-starved wretches came to the passage of the Niemen, the intrepid Ney, soiled with dirt, blackened with smoke and exposure, without any insignia of his rank, but with drawn sword and facing backwards towards the hated region

¹ It is narrated that with the following spring, when the ice-gorge broke in the Beresina, the bodies of *twelve thousand* French soldiers were washed up on the banks.

through the desolations of a half hostile region, until at last they came to Königsberg, where the haggard and starving survivors were permitted to lie down to rest in the barracks and hospitals of the city.

Meanwhile, as soon as the fate of his great campaign was decided, Napoleon, leaving Murat in command of the army, took a sledge, sped with all haste across the snow-covered wastes of Poland, and came unannounced to Paris. In that city a rumor of his death had been circulated, and a revolt had broken out,

instigated by the faction of Bourbon. All this, however, dissolved like mist when it was known that Bonaparte had come. His presence roused the capital to action, and then all France sprang again at his call. In a short time, he had again raised and equipped a half a million of soldiers. But they were raw recruits. His veterans were under the snows of Russia. Very fatal, too, had been the other losses which he had sustained in that ill-starred campaign. His supply of horses was

Germanic powers which had acknowledged the sway of Napoleon and were now quick to profit by his misfortunes. The Confederation of the Rhine showed signs of falling to pieces. The king of Prussia struck hands with the Czar, and the latter sent to Berlin a Russian army to save the city from a possible recapture by the French. An insurrection broke out in Hamburg; the French garrison was expelled and the blockade was raised. These movements drew the attention of Napoleon first of



THE REMNANT OF THE GRAND ARMY AT KÖNIGSBERG.

exhausted, and, as a result, the cavalry divisions of the new armies were weak and ineffective. Nevertheless he took the field, with all his old-time audacity. History must ever record that he quailed not as fate rose up against him.

During the year 1813, Europe was in a state of universal turmoil. As soon as it was known that the Grand Army had been buried in Russia, there were signs of a general break up among the states in alliance with France. The movement began on the side of those

all to the protection of his eastern frontier. He threw his armies to the front, planting the left on Lübeck, and the right on Venice. On the 2d of May, 1813, a great battle was fought at LÜTZEN, on the same field where Gustavus Adolphus was slain in the hour of victory, in 1632. In the beginning of the engagement the allied army of Russians and Prussians gained a decided advantage over the French; but the latter rallied, wrested victory from defeat, and inflicted a terrible punishment on the enemy. Alexander, Fred-

erick William III., and Napoleon were all on the field where the giants had wrestled in the days of the Thirty Years' War. On the 20th and 21st of the same month, Bonaparte hurled an army of one hundred and twenty five thousand men upon the allies at BAUTZEN, and inflicted on them a decisive, though not very disastrous, defeat. The Russian and Prussian monarchs managed to effect a retreat so skillfully planned, as to save the artillery

eight weeks was agreed upon, and the belligerents met at a Peace Congress in Prague. The event showed, however, that the allies merely desired a breathing-time for recuperation and additional preparations and intrigues against their common enemy. At the very time when the conference was in session, England, Russia, and Prussia were using all of their endeavors to rouse Austria and Saxony from their neutrality, and bring them into the



NAPOLÉON'S RETURN FROM RUSSIA.

After the painting by A. W. Kowalski.

and baggage. Marshal Davoust, with a division of French and Danes, attacked and recaptured Hamburg, and the city was terribly punished for her recent defection from the cause of France. On the whole, the campaign had been highly favorable to the French, who retained their hold on Dresden with one hand while they beat back the allies with the other.

After the battle of Bautzen, a truce of

Fifth Coalition against Bonaparte. As motives to secure this end, Prussia used hatred; Russia, self-interest; and England, money—her usual argument. At length these powers were successful. Napoleon's royal father-in-law went into the alliance, thus setting his fate on the cast of the die. On the 10th of August the truce expired. The allies had gained by the delay; but Napoleon was, as ever, keenly alive to the situation. On the



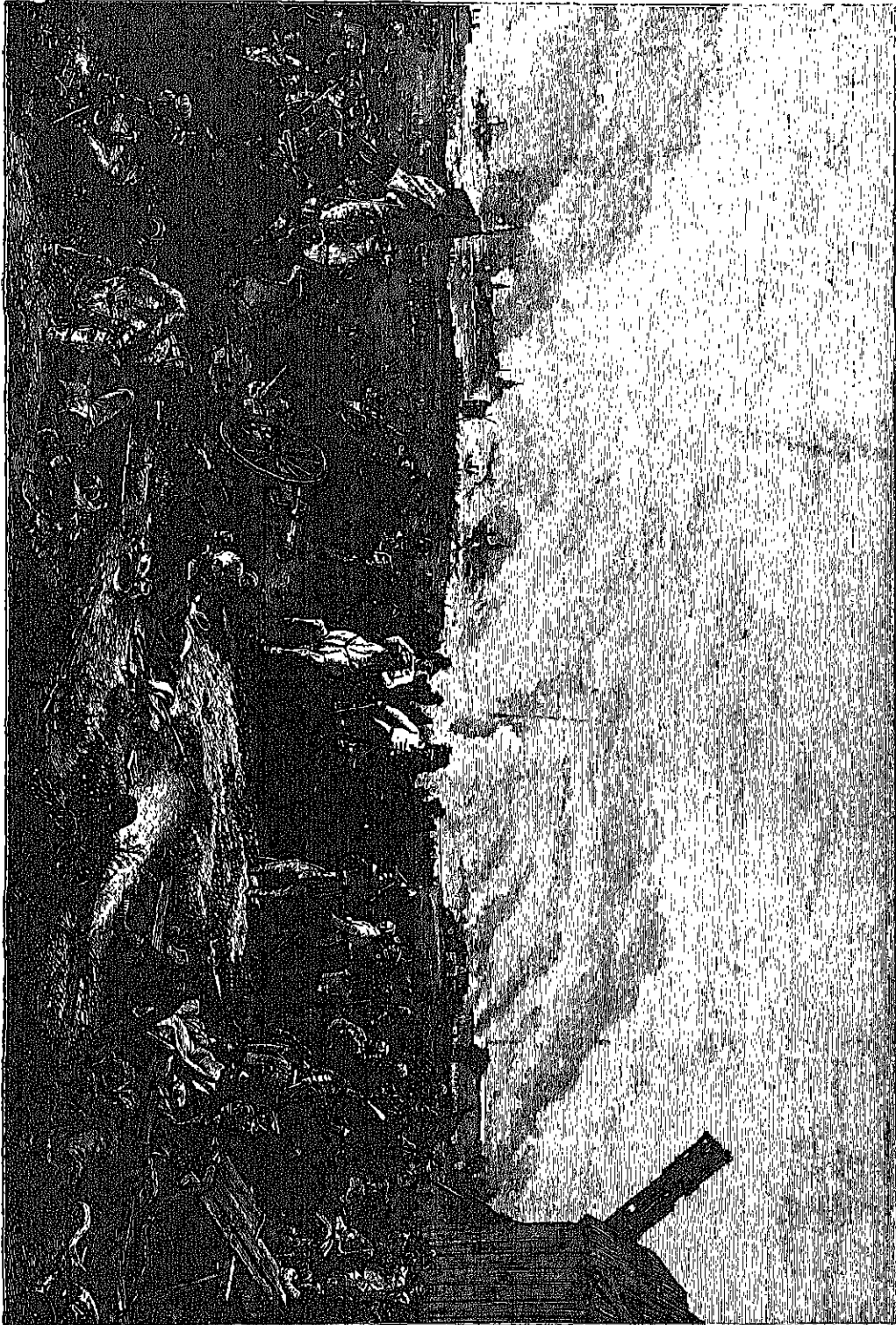
BATTLE OF KATSBACH.

26th of the month, a powerful army of Russians and Prussians bore down on the French in DRESDEN, but the Emperor, who had reinforced his army in that city, gave battle on the following day, in which he was deprived of a complete and decisive victory only by the weakness of his cavalry. It was at this juncture that the personal superiority of Napoleon, as a general in the field, became more than ever conspicuous. It rarely happened in a struggle where he was personally present that the enemy could gain any advantage.

But equal success did not attend the campaigns of his marshals. At Grossbeeren a battle was fought between the allies and General Oudinot, commanding the French, in which the latter were defeated. On the river KATSBACH, August 26, 1813, the Prussians under General Gebhard Blücher, already greatly distinguished in the service, won a victory over Marshal Macdonald which, though insignificant in itself, resulted in the capture of nearly eighteen thousand French prisoners, together with a hundred pieces of artillery and three hundred wagons of the ammunition and baggage trains. Marshal Ney, at this time conducting a campaign against Berlin, was met and almost ruinously defeated by Bernadotte in a battle at Dennewitz, on the 6th of September. By these various successes, the allies were enabled to concentrate in tremendous force at Leipzig, where sixty thousand Russians were joined to the allied army of Prussians and Bavarians. Notwithstanding the tremendous odds with which he had to contend, Napoleon determined to risk a battle. On the 16th of October the conflict began before LEIPZIG. In the first day's fight, the advantage was altogether on the side of the French; and Bonaparte availed himself of the opportunity to renew his proposals for peace. But the allies rejected his overtures, and on the 18th the battle was renewed. After a terrible conflict, lasting till night-fall, the allies were victorious. Napoleon's legions were crowded from the field. On the following morning they began a retreat. The allies crowded into the city, blew up a bridge, and captured nearly twenty-five thousand prisoners. The duty of covering the retreat of the French army was intrusted to Prince Poniatowsky, who just before the battle had been made a marshal of the Empire. In attempting to perform the

task which was assigned him by Napoleon, he with a small retinue was so hard pressed by the foe that in order to avoid capture he plunged into the Elster and was drowned. The retrograde movement continued to the Rhine, which the Emperor crossed with only eighty thousand men. The attempt of the Bavarians under Wrede to intercept the retreat at Hanau was thwarted by Napoleon, who cut his way triumphantly through the ranks of his late friends. On the 9th of November, the Emperor arrived in Paris, where he found the temper of the people somewhat changed from their former enthusiasm. The Legislative Assembly made the impossible demand that he should conclude a peace. How could he make a peace with a foe that was inexorable? Instead of that, he began new preparations which in their success exhibited more than ever before the immense fertility of his genius. All fall and winter long, with miraculous activity, he wrought at the problem which destiny had now forced upon him. He clearly foresaw that with the opening of the following year, France herself would be invaded by such hostile armies as had never crossed her borders. While he was engaged in this work, the Empire which he had established was rapidly resolved into its elements. All along the frontier of the Baltic, the Oder, the Vistula, the Elbe, the garrisons which he had planted for the protection of his borders, were expelled from town and fortress. An English army wrested Hanover from French dominion. Holland threw off the yoke, and proclaimed Prince William I. of Orange as king of the Netherlands. Jerome Bonaparte was obliged to abdicate the throne of Westphalia; and the princes of Brunswick, Oldenburg, and Hesse reclaimed their ancient dominions. Even the Danes fell away, and by agreeing to a cession of Norway to Sweden, in lieu of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rügen, came to an agreement with Great Britain. Denmark thus became a member of the Coalition against the French. Illyria, Carinthia, and Dalmatia succumbed to the Austrians; and Murat, king of Naples, hoping to save himself from impending ruin, abandoned Napoleon, and, on the 11th of January, 1814, made a treaty with Austria. He was to retain his crown on condition of aiding in the overthrow of Bonaparte. The allies next made overtures to Prince Eugene,

BATTLE OF LEIPZIG.



Viceroy of Italy; but he stood fast in his integrity, and rejected their proposals with disdain.

By the end of January, 1814, the great movement, known as the Campaign of France,

was begun. By his marvelous powers of combination and his tireless energy, Bonaparte was again able to present a bold front to the enemy. The combined armies of Austria,



DEATH OF PRINCE PONIATOWSKY IN THE ELSTER.

Prussia, and Russia hung in dark clouds along the eastern horizon of France. More imminent still was the danger on the side of the Pyrenees. For in the mean time the Duke of Wellington had, on the 21st of June, 1813, fought and won the great battle of VITORIA, in which the French, under King Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, were disastrously routed, losing a hundred and fifty guns and nearly all of the spoils of war and occupation which they had gathered in a five years' possession of Spain. Joseph retreated into France. For a while Marshal Soult planted himself like a lion in the passes of the Pyrenees; but Wellington was irresistible, and the French were driven beyond the confines of Spain. Even San Sebastian and Pampeluna were torn away. Then came the siege of Bayonne by the English and Portuguese. The project of making Spain one of the French kingdoms was given up, and Ferdinand VII. was formally acknowledged as sovereign. At last one of the Bourbons had gotten back into his mediæval nest.

Then followed a reconciliation of Napoleon and the Pope. Pius was released from his confinement at Fontainebleau and permitted to resume his office as temporal sovereign at Rome. The whales and other monsters of the Middle Ages came up from the deep sea, and Bonaparte threw them tubs, which they swallowed—and then wanted more. At the beginning of 1814 the eastern frontier of France was broken by a three-fold invasion. The allies laid their plans to concentrate from all directions on Paris. A powerful army of Austrians, under Marshal Carl Philip Schwartzburg, began the work by crossing the Rhine at Basle. Blücher came out of Cilicia and made a passage of the river between Coblenz and Mannheim. The Russians entered France by way of Holland. Out of the North came the treacherous Bernadotte with a hundred thousand men. It appeared that no power on earth could stay the tremendous avalanche.

It is quite certain that at no epoch in human history have the prodigious resources and genius of a man been so wonderfully exhibited as were those of Napoleon when his implacable foes came in upon him. His vigilance was sleepless. Nothing daunted or discouraged him; he took good and evil fortune with the same unwavering mood. In his first struggle

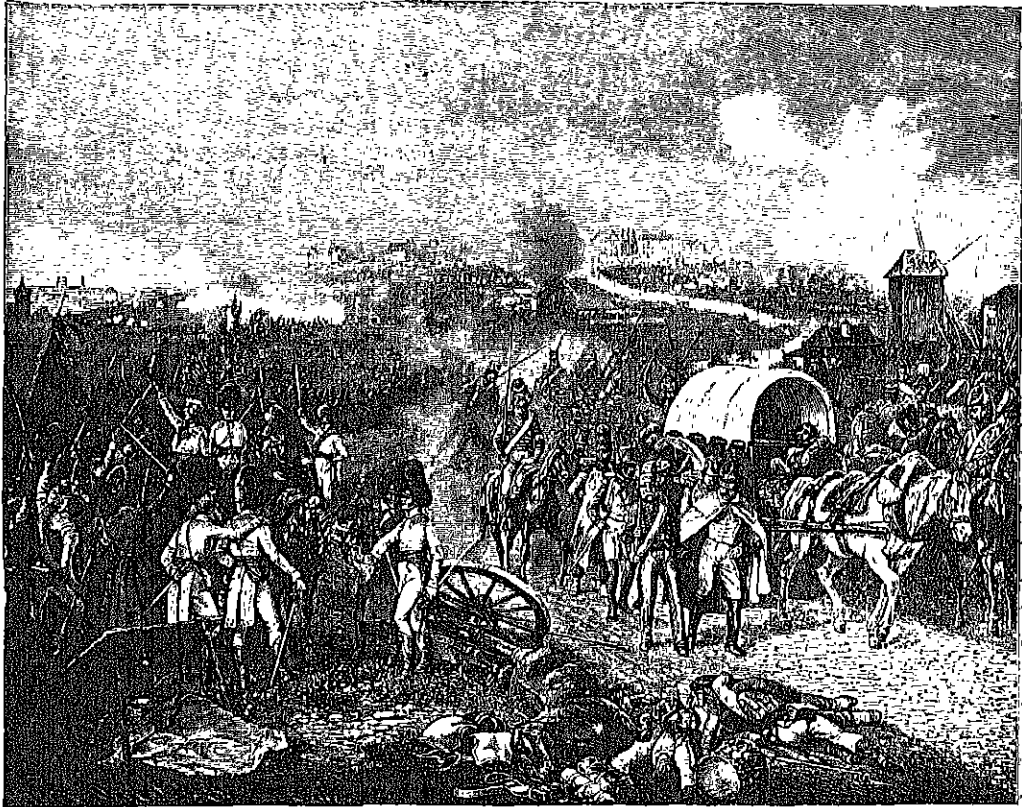
with Blücher at Brienne, he was virtually defeated; but he returned to the charge and gained one victory after another until Blücher was obliged to rest himself upon the advancing army of Bülow. The Emperor then turned upon Marshal Schwartzburg, and in the battle of Montereau inflicted on him so terrible a defeat that Austria made proposals for peace! Europe was astonished, amazed at the audacity with which the pent-up Emperor of the French bent back her banded legions.

Blücher now returned to the attack and gained a victory over the French at Laon; but Napoleon, planting two divisions before the Prussians, wheeled to Arcis-sur-Aube, fell upon Schwartzburg more fiercely than ever, and fought as though the world were staked on the issue. It was a drawn battle. In the next place he formed the design of putting himself in the rear of the allies and invading Germany, hoping, perhaps believing, that as his lines were narrowed around the French capital his Marshals could hold the enemies in check until he, by rapid marches and devastating work beyond the Rhine, could compel the withdrawal of the German armies from France. But in this he was unsuccessful. In fact, his long struggle with the combined powers of the continent had developed the military genius of Europe to such a degree that he had now to contend with an array of generals among the greatest the world has ever produced. The grip of these upon Imperial France could no longer be broken by a ruse. So, when it was known that Napoleon had undertaken an invasion of Germany, the allies, instead of following him abroad, roused all their energies to the task of capturing Paris. Bonaparte was obliged to abandon his design. He strained every nerve to arrive at the capital in advance of his enemies, but was unable to do so. When he arrived by night at Fontainebleau he found the city already in the hands of the allied army. For the enemy had ravaged the environs of the city, gained possession of the heights of Montmartre and Belleville, and compelled the authorities to surrender. On the 31st of March, 1814, Alexander of Russia, Frederick William III., and the generals of the allies, entered with their victorious armies and planted themselves in the capital of France.

It was clear that the Empire had fallen. The French Senate, overawed by foreign powers, passed a decree that Napoleon, by arbitrary acts and violations of the constitution, had forfeited the throne, and that all Frenchmen were absolved from their allegiance. The leading generals of the French army accepted what seemed to be the inevitable, and agreed that the Emperor should abdicate. Napoleon himself was of a different opinion, but yielded to necessity, and on the 11th of April, having

abdication was accordingly enforced. Napoleon was granted a pension of two millions of francs and the sovereignty of the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean. As to a settlement of the sovereignty of France, that matter was left to the decision of the allies and their now serviceable instrument, the French Senate.

Meanwhile Louis of Bourbon, now for twenty-three years an exile in foreign lands, loomed up as a possibility in the future of



THE ALLIES ON THE ROAD TO PARIS.

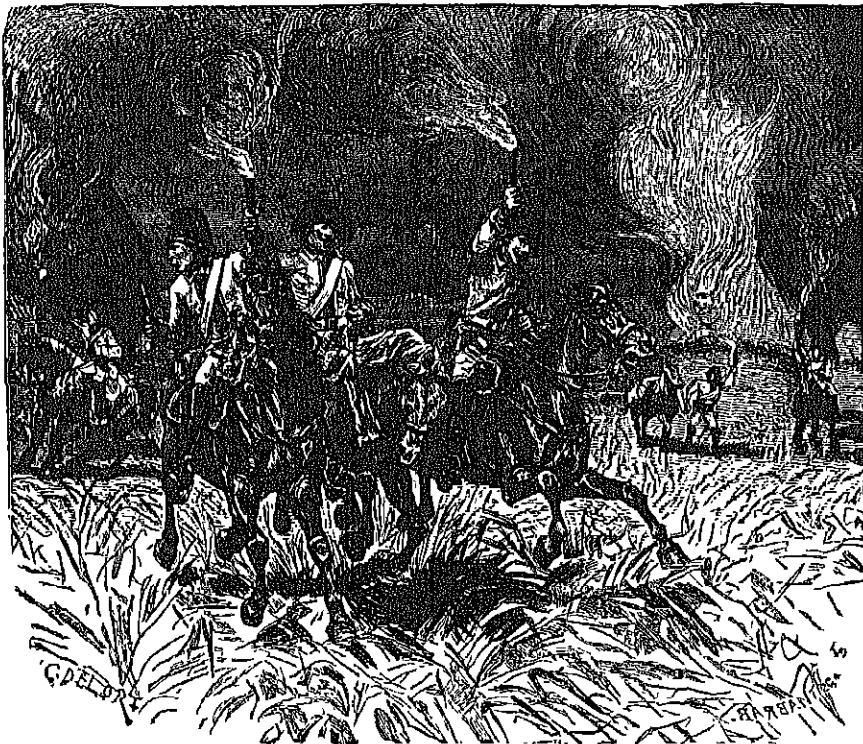
signed an abdication in favor of his son, gave up the power which had been conferred upon him by the suffrages of the French people and for twelve years maintained by the sword. The terms, however, which Napoleon named, were rejected by the victorious allies, who declared their purpose never to treat with Napoleon Bonaparte or any member of his dynasty. Nothing short of an absolute surrender of all the imperial and kingly rights and titles which Napoleon had held would satisfy their will and purpose. An unconditional ab-

France. He was proclaimed at Bordeaux with the title of Louis XVIII., and his brother the Count of Artois, acting as Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, signed the agreement which was drawn up by the allies at Paris. The House of Bourbon was to be restored to the sovereignty of France, and the anti-revolutionists flattered themselves that the Past which they so much worshiped would come again in a day. As for Napoleon, he bade farewell to the scenes of his glory, took an affectionate leave of his guard at Fontaine

bleau, and set out for his petty place as ruler of Elba.

In the mean time the British and their allies in the south had been completely victorious. Toulouse had fallen into their hands, and the Duke of Wellington was continuing his triumphant progress northward. Louis XVIII., already infirm and old, and suffering under a complication of diseases, left England and returned in the wake of the allied army. His appearance in France, and

slain. None the less, there was a pretended Restoration. The old throne was set up amid some shouting of the reactionists, and the well-meaning representative of the ancient Bourbonism undertook the government of France. With him returned to Paris a great crowd of the long-absent royalists, who imagined that the evening shadows were the morning twilight. They demanded that the king should restore to them their lost estates and privileges. They might as well have asked



BLÜCHER'S CAVALRY DEVASTATING THE ENVIRONS OF PARIS.

Drawn by G. Delort.

especially in Paris, revealed a fact. It was this: Old France, the France of Henry of Navarre, of Louis le Grand, of Pompadour, was dead. No trumpet call could ever again raise her from the dust. Though the Republic had perished, though the great Napoleon was humbled, though all of the mighty achievements of the last twenty years seemed to have melted into nothingness, no wave of the enchanter's wand, no display of royal ensigns and banners could awake from her endless sleep that despotic and worn-out France which the glorious Revolution had assaulted and

for a return of the days of Saint Louis and Barbarossa.

The analogy between the return of Louis XVIII. and that of Charles Stuart of England had a further illustration in this—that the French king, refusing to recognize the Revolution, treating the Republic as a nullity, and counting as naught that tremendous movement which had transformed the society of France and started all Europe on a new career, began his administration by dating the royal acts *in the nineteenth year of his reign*. The very charter, which the changed order of

the realm made it necessary for him to sign, granting and confirming to the people many of the rights which the Revolution had wrung from the hands of the old-time despotism, was thus dated in defiance of both the logic of events and the law of common intelligence.



NAPOLEON SIGNING HIS ABDICATION.

Drawn by E. Bayard.

So at the very beginning of the restored Bourbonism, a certain degree of political freedom, which the House of Capet would never have granted of itself, was allowed to stand as an everlasting memorial of the work done by the men of '89. There was no serious attempt to rob the press of the freedom which had been so hardly won, or to violate the rights of person and property which had been guaranteed by the Constitution of the Year VIII.

On the 30th of May, 1814, a treaty of peace was concluded at Paris. To France, the conditions of the settlement were sufficiently humiliating. Nearly every thing which she had achieved in her heroic struggle with banded Europe was ruthlessly torn away. Her territory was reduced to the limits recognized at the beginning of the Revolution. The whole theory of the ambassadors who framed the treaty was to reinstate the past. In carrying out the programme, Belgium was added to Holland. The German states were in general restored to the territorial and political condition which they had held in 1792. The Prince of Orange was recognized as king of the Netherlands. Prince Eugene of Italy, on learning of the overthrow of Napoleon, surrendered his kingdom to the Austrians. Such was the general outline of the Peace of Paris, agreed to by the allies in the spring of 1814.

The summer went by with a kind of suffering. The French people, always easily elated and easily dispirited, began to recover from the shock, and to become indignant at the harsh terms which the allied powers had imposed upon them, and at the spectacle of a decrepit Bourbon on the throne. They soon began to recollect their idol, and to reassociate his name with the deeds and glory of France. As for Napoleon, he had quietly repaired to his nominal sovereignty of Elba. There he remained for ten months, watching from afar the course of events on the continent. He knew well that the whole fabric reared by the allies on the ruins of the Republican empire was a flimsy and artificial structure of no more actual solidity than a pagoda built of bamboo. Doubtless he expected the very thing which came to pass. The old Republicans of France laid a plot for the overthrow of Louis XVIII., and the recall of Bonaparte.

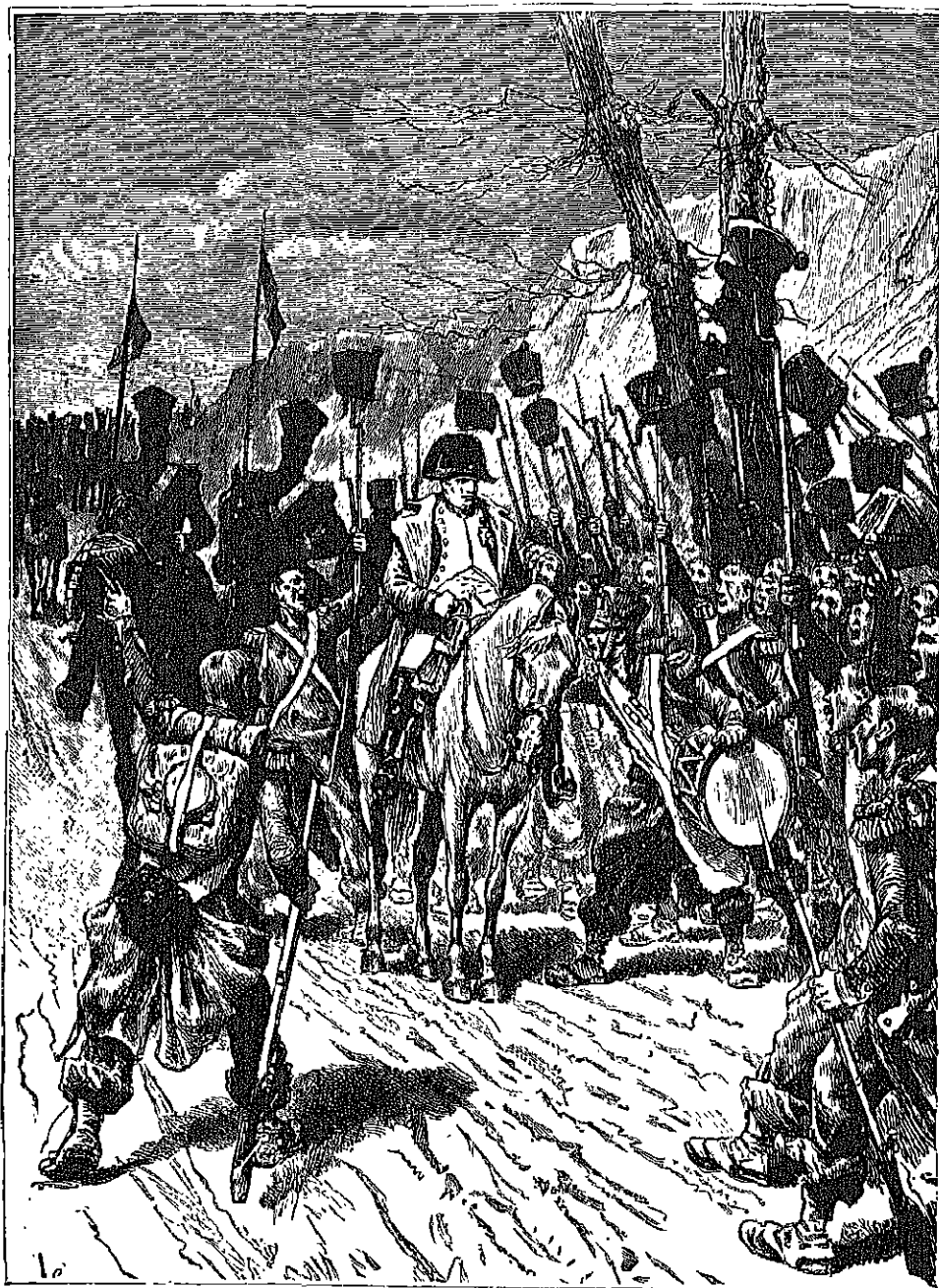
The commissioners at Paris, in 1814, had
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provided before their adjournment for a general congress to be held at Vienna, in the following October. When the time came, all the sovereigns of Europe either came in person to the conference, or sent ambassadors to represent them in the deliberations. A discussion was begun in the ancient and orthodox manner of the condition and prospects of the European kingdoms. The winter months wore away before the work was completed. At length, while the titled and untitled representatives of the past were still debating how the present might be undone and the future prevented, they were greeted with the astounding news that Napoleon had left Elba and gone to France. Such was, indeed, the case. On the 26th of February, 1815, he quitted the island and landed at Cannes. The intelligence created such a sensation throughout France as had never been known in her history. The old soldiers of the Republic and the Empire rose up on every hand to meet and follow him who had been their leader on a hundred fields of victory. His march towards Paris was an ever-swelling triumph. On the 5th of March, near Grenoble, he was joined by a large body of officers and soldiers who were stationed at that place. At Lyons, he was confronted by an army under command of Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans, who had been ordered to prevent the Emperor's further progress. The result was that the soldiers went over to his standard. Marshal Ney, who, with his usual impetuosity, had accepted the Restoration, who had been made a peer of France by Louis XVIII., and who had promised that monarch to put Napoleon in an iron cage and bring him up to Paris, went forth on his mission, and proceeded as far as Auxerre, where he heard of Bonaparte's reception at Lyons. At this, the marshal recaptured his old enthusiasm, threw himself into the Emperor's arms, and followed him on the way to Paris.

On the 19th of the month, Napoleon reached Fontainebleau, and on the following day reentered Paris. In the mean time the government of Louis XVIII. melted away like a shadow. Not a sign of the Restoration remained as a token of last year's revolution. Louis and his court fled to Belgium, and most of the nobility went back to their refuge in England. The whole machinery of

state was suddenly reversed by the tremendous hand which for nearly twenty years had been the stay and glory of France. Nothing could

on their way to the borders of France. While this work was progressing, the Emperor put forth a decree embodying "An Act



THE RETURN FROM ELBA.

Drawn by G. Delort.

exceed the dispatch with which a new army was organized to beat back the hosts which already, under the Congress of Vienna, were

additional to the Constitutions of the Empire," in which such liberal concessions were made that even extreme Republicans were

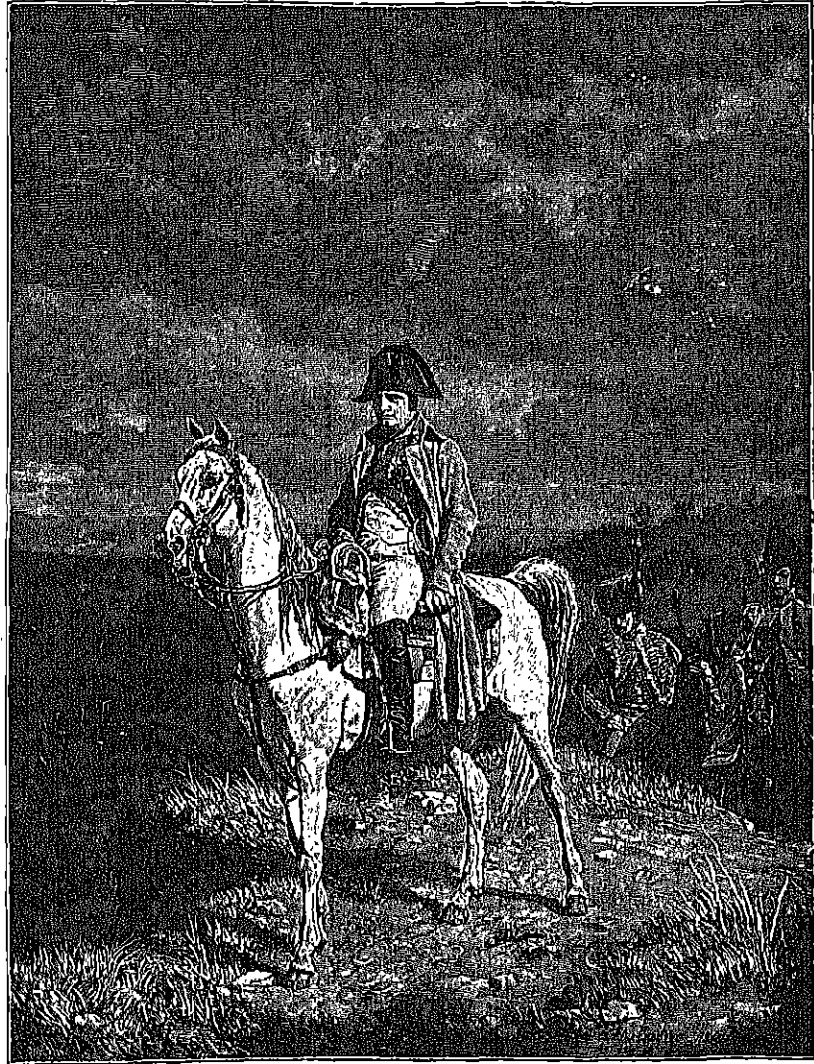
satisfied. All the while he sought diligently, but vainly, to open negotiations with the allies. They had sworn in their wrath never again to treat with a Bonaparte. The fact was, that the haughty sovereigns of Old Europe could not coëxist with Napoleon. One or the other must be crushed to the wall.

The ideas which the two parties represented were irreconcilable. The imperial Republicanism personated in Bonaparte and flourishing in the wind of his sword must either triumph to the borders of continental Europe or perish miserably under the heel of the ancient Bourbonism.

The period from the return of Napoleon to France and the battle of Waterloo is known as the Hundred Days. Up to the 1st of June the Emperor labored with astonishing energy to prepare an adequate resistance against the coming av-

alanche. The allies had now become desperate, and were making gigantic preparations to crush Napoleon and his dynasty into the very earth. By the first days of summer the north-eastern horizon of France was black with their coming. At this time, notwithstanding the long exhaustion which the French people had suffered,

Bonaparte had succeeded in organizing and equipping an army of three hundred and sixty-seven thousand men. In this work the Empire was drained to the bottom. It was the last great call to arms, and age and youth together answered the summons. It was Napoleon's own judgment of the situa-



NAPOLÉON.

After the painting by E. Meissonier.

tion that if he could have had a few weeks longer to prepare for the defense, he would have placed around his beloved France "a wall of brass which no earthly power would have been able to break through." As it was, he was obliged to enter the arena before his preparations were complete; but he threw

himself into the final struggle with an audacity and courage never surpassed in the annals of war.

By this time it had become apparent from the position of the several armies that the decisive conflict would take place in Belgium. In that country, a junction was about to be effected between the allies under the Duke of Wellington and a powerful Prussian army

Ney fell back and took up a position at the little village of WATERLOO, on the skirts of the forest of Soignes, eight miles south-east of Brussels. It had been already arranged by the allied commanders that in case Blücher should be defeated, he also should retreat to Waterloo to form a junction at that place with Wellington. Napoleon perceiving the plans of his enemies, ordered Marshal Grouchy with



THE LAST CALL TO ARMS.

After the painting by F. Defregger.

under Marshal Blücher. Adopting his usual tactics, Napoleon made all haste to prevent the union of his enemies. He crossed the Belgian frontier on the 15th of June, with a hundred and twenty-four thousand men. On the following day he attacked and defeated Blücher at Ligny. At the same time he ordered Marshal Ney to attack the British at Quatre Bras; but the latter movement was unsuccessful, and on the morning of the 17th,

a division of thirty-four thousand men to follow up Blücher and prevent his junction with the English. Or should he fail in holding the Prussians in check, he should at any rate be near enough to unite his army with that of Napoleon as soon as Blücher could join Wellington. Having adopted this plan, Napoleon marched rapidly to Waterloo, where he hoped to attack and defeat Wellington before the arrival of the Prussians. But he failed to

reach the field on the evening of the 17th of June in time to give battle on that day, and the conflict was postponed till the morrow. During the night both armies lay in bivouac and awaited the coming of the dawn to decide the destinies of Europe.

Circumstances rather than design had determined that the battle should be fought at Waterloo. The morning of the 18th of June found the allied armies of England and the Netherlands occupying a semicircle of hills in front of the village. Their lines extended a mile and a half, and were concave towards the French. The latter occupied an opposite ridge at a distance of from five hundred to eight hundred yards. About half-way between the British center and the French position stood the stone château of Hougomont, held by a strong force of English. In front of Wellington's left center were the hamlet of Mont Saint-Jean and the farm of La Haie Sainte, also held by the British. The French were drawn up in three lines on and parallel with the road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. On this road, at the farm of La Belle Alliance were the head-quarters of Napoleon, near the center of his position. The two armies were of about equal strength, numbering nearly eighty thousand on each side.

From noon of the 17th of June until the following morning there was a heavy rainfall—a circumstance exceedingly unfortunate to the French, to whom it was all important to fight Wellington before the coming of Blücher. Napoleon, however, had little anxiety on this score; for he was confident that Blücher would be held in check by Grouchy, and he therefore waited on the morning of the 18th until the sun and fresh wind should dry the ground. His plan of battle was to double back the allied left upon the center; but in order to conceal this intention, the first attack was made on Hougomont at half-past eleven, in the forenoon. In this part of the field the wood was taken, but the stone château was held by the British. Shortly after noon the Prussian division under Bülow came upon

the French right, and Napoleon was obliged to weaken his center in order to repel this advance. About the same time he changed his plan of battle and determined, if possible, to break Wellington's center. For this duty he ordered Marshal Ney to move against La Haie Sainte. That officer charged with his usual valor, and after a fierce assault, carried the British position. He was then checked in his further course by the English divisions under Pieton and Ponsonby. In this part of the field there was terrible fighting, the line of battle

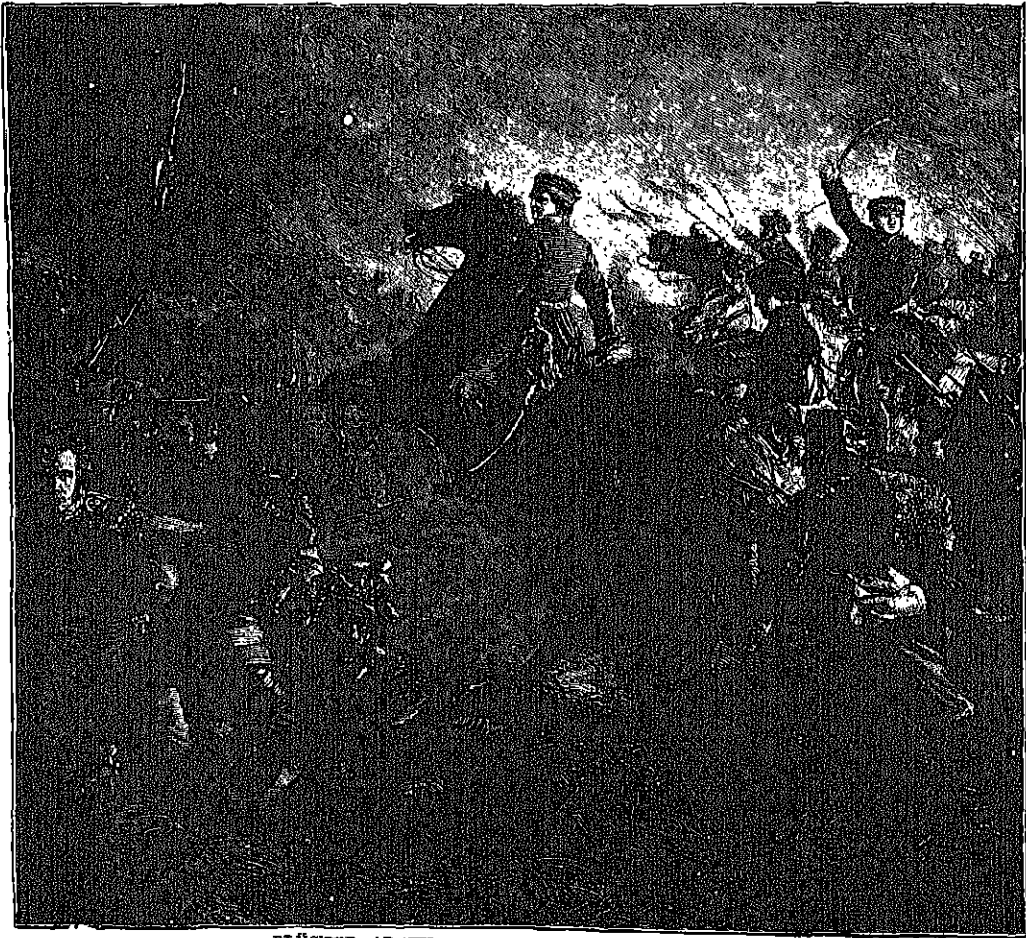


H. J. 17.

surging back and forth until half-past three in the afternoon, when La Haie Sainte was still held by the French. Then there was a pause. Strenuous efforts were presently made to dislodge the British from Hougomont, but they held the château to the last, in spite of the furious storm which was poured upon it by the howitzers of the French. Napoleon, in the mean time, had gone to the right to watch the movements of Bülow. While he was thus occupied, Wellington made an attempt to retake La Haie Sainte, but was repulsed by Ney. The latter then sent to Bonaparte for rein-

forcements with a view to carrying a counter charge into the British center, breaking the enemy's lines and sweeping the field. Napoleon had already so weakened his reserves that the forces which he ordered to Ney's support were insufficient, and were indeed only intended by the Emperor to enable the Marshal to hold his position against the assaults of the British. A misunderstanding ensued, how-

squares, would have been utterly routed and swept from the field. As it was, the British lines wavered, staggered, clung desperately to the bloody earth, gave a little, then hung fast and could be moved no farther. But Ney's charge was in a measure successful. Durrutte in another part of the field drove the allies out of Papelotte, and Loban succeeded in routing Blülow from the village of Planchenois, on



BLÜCHER ARRIVING ON THE FIELD OF WATERLOO.

ever, and Ney apprehending that the time for the decisive struggle had come, gave orders for the charge. "It is an hour too soon," said Napoleon, when he perceived the work which his impetuous general had begun. Nevertheless he sought to support Ney's movements, and it can hardly be doubted that could the latter have been immediately reinforced by heavy masses of infantry, the British center, formed as it was of Wellington's famous

the right. At half-past four, everything portended disaster to the allies and victory to the French.

To Wellington it appeared that the hour of fate had struck. "O, that night or Blücher would come!" said he, as he saw his lines stagger and his squares quiver under the renewed assaults of the French. The uncertain factor in the conflict was Blücher and his forty thousand Prussians. If he should come

without Grouchy upon his rear then Napoleon would be defeated; but, if Grouchy should hold him back or beat him to the field, then not only was the allied cause lost in this bloody work at Waterloo, but the old Bourbonism of Europe would be forever exploded and blown away in smoke. So for nearly two hours the battle hung in suspense. Not that the fighting ceased or was any less deadly; but the British hung to their position with a hope that was half despair, while the French batteries vomited upon them their terrible discharges, and desultory assaults in various parts of the field added to the horrid carnage. By five o'clock there were rumors of Blücher's coming. Soon afterwards bugles were heard far to the French right, and the noise of the approaching army became ominous in the distance. Was it Blücher or Grouchy?

It was Blücher. The Prussian banners shot up in the horizon. With Napoleon it was now or never. The hour of his destiny had come. His sun of Austerlitz hung low in the western sky. Could he break that British center? Should he not, he was hopelessly, irretrievably ruined. None knew it better than he. The fate of Imperial France, which he had builded with his genius and defended with his sword, hung trembling in the balance. He called out four battalions of his veterans, and then the Old Guard. More than a hundred times in the last fifteen years had that Guard been thrown upon the enemy and never yet repulsed. It deemed itself invincible. Would this hour add another to its long list of victorious charges? At a little after seven o'clock in the evening, just as the June sun was setting in the horizon of fated France, the bugle sounded, and the finest body of horsemen that ever careered over the field of battle started to meet its doom on the bristling squares of Wellington. Those grim and fearless horsemen went to their fate like heroes. The charge rolled on like an avalanche. It broke upon the squares. They reeled under the shock, then reformed and stood fast. Round and round those immovable lines the fierce soldiers of the Empire beat with unavailing courage. Then arose from

the lips of those who witnessed the desperate struggle the fatal cry, *La Garde recule, La Garde recule!*

It was indeed true. The Old Guard was repulsed, broken, ruined. Vainly did Marshal Ney, glorious in his impetuous despair, attempt to stay the tide of destruction. Five horses had been shot under him. He was on foot with the common soldiers. His hat was gone. He was covered with dust and blood; but his grim face was set against the enemy, and with sword in hand he attempted to rally his shattered lines. The English, now inspired by the hope of almost certain vic-



MARSHAL NEY.

tory, threw forward their lines, and the Prussian army rushed in from the right. Napoleon threw a single regiment of the Guard into a square, and strove to rally the fugitives around this nucleus of resistance. He placed himself in the midst, and declared his purpose to make there an end by dying with the men who had so long formed the bulwark of his Empire. But Marshal Soult succeeded in hurrying him out of the *mêlée* and the last square was left to perish alone. The allies bore down upon it, and numberless batteries were opened on this last heroic band of the defenders of the glory of France. There they stood. "Sur-

render, 'brave Frenchmen!' cried an English officer, dashing up with a flag and struck with admiration at the dauntless lines which had planted themselves before the victorious allies | for no other purpose than to reach a glorious death. "The Old Guard dies, but never surrenders," was the defiant answer. Then they raised the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, threw them-



LAST CHARGE OF THE OLD GUARD.
Drawn by Emile Bayard.

selves with wild enthusiasm upon the advancing lines, and perished almost to a man. There, to-day, the traveler pauses where the Stone Line is planted, and reflects with wonder that within the memory of men still living human nature could have been raised by the inspiration of battle to such a tremendous exhibition of heroism as that which was in this spot displayed by the Old Guard of Napoleon in the hour of its annihilation.

"All is lost," said the sullen Bonaparte, as he left the field and started to Paris. His

come a fugitive. He left Paris, and, on the 2d of July, reached Rochefort, on the western coast of France. It was his purpose to make his escape to the United States, and to this end he embarked on a small frigate bound for America. But it was impossible for him to get away. An English vessel lay outside ready to seize him as soon as he should leave the harbor. He then changed his plans, and determined to surrender himself to the British government. This was accordingly signified to the English officer, and he was taken on board and



NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA.

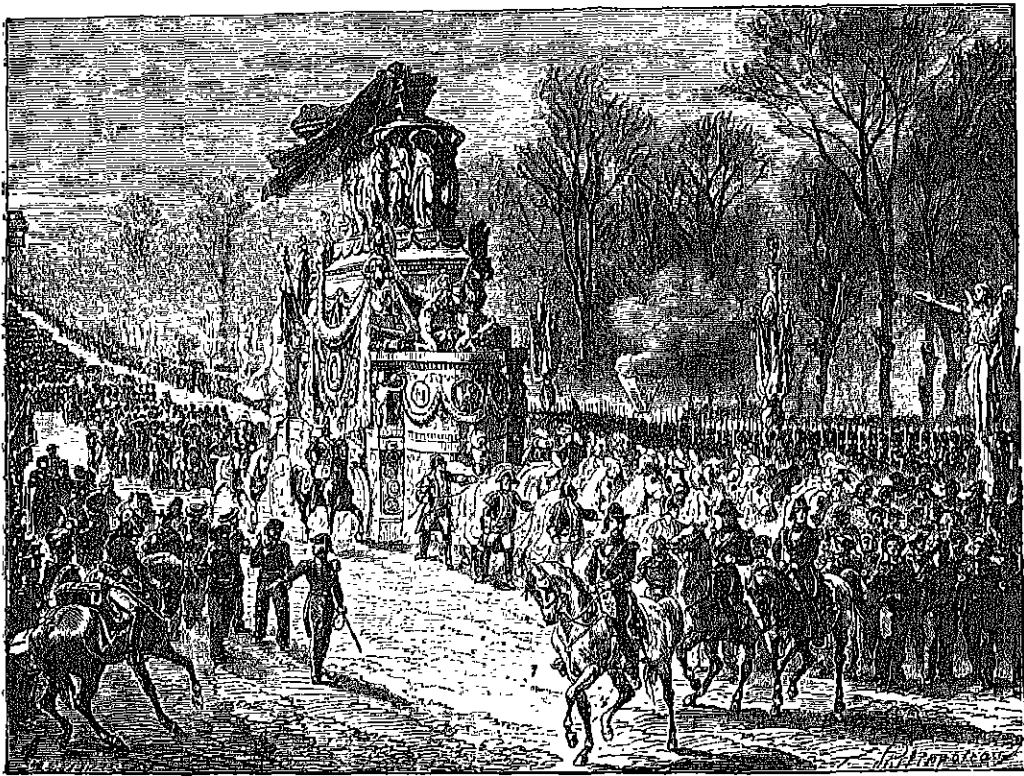
prescience divined too well the uselessness of a further struggle. Again he sought to secure for his son, the King of Rome, a recognition as sovereign of France. Neither the allies nor the French legislature would any longer concede anything. He sought to open negotiations with the powers that had conquered him; but they would hear to nothing until "General Bonaparte" should be delivered into their hands.

Napoleon was obliged a second time to sign an act of unconditional abdication, and to be-

conveyed to Torbay, where he arrived on the 25th of July. Then followed long and heated discussions in the British Parliament and ministry as to what should be done with their prisoner. At last it was determined to carry him in banishment to the island of St. Helena, whither he was accordingly taken, and landed on the 16th of October, 1815. This for him was the last scene of that amazing drama of which he had been the principal actor. His residence was fixed at a place called Longwood, where he was allowed a certain degree of free-

dom under the general surveillance of his British masters. He devoted himself to the work of dictating the memoirs of his wonderful career, sometimes apparently absorbed in his present task, sometimes living over again the scenes of the past, and still more frequently expressing his displeasure and sense of wrong at the restraints to which he was subjected. For five and a half years he thus remained at Longwood. Then his health gave way under the ravages of an ulcer in the stomach, and, on the 5th of May, 1821, he died during the

ated with Napoleon met various fates. Murat, the king of Naples, who had abandoned the cause of his brother-in-law, distrusted the sincerity of the allies as expressed in the Treaty of Paris, and in 1815 took up arms against Austria. He seized Rome, and threw forward an army as far as the river Po. On the 2d and 3d of May, he was met by the Austrians, and utterly routed in the battle of Tolentino. Giving up all for lost, he fled to Naples, thence to France, and thence to Corsica. The exiled Ferdinand returned and took possession of the



FUNERAL CORTEGE OF NAPOLEON.

prevalence of the most terrible storm which had ever been known in the island. He was buried under the willows near a fountain in Blanc's valley, where his body remained until 1840, when it was conveyed to France, received with the utmost pomp and pageant in Paris, and, on the 15th of December in that year, deposited beneath a splendid monument in the Hôtel des Invalides.—Such was the end of the most remarkable character of modern history.

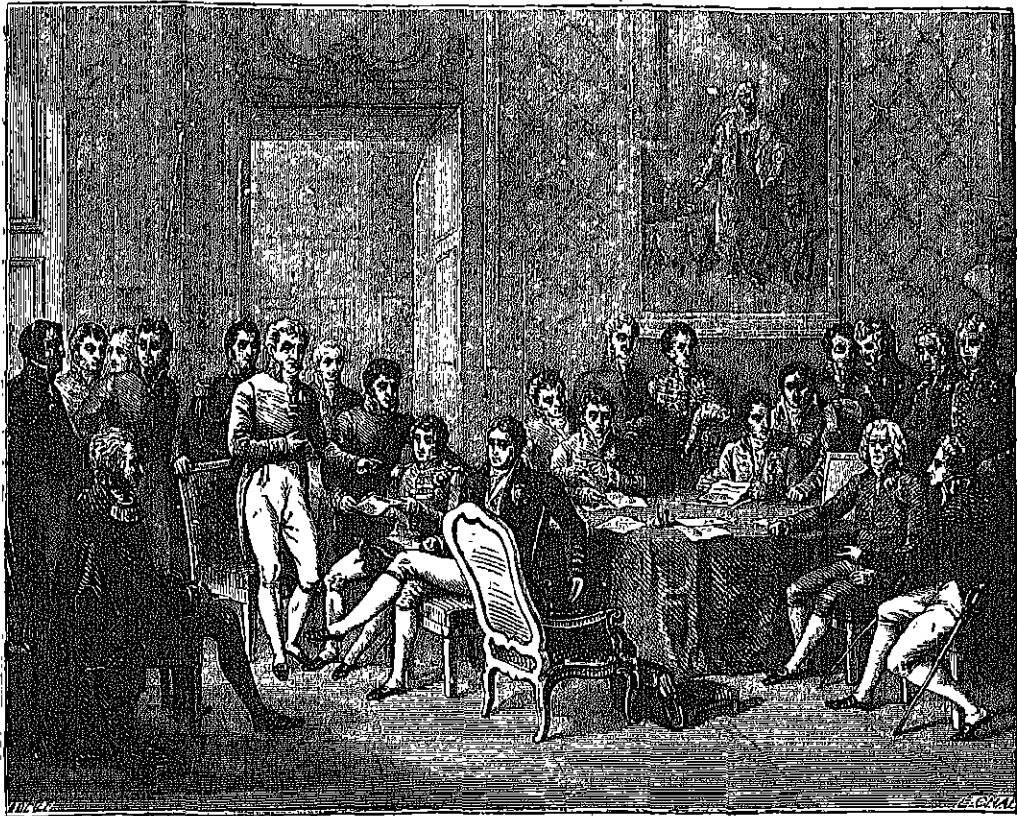
The other great men who had been associ-

ated with Napoleon met various fates. Murat, as if to play the Napoleon on a smaller scale, made his way back to Italy, and in the following October began an invasion of Calabria. A battle ensued, and the insurgents were defeated and dispersed. Murat himself was taken, tried by a court-martial, and executed on the 14th of October, 1815.

After the battle of Waterloo, the heroic Marshal Ney returned to Paris, entered the chamber of peers, and urged the necessity of saving the country by immediate negotiations. His course was conciliatory, and if the gov-

ernment had been magnanimous, the impulsive hero would have been spared. But on the 24th of July a decree of proscription was issued against him, and he was constrained to save himself by flight. Attempting to escape from the country he was seized at Auvergne, brought back to Paris, tried, and condemned to death. On the morning of the 7th of December he was led out to the end of the garden of the Luxembourg, where, placed before a file of soldiers, he faced them without a tre-

of Vienna had completed its work on the 11th of June; and something, called peace, was now restored on nearly the same basis as had been agreed upon at the Treaty of Paris in the preceding year. France was curtailed of most of her disputed territories on the side of Germany and the Netherlands. It was stipulated that the line of fortresses reaching from Cambray to Alsace should be occupied by allied garrisons for the space of five years, to the end that any further disturbance in France



CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

mor. He placed his hand upon his heart, *Vive la France!* he cried in a clear, ringing tone, and then added: "Fellow-soldiers, fire here!" The volley was discharged, and the hero lay dead before his comrades.

Immediately after the battle of Waterloo the allies marched on Paris. On the 6th of July, 1815, they reëntered the city, and two days afterwards Louis XVIII. was reëscated on the throne. The Past had now come to stay. The reëction had set in in earnest. The Republican Empire was down. The Congress

might be immediately quelled. The expense of this occupation was to be taxed to the French government, which was also obliged to pay an indemnity of seven hundred millions of francs to meet the expenses of the allied powers in the Hundred Days' war. The French were further compelled to restore to the galleries of Italy and Germany those treasures of art which Napoleon had brought to Paris. Such were the general provisions of the settlement which was concluded and signed at Paris on the 20th of November, 1815.

It might be appropriate in this connection to pause and consider briefly the general results of the great revolutionary movement with which Europe was convulsed at the beginning of the present century. The leading fact which arose out of the convulsions of this epoch was the transformation of society, first in France and afterwards in the greater part of Europe. This movement went on most rapidly during the French Revolution from 1789 to 1795. Then came the ascendancy of Napoleon. Civilization was greatly the gainer by his appearance. True, his ambition made

him a tyrant, but his genius made him a reformer. The nascent institutions of the fiery Revolution and the young Republic became organic under his powerful hand. He was a representative of the future rather than of the past; and the future was defeated and the engines of civilization for the time reversed on the field of Waterloo. Let us then return for a brief space to the annals of our own country and sketch the principal events in the history of the United States during the period covered by the French Revolution, the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire.

CHAPTER CXXI.—AMERICAN EVENTS: WAR OF 1812.

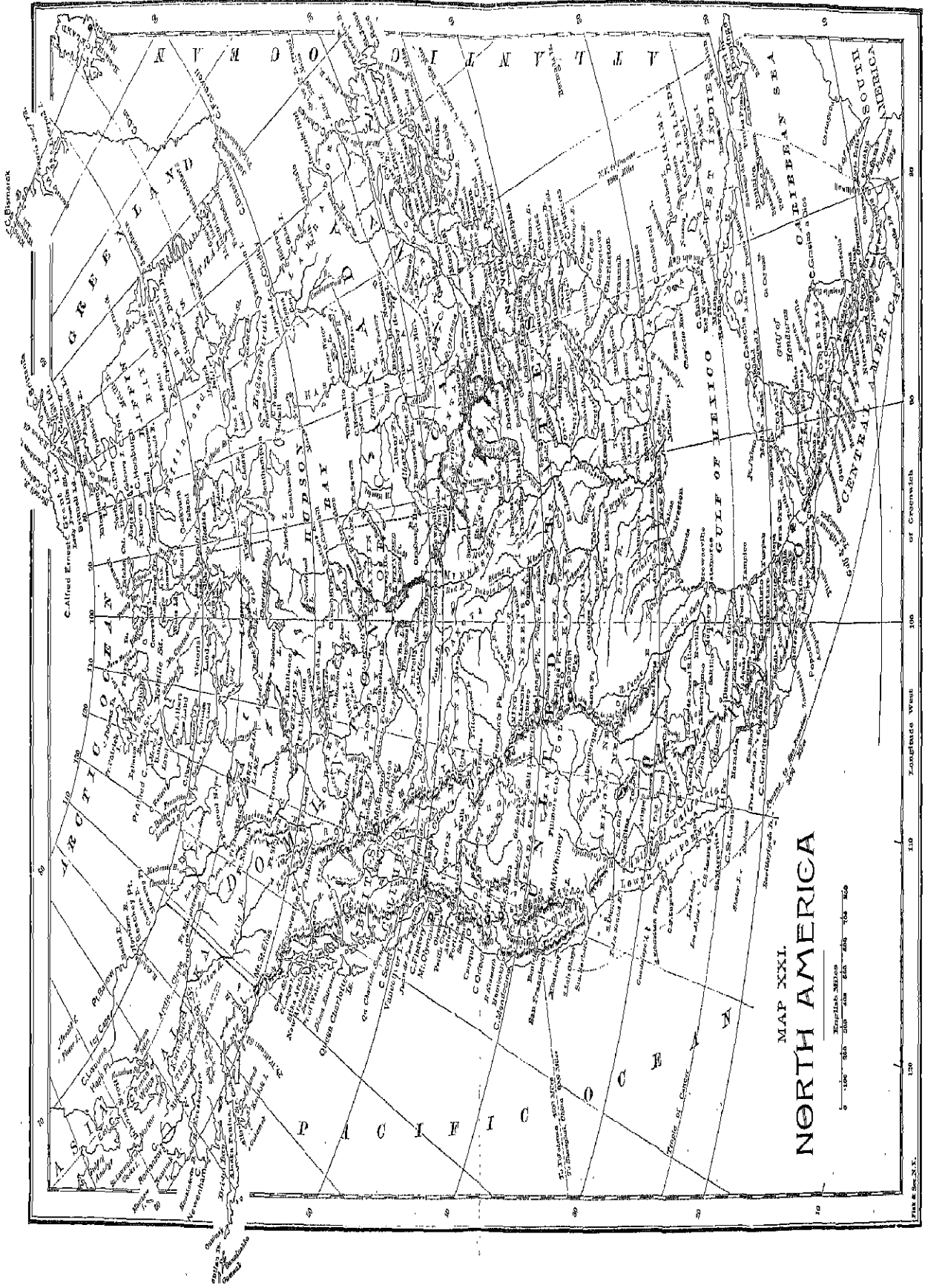
THE New Government for the United States of North America, so painfully elaborated in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, went into operation on the 30th of April, 1789. On that day the great Washington stood up on the balcony of the Old City Hall, in New York, and took the oath of office as first President of the new Republic. By the Federalists the event was hailed with delight, and by the anti-Federalists was accepted as a necessity. The day was appropriately celebrated in New York, which had been selected as the present seat of government. The streets and house-tops were thronged with people; flags fluttered; cannon boomed from the Battery. As soon as the public ceremony was ended, Washington retired to the Senate chamber and delivered his inaugural address. The organization of the two houses of Congress had already been effected.

Many were the embarrassments and difficulties of the new situation. The opponents of the Constitution were not yet silenced, and from the beginning they caviled at the measures of the administration. By the treaty of 1783 the free navigation of the Mississippi had been guaranteed. Now the jealous Spaniards of New Orleans hindered the passage of American ships. The people of the West looked to the great river as the natural outlet of their

commerce; they must be protected in their rights. On many parts of the frontier the malignant Red men were still at war with the settlers. As to financial credit, the United States had none. In the very beginning of his arduous duties Washington was prostrated with sickness, and the business of government was for many weeks delayed.

Not until September were the first important measures adopted. On the 10th of that month an act was passed by Congress instituting a department of foreign affairs, a treasury department, and a department of war. As members of his cabinet Washington nominated Jefferson, Knox, and Hamilton; the first as secretary of foreign affairs; the second, of war; and the third, of the treasury. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, a supreme court was also organized, John Jay receiving the appointment of first chief-justice. With him were joined as associate justices John Rutledge, of South Carolina; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; William Cushing, of Massachusetts; John Blair, of Virginia; and James Iredell, of North Carolina. Edmund Randolph was chosen attorney-general. Many constitutional amendments were now brought forward, and ten of them adopted.

The national debt was the greatest and most threatening question with which the new government had to deal; but the genius of Hamilton triumphed over every difficulty. The indebtedness of the United States, in-



MAP XXI.
NORTH AMERICA

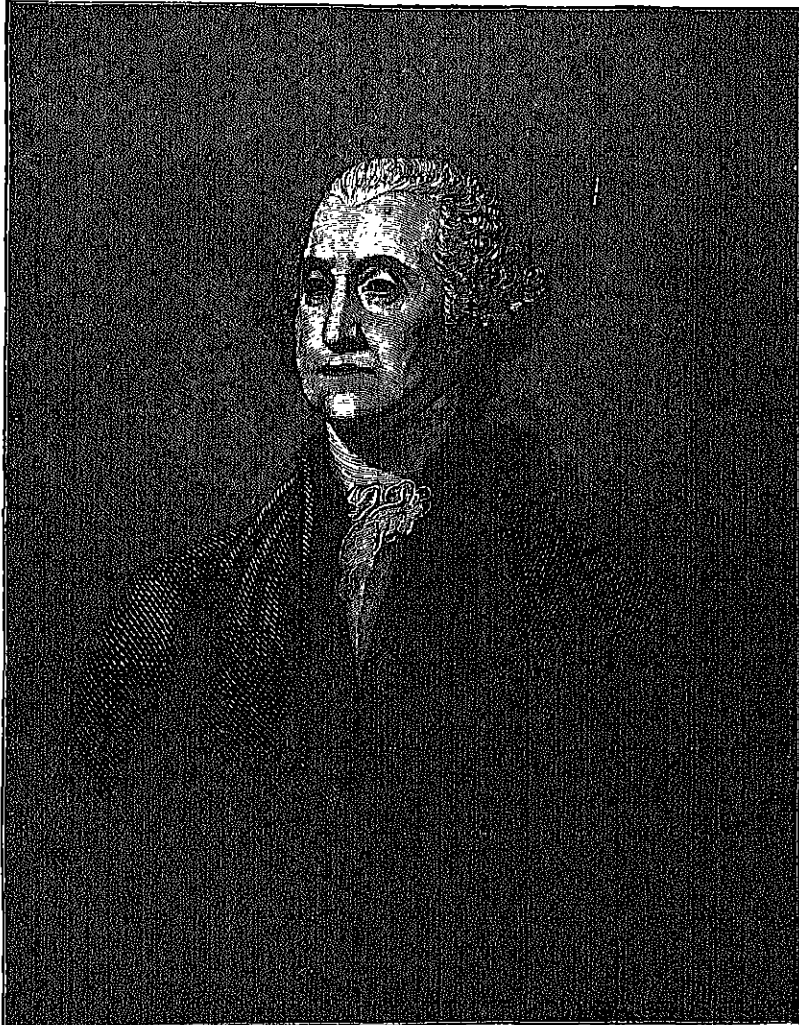
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600

cluding the revolutionary expenses of the several States, amounted to nearly eighty millions of dollars. Hamilton adopted a broad and honest policy. His plan, which was laid before Congress at the beginning of the second session, proposed that the debt of the United States due to American citizens, as well as the war debt of the individual States, should be assumed by the general government, *and that all should be fully paid.* By this measure the credit of the country was vastly improved, even before actual payment was begun.

The proposition to assume the debts of the States had been coupled with another to fix the seat of government. After much discussion it was agreed to establish the capital for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterward at some suitable locality on the Potomac. The next important measure was the organization of the territory south-west of the Ohio. In the autumn of 1790 a war broke out with the Miami Indians. These tribes went to war to recover the lands which they had ceded to the

United States. In September General Harmar, with fourteen hundred men, marched from Fort Washington, on the present site of Cincinnati, to the River Maumee. On the 21st of October the army was defeated with great loss by the Miamis at a ford of this stream, and General Harmar retreated to Fort Washington.

In 1791 THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES was established by an act of Congress. On the 4th of March Vermont, which had been an independent territory since 1777, was admitted into the Union as the fourteenth State. The claim of New York to the province had been purchased in 1789 for thirty thousand dollars. The census of the United States



WASHINGTON.

Reduced fac-simile after the copperplate engraving of James Heath. Original painting, 1795, by Gilbert Charles Stuart.

for 1790 showed a population of three million nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand.

After the defeat of Harmar, General Arthur St. Clair, with two thousand men, set out from Fort Washington to break the power of the Miamis. On the 4th of November he was attacked in the south-west angle of Mercer County, Ohio, by more than two thousand

warriors, led by Little Turtle and several American renegades. After a terrible battle St. Clair was completely defeated, with a loss of half his men. The fugitives retreated precipitately to Fort Washington. The news of the disaster spread sorrow throughout the land. St. Clair was superseded by General Wayne, whom the people had named Mad Anthony, and who, after a vigorous campaign, succeeded in crushing the Indian confedera-

teers to prey on the commerce of Great Britain, and planned an expedition against Louisiana. When Washington refused to enter into an alliance with France, the minister threatened to *appeal to the people*. But Washington stood unmoved, and demanded the minister's recall. The authorities of France heeded the demand, and the rash Genet was superseded by M. Fouchet.

In 1793 George III. issued instructions to



LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION

tion and restoring peace throughout the North-west.

At the presidential election of 1792 Washington was again unanimously chosen; as Vice-president, John Adams was reelected. The second administration was greatly troubled in its relations with foreign governments. Citizen Genet, who was sent by the French Republic as minister to the United States, arrived at Charleston, and was greeted with great enthusiasm. Taking advantage of his popularity, the ambassador fitted out priva-

teers to seize all neutral vessels found trading in the French West Indies. The United States had no notification of this measure, and American commerce, to the value of many millions of dollars, was swept from the sea. Chief Justice Jay was sent as envoy to demand redress of the British government. Contrary to expectation, his mission was successful, and in November of 1794 an honorable treaty was concluded. It was specified in the treaty that Great Britain should make reparation for the injuries done,

and surrender to the United States certain Western posts which until now had been held by England.

In 1795 the boundary between the United States and Louisiana was settled. Spain granted to the Americans the free navigation of the Mississippi. About this time a difficulty arose with the Dey of Algiers. For many years Algerine pirates had been preying upon the commerce of civilized nations. The Dey had agreed with these nations that his pirate ships should not attack their vessels if they would pay him an annual tribute. The Algerine sea-robbers were now turned loose on American commerce, and the government of the United States was also obliged to purchase safety by paying tribute.

Washington was solicited to become a candidate for a third election; but he would not. In September of 1796 he issued to the people of the United States his Farewell Address—a document full of wisdom and patriotism. The political parties at once put forward their candidates—John Adams as the choice of the Federal, and Thomas Jefferson of the anti-Federal party. The chief question between the parties was whether it was the true policy of the United States to enter into intimate relations with Republican France. The anti-Federalists said, *Yes!* The Federalists said *No!* On that issue Mr. Adams was elected, but Mr. Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, became Vice-president; for according to the old provision of the Constitution of the United States, the person who stood second on the list became the second officer in the government.

On the 4th of March, 1797, President Adams was inaugurated. From the beginning, his administration was embarrassed by political opposition. Adet, the French minister, urged the government to conclude a league with France against Great Britain; and when the President and Congress refused, the French Directory began to demand an alliance. On the 16th of March, that body issued instructions to French men-of-war to assail the commerce of the United States; and Mr. Pinckney, the American minister at Paris, was ordered to leave the country.

These proceedings were equivalent to a declaration of war. The President convened

Congress in extraordinary session. Ellbridge Gerry and John Marshall were directed to join Mr. Pinckney abroad in a final effort for a peaceable adjustment of the difficulties. But the Directory refused to receive the ambassadors except upon condition that they would pay into the French treasury a quarter of a million of dollars. Pinckney answered that the United States had *millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute*. The American envoys were thereupon ordered to leave the country.

In the following year an act was passed by Congress completing the organization of the



JOHN ADAMS

army. Washington was called from his retirement and appointed commander-in-chief. Alexander Hamilton was chosen first major-general. A navy of six frigates had been provided for at the session of the previous year, and a national loan had been authorized. The treaties with France were declared void, and vigorous preparations were made for war. The American frigates put to sea, and, in the fall of 1799, did good service for the country. Commodore Truxtun, in the *Constellation*, won distinguished honors. On the 9th of February, while cruising in the West Indies, he attacked the *Insurgent*, a French man-of-war, carrying forty guns and

more than four hundred seamen. A desperate engagement ensued, and Truxtun gained a complete victory.

Meanwhile Napoleon Bonaparte, as already narrated, overthrew the Directory of France, and made himself first consul. He immediately sought peace with the United States. Three American ambassadors—Murray, Ellsworth, and Davie—were sent to Paris in March of 1800. Negotiations were at once opened, and, in the following September, were successfully terminated with a treaty of peace.

Before the war-cloud was scattered, Amer-



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

ica was called to mourn the loss of Washington. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of only a day, the chieftain passed from among the living. All hearts were touched with sorrow. Congress went in funeral procession to the German Lutheran church, where General Henry Lee delivered a touching and eloquent oration. Throughout the world the memory of the great dead was honored with appropriate ceremonies. To the legions of France, Napoleon announced the event in a beautiful tribute of praise. The voice of partisan malignity, that had not hesitated to assail even the name of Washington, was hushed into silence; and all mankind agreed with Lord Byron in declaring the

illustrious dead to have been among warriors, statesmen, and patriots

"—The first, the last, the best,
THE CINCINNATI OF THE WEST."

The administration of Adams and the eighteenth century drew to a close together. The new Republic was growing strong and influential. The census of 1800 showed that the population of the country had increased to over five millions. The seventy-five post-offices reported by the census of 1790 had been multiplied to nine hundred and three; the exports of the United States had grown from twenty millions to nearly seventy-one millions of dollars. In December of 1800 Congress assembled in the new capital, Washington City. Virginia and Maryland had ceded to the United States the District of Columbia, a tract ten miles square lying on both sides of the Potomac. The city was laid out in 1792; and in 1800 the population numbered between eight and nine thousand.

With prudent management the Federal party might have retained control of the government. But much of the legislation of Congress had been unwise and unpopular. The "Alien Law," by which the President was authorized to send foreigners out of the country, was specially odious. The "Sedition Law," which punished with fine and imprisonment the freedom of speech and of the press, was denounced as an act of tyranny. Partisan excitement ran high. President Adams and Mr. Charles C. Pinckney were put forward as the candidates of the Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr of the Democrats. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and the choice of that body fell on Jefferson and Burr.

At the beginning of his administration the new President transferred the chief offices of the government to members of the Democratic party. Such action was justified by the adherents of the Democracy on the ground that the affairs of a republic will be best administered when the officers hold the same political sentiments. One of the first acts of Congress was to abolish the system of internal revenues. The unpopular laws against foreigners and the freedom of the press were also repealed.

In the year 1800 a line was drawn through

the North-west Territory from the mouth of the Great Miami River through Fort Recovery to Canada. Two years afterwards the country east of this line was erected into the State of Ohio, and in 1803 was admitted into the Union. The portion west of the line was organized under the name of INDIANA TERRITORY. Vincennes was the capital; and General William Henry Harrison was appointed governor. About the same time MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY was organized.

More important still was the purchase of Louisiana. In 1800 Napoleon had compelled Spain to make a cession of this territory to France. He then prepared to send an army to New Orleans to establish his authority. But the United States remonstrated against such a proceeding; and Bonaparte authorized his minister to dispose of Louisiana by sale. The President appointed Mr. Livingston and James Monroe to negotiate the purchase. On the 30th of April, 1803, terms were agreed on; and for the sum of eleven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars Louisiana was ceded to the United States. It was also agreed that the United States should pay certain debts due from France to American citizens—the sum not to exceed three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Thus did the vast domain west of the Mississippi pass under the dominion of the United States.¹

Out of the southern portion of the great province the TERRITORY OF ORLEANS was organized, with the same limits as the present State of Louisiana; the rest continued to be called THE TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA. Very justly did Mr. Livingston say to the French minister as they arose from signing the treaty: "This is the noblest work of our lives."

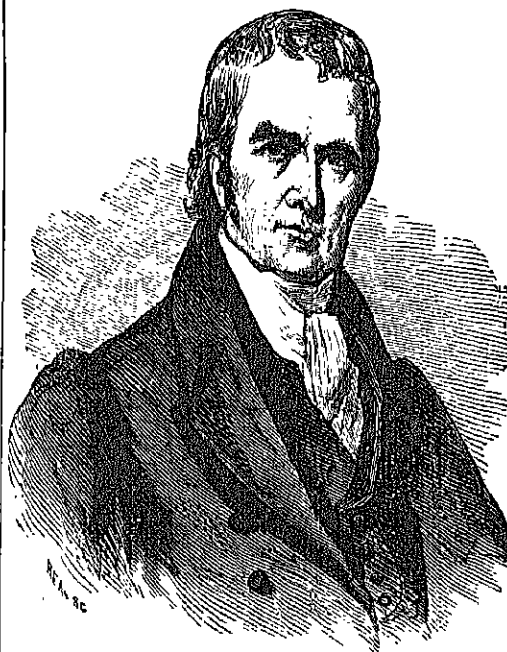
In 1801 John Marshall became chief-justice of the United States. In the colonial times the English constitution and common law had prevailed in America. When the new Republic was organized, it became necessary to modify the principles of law and to adapt

¹ Bonaparte accepted in payment six per cent bonds of the United States, payable fifteen years after date. He also agreed not to sell the bonds at such a price as would degrade the credit of the American government.

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them to the altered form of government. This great work was accomplished by Chief-justice Marshall, whose penetrating mind and thorough republicanism well-fitted him for the task.

The Mediterranean pirates still annoyed American merchantmen. The emperors of Morocco, Algiers, and Tripoli became especially troublesome. In 1803 Commodore Preble was sent to the Mediterranean to protect American commerce and punish the pirates. The frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, sailed directly to Tripoli. When nearing his destination, Bainbridge



JOHN MARSHALL.

gave chase to a buccaneer, which fled for safety to the harbor. The *Philadelphia*, in close pursuit, ran upon a reef of rocks near the shore, and was captured by the Tripolitans. The officers were treated with some respect, but the crew were enslaved. In the following February, Captain Decatur sailed to Tripoli in a Moorish ship, called the *Intrepid*. At nightfall Decatur steered into the harbor, slipped alongside of the *Philadelphia*, sprang on deck with his daring band, and killed or drove overboard every Moor on the vessel. In a moment the frigate was fired; Decatur and his crew escaped to the *Intrepid* without the loss of a man.

In July of 1804, Commodore Preble arrived at Tripoli and began a siege. The town was bombarded, and several Moorish vessels were destroyed. In the mean time William Eaton, the American consul at Tunis, had organized a force, and was marching overland to Tripoli. Hamet, who was the rightful sovereign of Tripoli, was cooperating with Eaton in an effort to recover his kingdom. Yusef, the Tripolitan Emperor, alarmed at the dangers around him, made overtures for peace. His offers were accepted by Mr. Lear, the American consul for the Barbary States; and a treaty was concluded on the 4th of June, 1805.

In the preceding year the country was shocked by the intelligence that Vice-president Burr had killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel. As his term of office drew to a close the ambitious and unscrupulous Burr foresaw that he would not be renominated. In 1803 he became a candidate for governor of New York; but Hamilton's influence in that State prevented his election. Burr thereupon sought a quarrel with Hamilton; challenged him; met him at Weehawken on the morning of the 11th of July, and deliberately murdered him. Thus the brightest intellect in America was put out in darkness.

In the autumn of 1804 Jefferson was reelected. For Vice-president George Clinton, of New York, was chosen in place of Burr, whose reputation was ruined. In the next year a part of the North-western Territory was organized under the name of MICHIGAN. In the same spring Captains Lewis and Clarke set out from the falls of the Missouri River, with thirty-five soldiers and hunters, to explore Oregon. For two years, through forests of gigantic pines and along the banks of unknown rivers, did they continue their explorations. After wandering among unheard-of tribes of savages, and traversing a route of six thousand miles, the adventurers, with the loss of but one man, returned to civilization, bringing with them the first authentic information which the people had obtained of the vast regions between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

After the death of Hamilton, Burr fled to the South. At the opening of the next session of Congress he returned to preside over

the Senate. Then he took up his residence with an Irish exile named Blannerhassett, who had built a mansion on an island in the Ohio, near the mouth of the River Muskingum. Here Burr made a treasonable scheme to raise a military force, invade Mexico, detach the South-western States from the Union, and overthrow the government of the United States. But his purposes were suspected. The military preparations at Blannerhassett's Island were broken up. Burr was arrested in Alabama and taken to Richmond to be tried for treason. Chief-justice Marshall presided at the trial, and Burr conducted his own defense. The verdict was, "Not guilty—for want of sufficient proof." Burr afterwards practiced law in New York, lived to old age, and died in poverty and disgrace.

During Jefferson's second term the country was much agitated by the aggressions of the British navy. England and France were now engaged in deadly war. The British authorities struck blow after blow against the trade between France and foreign nations; and Napoleon retaliated. The plan adopted by the two powers was, as already narrated, to blockade each other's ports, either with paper proclamations or with men-of-war. By such means the commerce of the United States was greatly injured. Great Britain next set up her peculiar claim of citizenship, that whoever is born in England remains through life a subject of England. English cruisers were authorized to search American vessels for persons suspected of being British subjects, and those who were taken were impressed as seamen in the English navy.

On the 22d of June, 1807, the frigate *Chesapeake* was hailed near Fortress Monroe by a British man-of-war called the *Leopard*. British officers came on board and demanded to search the vessel for deserters. The demand was refused and the ship cleared for action. But before the guns could be charged the *Leopard* poured in a destructive fire, and compelled a surrender. Four men were taken from the captured ship, three of whom proved to be American citizens. Great Britain disavowed this outrage and promised reparation; but the promise was never fulfilled.

The President soon afterwards issued a

proclamation forbidding British ships of war to enter American harbors. On the 21st of December Congress passed the EMBARGO ACT, by which all American vessels were detained in the ports of the United States. The object was to cut off commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain. But the measure was of little avail, and after fourteen months the Embargo Act was repealed. Meanwhile, in November of 1808, the British government, as previously narrated, published an "Order in Council," prohibiting *all* trade with France and her allies. Thereupon Napoleon issued the "Milan Decree," forbidding all trade with England and her colonies. By these outrages the commerce of the United States was well-nigh destroyed.

While the country was thus distracted Robert Fulton was building THE FIRST STEAM-BOAT. This event exercised a vast influence on the future development of the nation. It was of great importance to the people of the inland States that their rivers should be enlivened with rapid navigation. This, without the application of steam, was impossible. Fulton was an Irishman by descent and a Pennsylvanian by birth. His education in boyhood was imperfect, but was afterwards improved by study at London and Paris. Returning to New York, he began the construction of a steamboat. When the ungainly craft was completed, Fulton invited his friends to go on board and enjoy a trip to Albany. On the 2d of September, 1807, the crowds gathered on the shore. The word was given, and the boat did not move. Fulton went below. Again the word was given, and *the boat moved*. On the next day the company reached Albany, and for many years this first rude steamer, called the *Clermont*, continued to ply the Hudson.

Jefferson's administration drew to a close. The territorial area of the United States had been vastly extended. Burr's wicked conspiracy had come to naught. Pioneers were pouring into the valley of the Mississippi. The woods by the river-shores resounded with the cry of steam. But the foreign relations of the United States were troubled. Jefferson declined a third election, and was succeeded by James Madison, of Virginia. For Vice-president, George Clinton was reelected.

The new President had been a member of the Continental Congress, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and secretary of state under Jefferson. He owed his election to the Democratic party, whose sympathy with France and hostility to Great Britain were well known. On the 1st of March, the Embargo Act was repealed by Congress, and another measure adopted by which American ships were allowed to go abroad, but were forbidden to trade with Great Britain.¹ Mr. Erskine, the British minister, now gave notice that, by the 10th of June, the "Orders in Council," so far as



ROBERT FULTON.

they affected the United States, should be repealed.

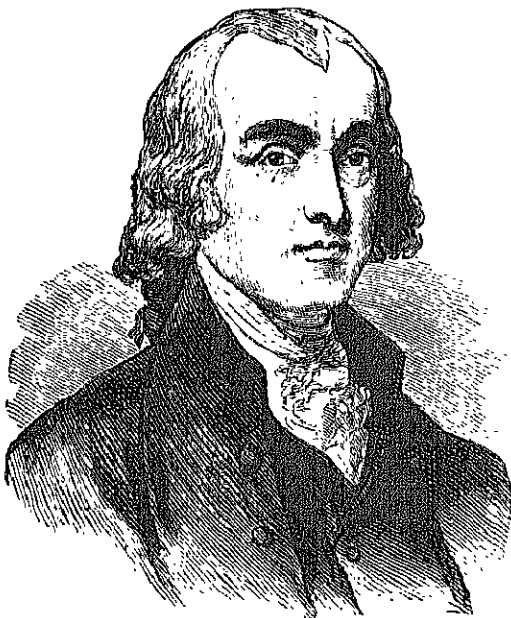
In the following spring Bonaparte issued his decree for the seizure of all American vessels that might approach the ports of France. But in November the decree was reversed, and all restrictions on the commerce of the United States were removed. But the government of Great Britain adhered to its former measures, and sent ships of war to enforce the "Orders in Council."

The affairs of the two nations were fast ap-

¹The Embargo Act had been the subject of much ridicule. The opponents of the measure, spelling the word backward, called it the *O Grab me* act.

proaching a crisis. The government of the United States had fallen completely under control of the party which sympathized with France. The American people, smarting under the insults of Great Britain, had adopted the motto of FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS, and had made up their minds to fight. The elections held between 1808 and 1811 showed the drift of public opinion; the sentiment of the country was that war was preferable to national disgrace.

In the spring of 1810 the third census of the United States was completed. The population had increased to seven million two hun-



JAMES MADISON.

dred and forty thousand souls. The States now numbered seventeen; and several new Territories were preparing for admission into the Union.¹ The rapid march of civilization westward had aroused the jealousy of the Red men, and Indiana Territory was afflicted with an Indian war. The hostile tribes were led by the great Shawnee chief, Tecumtha, and his brother, called the Prophet, who gathered their forces on the Tippecanoe, where General Harrison, in command of the Whites, had encamped. On the morning of the 7th of November, 1811, the savages, seven hundred strong, crept through the marshes, surrounded

Harrison's position, and burst upon the camp. But the American militia fought in the darkness, held the Indians in check until daylight, and then routed them in several vigorous charges. On the next day the Americans burned the Prophet's town, and soon afterwards returned to Vincennes.

Meanwhile, Great Britain and the United States had come into conflict on the ocean. On the 16th of May, Commodore Rodgers, commanding the frigate *President*, hailed a vessel off the coast of Virginia. Instead of a polite answer, he received a cannon-ball in the mainmast. Rodgers responded with a broadside, silencing the enemy's guns. In the morning—for it was already dark—the hostile ship was found to be the British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*. This event produced great excitement throughout the country.

On the 4th of November, 1811, the twelfth Congress of the United States assembled. Many of the members still hoped for peace; and the winter passed without decisive measures. On the 4th of April, 1812, an act was passed laying an embargo for ninety days on all British vessels within the harbors of the United States. But Great Britain would not recede from her hostile attitude. Before the actual outbreak of hostilities, Louisiana, the eighteenth State, was, on the 8th of April, admitted into the Union. Her population had already reached seventy-seven thousand.

On the 19th of June, a declaration of war was issued against Great Britain. Vigorous preparations for the conflict were made by Congress. It was ordered to raise twenty-five thousand regular troops and fifty thousand volunteers. The several States were requested to call out a hundred thousand militia. A national loan of eleven million dollars was authorized. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was chosen commander-in-chief of the army.

The war was begun by General William Hull, governor of Michigan Territory. On the 1st of June, he marched from Dayton with fifteen hundred men. For a full month the army toiled through the forests to the western extremity of Lake Erie. Arriving at the Maumee, Hull sent his baggage to Detroit. But the British at Malden were on the alert, and captured Hull's boat with every

¹ Kentucky had been admitted in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796.



UNITED STATES ARMY AND NAVY UNIFORMS — War of 1812

thing on board. Nevertheless, the Americans pressed on to Detroit, and on the 12th of July crossed the river to Sandwich.

Hull, hearing that Mackinaw had been taken by the British, soon returned to Detroit. From this place he sent Major Van Horne to meet Major Brush, who had reached the river Raisin with reinforcements. But Tecumtha laid an ambush for Van Horne's forces, and defeated them near Brownstown. Colonel Miller, with another detachment, attacked and routed the savages with great loss, and then returned to Detroit.

General Brock, governor of Canada, now took command of the British at Malden. On the 16th of August he advanced to the siege of Detroit. The Americans in their trenches were eager for battle. When the British were within five hundred yards, Hull hoisted a white flag over the fort. Then followed a surrender, the most shameful in the history of the United States. All the forces under Hull's command became prisoners of war. The whole of Michigan Territory was surrendered to the British. Hull was afterwards court-martialed and sentenced to be shot; but the President pardoned him.

On the 19th of August, the frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, overtook the British *Guerriere* off the coast of Massachusetts. The vessels maneuvered for awhile, the *Constitution* closing with her antagonist, until at half-pistol shot she poured in a broadside, sweeping the decks of the *Guerriere* and deciding the contest. On the following morning, the *Guerriere*, being unmanageable, was blown up; and Hull returned to port with his prisoners and spoils.

On the 18th of October, the American *Wasp*, under Captain Jones, fell in with a fleet of British merchantmen off the coast of Virginia. The squadron was under protection of the *Frolic*, commanded by Captain Whin Yates. A terrible engagement ensued, lasting for three-quarters of an hour. Finally the American crew boarded the *Frolic* and struck the British flag. Soon afterwards the *Poictiers*, a British seventy-four gun ship, bore down upon the scene, captured the *Wasp*, and retook the wreck of the *Frolic*.

On the 25th of the month Commodore Decatur, commanding the frigate *United States*,

captured the British *Macedonian*, a short distance west of the Canary Islands. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded amounted to more than a hundred men. On the 12th of December the *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, captured the *Nocton*, a British packet, having on board fifty-five thousand dollars in specie. On the 29th of December the *Constitution*, under command of Commodore Bainbridge, met the *Java* on the coast of Brazil. A furious battle ensued, continuing for two hours. The *Java* was reduced to a wreck before the flag was struck. The crew and passengers, numbering upward of four hundred, were transferred to the *Constitution*, and the hull was burned at sea. The news of these victories roused the enthusiasm of the people to the highest pitch.

On the 13th of October a thousand men, commanded by General Stephen Van Rensselaer, crossed the Niagara River to capture Queenstown. They were resisted at the water's edge; but the British batteries on the heights were finally carried. The enemy's forces, returning to the charge, were a second time repulsed. General Brock fell mortally wounded. The Americans intrenched themselves, and waited for reinforcements. None came, and after losing a hundred and sixty men, they were then obliged to surrender. General Van Rensselaer resigned his command, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth.

The Americans now rallied at Black Rock, a few miles north of Buffalo. From this point, on the 28th of November, a company was sent across to the Canada shore; but General Smyth ordered the advance party to return. A few days afterwards another crossing was planned, but the Americans were again commanded to return to winter quarters. The militia became mutinous. Smyth was charged with cowardice and deposed from his command. In the autumn of 1812, Madison was reelected President; the choice for Vice-president fell on Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts.

In the beginning of 1813, the American army was organized in three divisions: THE ARMY OF THE NORTH, under General Wade Hampton; THE ARMY OF THE CENTER, under the commander-in-chief; THE ARMY OF THE

WEST, under General Winchester, who was soon superseded by General Harrison. Early in January the latter division moved towards Lake Erie to regain the ground lost by Hull. On the 10th of the month, the American advance reached the rapids of the Maumee, thirty miles from Winchester's camp. A detachment then pressed forward to Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, captured the town, and on the 20th of the month were joined by Winchester with the main division. Two days afterwards the Americans were assaulted by a thousand five hundred British and Indians under General Proctor. A severe battle was fought. General Winchester, having been taken by the enemy, advised his forces to capitulate. The American wounded were left to the mercy of the savages, who at once began and completed their work of butchery. The rest of the prisoners were dragged away, through untold sufferings, to Detroit, where they were afterwards ransomed.

General Harrison now built Fort Meigs, on the Maumee. Here he was besieged by two thousand British and savages, led by Proctor and Tecumtha. Meanwhile General Clay, with twelve hundred Kentuckians, advanced to the relief of the fort. In a few days the Indians deserted in large numbers, and Proctor, becoming alarmed, abandoned the siege and retreated to Malden. Late in July, Proctor and Tecumtha, with nearly four thousand men, again besieged Fort Meigs. Failing to draw out the garrison, the British general filed off with half his forces and attacked Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky. This place was defended by a hundred and sixty men, under Colonel Croghan, a stripling but twenty-one years of age. On the 2d of August, the British advanced to storm the fort. Having crowded into the trench, they were swept away almost to a man. The repulse was complete. Proctor now raised the siege at Fort Meigs and returned to Malden.

At this time LAKE ERIE was commanded by a British squadron of six vessels. The work of recovering these waters was intrusted to Commodore Oliver H. Perry. His antagonist, Commodore Barclay, was a veteran from Europe. With great energy Perry directed the construction of nine ships, and was

soon afloat. On the 10th of September the two fleets met near Put-in Bay. The battle was begun by the American squadron, Perry's flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, leading the attack. His principal antagonist was the *Detroit*, under command of Barclay. The British guns had the wider range and were better served. In a short time the *Lawrence* was ruined, and Barclay's flag-ship was almost a wreck.

Perceiving how the battle stood, Perry seized his banner, got overboard into an open boat, and transferred his flag to the *Niagara*. With this powerful vessel he bore down upon the enemy's line, drove right through the midst, discharging terrible broadsides right and left. In fifteen minutes the British fleet was helpless. Perry returned to the hull of the *Lawrence*, and there received the surrender. And then he sent to General Harrison this dispatch: "WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY, AND THEY ARE OURS."

For the Americans the way was now opened to Canada. On the 27th of September Harrison's army was landed near Malden. The British retreated to the RIVER THAMES, and there faced about to fight. A battle-field was chosen extending from the river to a swamp. Here, on the 5th of October, the British were attacked by Generals Harrison and Shelby. In the beginning of the battle Proctor fled. The British regulars were broken by the Kentuckians under Colonel Richard M. Johnson. The Americans wheeled against the fifteen hundred Indians, who lay hidden in the swamp. Tecumtha had staked all on the issue. For awhile the war-whoop sounded above the din of the conflict. Presently his voice was heard no longer, for the great chief-tain had fallen. The savages, appalled by the death of their leader, fled in despair. So ended the campaign in the West. All that Hull had lost was regained.

Meanwhile, the Creeks of Alabama had taken up arms. In the latter part of August Fort Mims, forty miles north of Mobile, was surprised by the savages, who murdered nearly four hundred people. The governors of Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi made immediate preparation for invading the country of the Creeks. The Tennesseans, under General Jackson, were first to the res-

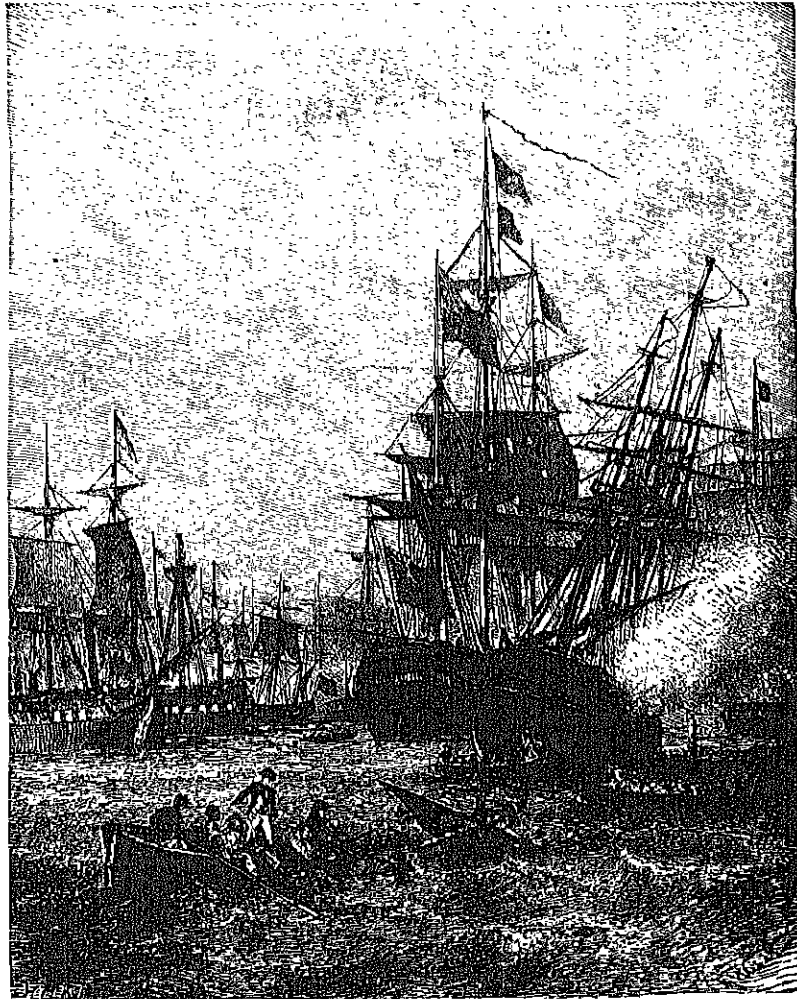
cue. Nine hundred men, led by General Coffee, reached the Indian town of Tallushatchee, burned it, and left not an Indian alive. On the 8th of November a battle was fought at Talladega, and the savages were defeated with severe losses. Another fight occurred at Autosse, on the Tallapoosa, and again the Indians were disastrously routed.

During the winter Jackson's troops became mutinous, and were going home. But the general set them the example of living on acorns, and threatened with death the first man who stirred from the ranks. And no man stirred. On the 22d of January, 1814, the battle of Emucfau was fought. The Tennesseans again gained the victory. At Horse-shoe Bend the Creeks made their final stand. On the 27th of March the whites, under General Jackson, stormed the breastworks and drove the Indians into the bend of the river. There, huddled

together, a thousand Creek warriors, with the women and children of the tribe, met their doom. The nation was completely conquered.

On the 25th of April, 1813, General Dearborn, commanding the Army of the Center, embarked his forces at Sackett's Harbor, and proceeded against Toronto. Here was the most important dépôt of supplies in British America. The American fleet, under Com-

modore Chauncey, had already obtained the mastery of Lake Ontario. On the 27th of the month, seventeen hundred men, under General Pike, were landed near Toronto. The Americans drove the enemy from the water's edge, stormed a battery, and rushed forward to carry the main defenses. At that moment the British magazine blew up with



PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE.

terific violence. Two hundred men were killed or wounded. General Pike was fatally injured; but the Americans continued the charge and drove the British out of the town. Property to the value of a half million dollars was secured to the victors.

While this movement was taking place, the enemy made a descent on Sackett's Harbor. But General Brown rallied the militia and drove back the assailants. The victorious

troops at Toronto reembarked and crossed the lake to the mouth of the Niagara. On the 27th of May the Americans, led by Generals Chandler and Winder, stormed Fort George. The British retreated to Burlington Bay at the western extremity of the lake.

After the battle of the Thames, General Harrison had transferred his forces to Buffalo, and then resigned his commission. General Dearborn also withdrew from the service, and was succeeded by General Wilkinson. The next campaign, planned by General Armstrong, embraced the conquest of Montreal. The Army of the Center was ordered to join the Army of the North on the St. Lawrence. On the 5th of November, seven thousand men, embarking twenty miles north of Sackett's Harbor, sailed against Montreal. Parties of British, Canadians, and Indians, gathering on the bank of the river, impeded the expedition. General Brown was landed with a considerable force to drive the enemy into the interior. On the 11th of the month a severe but indecisive battle was fought at a place called Chrysler's Field. The Americans passed down the river to St. Regis, where the forces of General Hampton were expected to form a junction with Wilkinson's command. But Hampton did not arrive; and the Americans went into winter quarters at Fort Covington. In the mean time, the British on the Niagara rallied and recaptured Fort George. Before retreating, General McClure, the commandant, burned the town of Newark. The British and Indians crossed the river, took Fort Niagara, and fired the villages of Youngstown, Lewiston, and Manchester. On the 30th of December, Black Rock and Buffalo were burned.

Off the coast of Demerara, on the 24th of February, 1813, the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, commanded by Captain James Lawrence, fell in with the British brig *Peacock*. A terrible battle of fifteen minutes ensued, and the *Peacock* struck her colors. While the Americans were transferring the conquered crew, the ocean yawned and the brig sank. Nine British sailors and three of Lawrence's men were sucked down in the whirlpool.

On returning to Boston, the command of the *Chesapeake* was given to Lawrence, and again he put to sea. He was soon challenged

by Captain Broke, of the British *Shannon*, to fight him. Eastward from Cape Ann, the two vessels met on the 1st day of June. The battle was obstinate, brief, dreadful. In a short time every officer of the *Chesapeake* was either killed or wounded. Lawrence was struck with a musket-ball, and fell dying on the deck. As they bore him down the hatchway, he gave his last order—ever afterwards the motto of the American sailor—"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP!" The *Shannon* towed her prize into the harbor of Halifax. There the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow, second in command, were buried by the British.

On the 14th of August, the American brig *Argus* was overtaken by the *Pelican* and obliged to surrender. On the 5th of September, the British brig *Boxer* was captured by the American *Enterprise* off the coast of Maine. Captain Blyth, the British commander, and Burrows, the American captain, both of whom were killed in the battle, were buried side by side at Portland. On the 28th of the following March, while the *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, was lying in the harbor of Valparaiso, she was attacked by two British vessels, the *Phoebe* and the *Cherub*. Captain Porter fought his antagonists until nearly all of his men were killed or wounded; then struck his colors and surrendered.

From honorable warfare the naval officers of England stooped to marauding. Early in the year, Lewiston was bombarded by a British squadron. Other British men-of-war entered the Chesapeake and burned several villages on the shores of the bay. At the town of Hampton the soldiers and marines perpetrated great outrages. Commodore Hardy, to whom the blockade of New England had been assigned, behaved with more humanity. Even the Americans praised him for his honorable conduct. So the year 1813 closed without decisive results.

In the spring of 1814, another invasion of Canada was planned; but there was much delay. Not until the 3d of July did Generals Scott and Ripley, with three thousand men, cross the Niagara and capture Fort Erie. On the following day, the Americans advanced in the direction of CHIPPewa VILLAGE. Before reaching that place, however, they were met by the British, led by General Riall.

On the evening of the 5th, a severe battle was fought on the plain south of Chippewa River. The Americans, led on by Generals Scott and Ripley, won the day.

General Riall retreated to Burlington Heights. On the evening of the 25th of July, General Scott, commanding the American right, found himself confronted by Riall's army on the high grounds in sight of NIAGARA FALLS. Here was fought the hardest battle of the war. Scott held his own until reinforced by other divisions of the army. The British reserves were brought into action. Twilight faded into darkness. A detachment of Americans, getting upon the British rear, captured General Riall and his staff. The key to the enemy's position was a high ground crowned with a battery. Calling Colonel James Miller to his side, General Brown said, "Colonel, take your regiment and storm that battery." "I'LL TRY, SIR," was Miller's answer; and he *did* take it, and held it against three assaults of the British. General Drummond was wounded, and the royal army, numbering five thousand, was driven from the field with a loss of more than eight hundred. The Americans lost an equal number.

After this battle of Niagara, or Lundy's Lane, the American forces fell back to Fort Erie. General Gaines crossed over from Buffalo and assumed command of the army. General Drummond received reinforcements, and on the 4th of August invested Fort Erie. The siege continued until the 17th of September, when a sortie was made and the works of the British were carried. General Drummond then raised the siege and retreated to Fort George. On the 5th of November Fort Erie was destroyed by the Americans, who recrossed the Niagara and went into winter quarters at Black Rock and Buffalo.

The winter of 1813-14 was passed by the army of the North at Fort Covington. In the latter part of February General Wilkinson began an invasion of Canada. At La Colle, on the Sorel, he attacked the enemy and was defeated. Falling back to Plattsburg, he was superseded by General Izard. At this time the American fleet on Lake Champlain was commanded by Commodore MacDonough. The British General Prevost now advanced into New York at the head of four-

teen thousand men, and ordered Commodore Downie to ascend the Sorel with his fleet.

The invading army reached PLATTSBURG. Commodore MacDonough's squadron lay in the bay. On the 6th of September, Macomb retired with his forces to the south bank of the Saranac. For four days the British renewed their efforts to cross the river. Downie's fleet was now ready for action, and a general battle was planned for the 11th. Prevost's army was to carry Macomb's position, while the British flotilla was to bear down on MacDonough. The naval battle began first, and was obstinately fought for two hours and a half. Downie and many of his officers were killed; the heavier British vessels were disabled and obliged to strike their colors. The smaller ships escaped. After a severe action, the British army on the shore was also defeated. Prevost retired precipitately to Canada and the English ministry began to devise measures of peace.

Late in the summer, Admiral Cochrane arrived off the coast of Virginia with an armament of twenty-one vessels. General Ross, with an army of four thousand veterans, came with the fleet. The American squadron, commanded by Commodore Barney, was unable to oppose so powerful a force. The enemy entered the Chesapeake with the purpose of attacking Washington and Baltimore. The larger division sailed into the Patuxent and on the 19th of August the forces of General Ross were landed at Benedict. Commodore Barney was obliged to blow up his vessels and take to the shore. From Benedict the British advanced against Washington. At Bladensburg six miles from the capital, they were met on the 24th of the month by the forces of Barney. Here a battle was fought. The militia behaved badly; Barney was defeated and taken prisoner. The President, the cabinet, and the people betook themselves to flight, and Ross marched unopposed into Washington. All the public buildings, except the Patent Office, were burned. The unfinished Capitol and the President's house were left a mass of ruins.

Five days afterward, a portion of the British fleet reached Alexandria. The inhabitants purchased the forbearance of the enemy by the surrender of twenty-one ships, sixteen thousand barrels of flour, and a thousand hogsheads of

tobacco. After the capture of Washington, General Ross proceeded with his army and fleet to Baltimore. The militia, to the number of ten thousand, gathered under command of General Samuel Smith. On the 12th of September, the British were landed at the mouth of the Patapsco; and the fleet began the ascent of the river. The land-forces were met by the Americans under General Stricker. A skirmish ensued, in which General Ross was killed; but Colonel Brooks assumed command, and the march was continued. Near the city, the British came upon the American lines and were brought to a halt.

Meanwhile, the British squadron had ascended the Patapsco, and begun the bombardment of Fort M'Henry. From sunrise of the 13th until after midnight, the guns of the fleet poured a tempest of shells upon the fortress.¹ At the end of that time, the works were as strong as at the beginning. The British had undertaken more than they could accomplish. Disheartened and baffled, they ceased to fire. The land-forces retired from before the intrenchments, and the siege of Baltimore was at an end.

On the 9th and 10th of August, the village of Stonington, Connecticut, was bombarded by Commodore Hardy; but the British, attempting to land, were driven back. The fisheries of New England were broken up. The salt-works at Cape Cod escaped by the payment of heavy ransoms. All the harbors from Maine to Delaware were blockaded. The foreign commerce of the Eastern States was totally destroyed.

From the beginning, many of the people of New England had opposed the war. The members of the Federal party cried out against it. The legislature of Massachusetts advised the calling of a convention. The other Eastern States responded to the call; and on the 14th of December the delegates assembled at Hartford. The leaders of the Democratic party did not hesitate to say that the purposes of the assembly were disloyal and treasonable. After remaining in session, with closed doors, for nearly three weeks, the delegates published an address, and then adjourned. The political

prospects of those who participated in the convention were ruined.

During the progress of the war the Spanish authorities of Florida sympathized with the British. In August of 1814, a British fleet was allowed by the commandant of Pensacola to use that post for the purpose of fitting out an expedition against Fort Bowyer, on the bay of Mobile. General Jackson, who commanded in the South, remonstrated with the Spaniards, but received no satisfaction. He thereupon marched a force against Pensacola, stormed the town, and drove the British out of Florida.

General Jackson next learned that the British were making preparations for the conquest of Louisiana. Repairing to New Orleans, he declared martial law, mustered the militia, and adopted measures for repelling the invasion. From La Fitte, a smuggler, he learned the enemy's plans. The British army, numbering twelve thousand, came from Jamaica, under Sir Edward Pakenham. On the 10th of December, the squadron entered Lake Borgne, sixty miles north-east of New Orleans.

On the 22d of the month, Pakenham's advance reached the Mississippi, nine miles below the city. On the night of the 23d, Generals Jackson and Coffee advanced with two thousand Tennessee riflemen to attack the British camp. After a bloody assault, Jackson was obliged to fall back to a strong position on the canal, four miles below the city. Pakenham advanced, and on the 28th cannonaded the American position. On New Year's Day the attack was renewed, and the enemy was driven back. Pakenham now made arrangements for a general battle.

Jackson was ready. Earthworks had been constructed, and a long line of cotton-bales and sand-bags thrown up for protection. On the 8th of January, the British moved forward. The battle began with the light of morning, and was ended before nine o'clock. Column after column of the British was smitten with irretrievable ruin. Jackson's men were almost entirely secure from the enemy's fire, while every discharge of the Tennessee and Kentucky rifles told with awful effect on the exposed veterans of England. Pakenham was killed; General Gibbs was mortally wounded. Only General Lambert was left to call the fragments of the army from the field.

¹ During the night of this bombardment, Francis S. Key, who was detained on board a British ship in the bay, composed *The Star Spangled Banner*.

Of the British, seven hundred were killed, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred taken prisoners. The American loss amounted to *eight killed and thirteen wounded*.

General Lambert retired with his ruined army into Lake Borgne. Jackson marched into New Orleans and was received with great enthusiasm. Such was the close of the war on land. On the 20th of February the American *Constitution*, off Cape St. Vincent, captured two British vessels, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*. On the 23d of March, the American *Hornet* ended the conflict by capturing the British *Penguin* off the coast of Brazil.

Already a treaty of peace had been made. In the summer of 1814, American commissioners were sent to Ghent, in Belgium, and were there met by the ambassadors of Great Britain. The agents of the United States were John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin. On the 24th of December, a treaty was agreed to and signed. In both countries the news was received with deep satisfaction. On the 18th of February, the treaty was ratified by the Senate, and peace was publicly proclaimed.

Never was there a more absurd treaty than that of Ghent. Its only significance was that Great Britain and the United States, having been at war, agreed to be at peace. Not one of the distinctive issues to decide which the war had been undertaken was settled or even mentioned. Of the impressment of American seamen not a word was said. The wrongs done to the commerce of the United States were not referred to. The rights of neutral nations were left as undetermined as before. Of "free trade and sailors' rights," which had been the battle-cry of the American navy, no mention was made. The principal articles of the compact were devoted to the settlement of unimportant boundaries and the possession of some petty islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy. There is little doubt, however, that at the time of the treaty Great Britain gave the United States a private assurance that impressment and the other wrongs complained of by the Americans should be practiced no more. For the space of sixty years vessels bearing the flag of the United States have been secure from such insults as caused the

war of 1812. Another advantage gained by America was the recognition of her naval power. It was no longer doubtful that American sailors were the peers in valor and patriotism of any seamen in the world. It was no small triumph for the Republic that her flag should henceforth be honored on every ocean.

The country was now burdened with a war-debt of a hundred million dollars. The monetary affairs of the nation were in a deplorable condition. The charter of the Bank of the United States expired in 1811, and the other banks had been obliged to suspend specie payment. Trade was paralyzed for the want of money. In 1816 a bill was passed by Congress to re-charter the Bank of the United States. The President interposed his veto; but in the following session the bill was again passed in an amended form. On the 4th of March, 1817, the bank went into operation; and the business and credit of the country began to revive.

During the war with Great Britain the Algerine pirates renewed their depredations on American commerce. The government of the United States now ordered Commodore Decatur to proceed to the Mediterranean and chastise the sea-robbers into submission. On the 17th of June, Decatur fell in with the principal frigate of the Algerine squadron, and after a severe fight, compelled the Moorish ship to surrender. On the 19th, the commodore captured another frigate. A few days afterward he sailed into the Bay of Algiers, and obliged the frightened Dey to make a treaty. The Moorish Emperor released his American prisoners, relinquished all claims to tribute, and gave a pledge that his ships should trouble American merchantmen no more. Decatur next sailed against Tunis and Tripoli, compelled these States to give pledges of good conduct, and to pay large sums for former depredations.

The close of Madison's administration was signalized by the admission of Indiana into the Union. The new commonwealth was admitted in December, 1816. About the same time was founded the Colonization Society of the United States. Many distinguished Americans became members of the association, the object of which was to provide a refuge for free persons of color. Liberia, in Western

Africa, was selected as the seat of the proposed colony. Immigrants arrived in sufficient numbers to found a flourishing negro State. The capital was named Monrovia, in honor of James Monroe, who, in the fall of 1816, was elected as Madison's successor. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, was chosen Vice-president.

On the whole the War of 1812 conducted largely to the *independence* of the United States. The American nation became more conscious of its existence, more self-sufficient, than ever before. The reader will have readily perceived that the conflict was in the nature of a side issue, or corollary, of the greater strug-

gle going on in Europe. On the side of Great Britain the war was waged but feebly, as though she knew herself to be in the wrong. As soon as a fair opportunity was presented she receded from a contest in which she had engaged in only a half-hearted way, and of which she had good cause to be ashamed. At the close of the conflict the historian comes to what may be called the Middle Ages of the United States—an epoch during which the tides of population rolled into the Mississippi Valley, a powerful physical civilization was developed, and the institution of African slavery began to throw its black and portentous shadow over all the landscape.

